

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

LE
B

14

I

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
QUARTERLY
THEOLOGICAL REVIEW,
AND
Ecclesiastical Record.

VOLUME IX.

322781
2. 1. 36.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR C. J. G. & F. RIVINGTON,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, AND WATERLOO-PLACE, PALL-MALL;
AND
SOLD BY BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH; AND
MILLIKEN, DUBLIN.

1831.

THE

BRITISH CRITIC,

QUARTERLY

THEOLOGICAL REVIEW,

AND

ECCLÉSIASTICAL HISTORY,

VOLUME XX.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. & F. ROWORTH,

15, NORTHERN TERRACE, AND WATERLOO PLACE, PATERNOSTER ROW.

AND BY ROSS AND BARNARD, STATIONERS, 15, NORTHERN TERRACE.

London, C. Roworth and Sons,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED.

* * For Remarkable Passages in the Criticisms, Extracts, Ecclesiastical and other Intelligence, see the Index at the end of the Volume.

A.

Abercrombie (John), Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers, 346.

B.

Blomfield (Right Rev. C. J. Bishop of London), Charge, 206.

Burckhardt, (John Lewis,) Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, 91.

——— Arabic Proverbs, *ib.*

Burrow (Rev. E. J. D.D.), Hours of Devotion, 231.

Burton (Rev. Edward, D.D.), View of the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, 43.

C.

Cambridge Philosophical Society, Transactions of, 71.

Chambers (William), the Book of Scotland, 151.

Coleridge (Henry Nelson, Esq.), Introduction to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets, 135.

D.

Dissenters, Reasons for Seceding from, 222.

F.

Finati (Giovanni), Narrative of his Life and Adventures, 324.

French (Rev. Wm. D.D.), and *Skinner* (Rev. George), New Translation of the Book of Psalms, 404.

Fry (Rev. John), *Lyra Davidis*, 404.

Future State, a View of the Scripture Revelations concerning, 1.

G.

Galt (John, Esq.), Life of Lord Byron, 257.

H.

Horsley (Samuel, LL.D. Bishop of St. Asaph), Book of Psalms, 404.

L.

Le Bas (Rev. C. W.), Life of Bishop Middleton, 459.

Lyell (Charles, Esq.), Principles of Geology, 180.

M.

Miller (Rev. John), Sermons, 117.

Moore (Thomas), Letters and Journals of
Lord Byron, 257.

Stebbing (Rev. Hen.), Lives of the Italian
Poets, 383.

P.

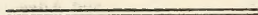
Prichard (Dr. J. C.), Review of the Doc-
trine of a Vital Principle, 440.

W.

Wilson (Rev. Dan.), Evidences of Chris-
tianity, 484.

S.

Sandford (Right Rev. Daniel, Bishop of
Edinburgh), Remains, 151.



CONTENTS

OF

N^o XVII.

PAGE.

- ART. I. A View of the Scripture Revelations concerning a Future State: laid before his Parishioners, by a Country Pastor 1
- II. An Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1829, at the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, M.A. Canon of Salisbury. By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D. Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church 43
- III. Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society . 71
- IV. 1. Notes on the Bedouins and Wabábys, collected during his Travels in the East. By the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Published by authority of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa.
2. Arabic Proverbs; or the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, illustrated from their Proverbial Sayings current at Cairo. Translated and explained by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Published by Authority of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa 91
- V. Sermons intended to show a Sober Application of Scriptural Principles to the Realities of Life, with a Preface Addressed to the Clergy. By John Miller, M.A. late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford 117

- VI. Introductions to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets, designed principally for the use of Young persons at School and College. By Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. M.A. late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge . . . 135
- VII. 1. Remains of the late Right Reverend Daniel Sandford, D.D. Oxon, Bishop of Edinburgh in the Scottish Episcopal Church: including extracts from his Diary and Correspondence, and a Selection from his unpublished Sermons, with a Memoir. By the Rev. John Sandford, Vicar of Chillingham.
2. The Book of Scotland. By William Chambers . . . 151
- VIII. Principles of Geology; being an Attempt to Explain the former Changes of the Earth's Surface by reference to Causes now in operation. By Charles Lyell, Esq. F.R.S. For. Sec. to the Geol. Soc. &c. 180
- IX. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of his Diocese, by Charles James, Bishop of London, at his Primary Visitation in July, 1830 206
- X. Reasons for seceding from the Dissenters, and conforming to the Established Church of England 229
- XI. Hours of Devotion for the Promotion of true Christianity and Family Worship. Translated from the original German by the Rev. E. I. Burrow, D.D. F.R.S. and F.L.S. 231

State of the Dioceses in England and Wales. 234

Proceedings of the Universities. 248

CONTENTS

OF

No. XVIII.



	PAGE
ART. I.—1. Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life. By Thomas Moore.	
2. The National Library. Conducted by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, and assisted by various eminent Writers, No. I.—The Life of Lord Byron. By John Galt, Esq.	257
II.—Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati, Native of Ferrara; who, under the assumed Name of Mahomet, made the Campaigns against the Wahabees for the Recovery of Mecca and Medina; and since acted as Interpreter to European Travellers in some of the parts least visited of Asia and Africa. Translated from the Italian, as dictated by himself, and edited by William John Bankes, Esq.	324
III.—Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth. By John Abercrombie, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and First Physician to his Majesty in Scotland.	346
IV.—Lives of the Italian Poets. By the Rev. Henry Steb- bing, M. A. M. R. S. L. With Twenty Medallion Portraits.	383

V.—1. A New Translation of the Book of Psalms from the original Hebrew, with Explanatory Notes. By William French, D.D. Master of Jesus College, and (the Rev.) George Skinner, M.A. Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge.	
2. <i>Lyra Davidis</i> ; or, a New Translation and Exposition of the Psalms: grounded on the Principles adopted in the Posthumous Work of the late Bishop Horsley; viz. that these sacred Oracles have, for the most Part, an immediate Reference to Christ, and to the Events of his first and second Advent. By the Rev. John Fry, B.A.	
3. The Book of Psalms, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes, Explanatory and Critical. By Samuel Horsley, LL.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.	404
VI.—A Review of the Doctrine of a Vital Principle as maintained by some Writers on Physiology. With Observations on the Causes of Physical and Animal Life. By J. C. Prichard, M.D. F.R.S.	440
VII.—The Life of the Right Reverend Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Calcutta. By the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. Professor in the East India College, Hertfordshire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.	459
VIII.—The Evidences of Christianity, stated in a popular and practical manner, in a Course of Lectures, delivered in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Islington. By Daniel Wilson, M.A. Vicar.	484
<hr/>	
State of the Dioceses	490
Proceedings of the Universities	501

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1831.

ART. I.—*A View of the Scripture Revelations concerning a Future State: laid before his Parishioners, by a Country Pastor. Second Edition. London: B. Fellowes. 1830. 12mo. 5s. 6d.*

THE Country Pastor informs us that, on several points treated of in this volume, various opinions, which he thinks unfounded, have been entertained by certain ancient divines, *commonly called the Fathers*, and also by more modern divines of high reputation. He professes, however, to have abstained from all reference to these, partly because few of his hearers were acquainted with their works, or able properly to estimate their authority; but, chiefly, because his design was to inquire, *exclusively*, what is to be learned from the records of *inspiration*, respecting a subject, on which uninspired men can know no more than what is revealed in Scripture, or what, by short and simple arguments, may be deduced from it.* Notwithstanding this exposition of his reasons, we can hardly forbear to lament this abstinence. The parishioners of Halesworth would, probably, have derived but little instruction or edification from references to the ancient doctors of the Church, “commonly called the Fathers;” but the demand for a second edition of his book might have satisfied the author that its circulation was not confined to members of country congregations, and that he had many readers to whom a comparison of his own opinions with those of the earlier Christian Divines might have been a pleasing and instructive exercise, which the addition of a few short notes would have placed within their reach. We are, further, led to regret this resolution of the writer, because, when combined with the language of his preface, it *seems* to indicate something of a disposition to disparage the

* Preface, pp. vii. viii.

authority of those venerable expositors. The Bible is, unquestionably, the sole repository from which we are to derive our faith. But then, the Bible contains various matters the interpretation of which is doubtful; and in framing our own views upon such ambiguous points, it is always interesting, and often extremely useful, to examine the opinions of those commentators who lived nearest to the age in which the Scriptures were promulgated. And if, in any instance, it should be found that there is a striking approach to consent in the decisions of those primitive teachers, we have a weighty reason for acquiescing in their determinations, or, at least a powerful motive for rigorously examining our own conclusions, whenever we venture to dissent from them. It is true, that the most unanimous *traditions* of the Fathers are not to furnish us with our rule of faith; but they may, at least, be allowed to help us in our interpretation of the record which contains that rule. As authority, they may be nothing—as testimony, they may be invaluable. All this has long been familiar to the most accomplished Divines of our Church; and all this, we would further hope, has been made clear to every intelligent member of that Church, by the admirable statements of the Bishop of Limerick.* We are so deeply sensible of the value of these considerations, that we cannot listen, without some uneasiness and jealousy, to any thing which *sounds* like a disrespectful estimate of those writers who followed close upon the first promulgation of the Gospel.

But whatever may be the measure of honour which the Country Pastor may be disposed to render to the persons “commonly called the Fathers,” it cannot be denied that there runs through his own publication a vein of masculine and vigorous good sense, such as would probably conduct him to a right decision on most questions of any difficulty, if he were not occasionally driven awry by a sort of convulsive impatience of all received notions. He seems to imagine that the only way of studying the Scriptures is, for every man to sit down to them just as if they had been, this very hour, delivered to us from Heaven, and as if no mortal industry and sagacity had ever been employed on them before. Now this is a temper which, it cannot be denied, is extremely well adapted to call forth the powers of a vigorous and independent mind; but it may very reasonably be doubted whether it is fitted to win the confidence of sober and discreet inquirers. It is a temper which would scarcely be considered as forming a very desirable qualification for an instructor in any worldly science or pursuit. It may cause a man to wander over beaten tracks,

* In the Appendix to his volume of Sermons, 2d edition. London. 1816.

seeking rest but finding none. It may assimilate the mental adventurer to certain unquiet spirits, of which we have heard, in the back settlements of America, who are positively unable to endure the torment of reposing under vines and fig-trees that have flourished during the period of half a generation, and who sally forth, with the hatchet in their hand, to expend their accumulating energies on the wilderness beyond them. There is a vast deal of this restless and feverish excitement abroad in the present day; and we cannot suppress our suspicions that some slight portion of its influence is creeping up and down in the veins even of our Country Pastor. He sometimes appears to work like one who has a *clearance* to make; and then he lays about him like a back-woods-man, as if he delighted to see the growth of ages fall beneath his axe. Nay—he, occasionally, seems to fancy himself surrounded by prostrate absurdities, that have sunk under his own arm; while, in truth, the ground has long been reclaimed by the labour and perseverance of former pioneers.

We must, indeed, frankly confess that this estimate of his peculiar habits of mind has been formed not solely from the work now before us, but, partly, from certain other performances, which public surmise almost universally attributes to the same author. Some distinct traces, however, of the same passion for independence and originality may be found, we suspect, even in the pastoral instructions delivered, and dedicated, to the parishioners of Halesworth.

The first of these Lectures relates to the doctrine of life and immortality; and the object of it is to show that we are indebted solely to the Gospel for our certain knowledge of a future state. On this subject his notions are marked by no peculiar eccentricity. At the present day, few, we believe, will be found to contend that the Mosaic writings exhibit any thing like a precise or distinct revelation of this doctrine. It is true that the doctrine was indicated or pointed at by Moses *at the bush*; or in other words, that he there introduces expressions which harmonize admirably with that truth, and which might fairly be cited to show that the notion of a resurrection was not contrary to any thing averred in the elder Scriptures, but rather was capable of confirmation by their authority. It should be remembered, that the Sadducees, with whom our Saviour was arguing, though they may not have rejected the other sacred books, yet seem to have ascribed a more transcendent authority to those of Moses. It is, therefore, not wonderful that our Lord should prefer to meet them on their own ground, and to convince them, that the writings which they most deeply venerated might have furnished them with reasons for *receiving* the doctrine which he propounded, rather

than for rejecting it. It is as if he had said to them, "I come to you asserting that the dead shall be raised; you reject this notion as at variance with the authority, which, of all others, you conceive to be the highest. I, therefore, further assert, that these writings can afford you no grounds for this rejection; nay—that their language is, if any thing, positively in favour of the doctrine in question." He then proceeds to affirm that Moses actually hinted at the resurrection when he called Jehovah the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob,—since he is not God of the dead, but of the living. To us it may appear somewhat surprising that the Sadducees did not reply to this argument, by maintaining that, when Moses spoke of the God of Abraham and the other Patriarchs, he meant nothing more than is usually and popularly implied, when men speak of the God of their fathers; that is, the God whom their fathers served and worshipped. They did *not*, however, make this reply. The reasoning of our Saviour silenced *them*, and delighted their adversaries. From all which we may reasonably conclude, that there was something in this way of putting the matter more conclusive to the understandings of the hearers, than we, perhaps at this day, may be able clearly to perceive. But, at all events, the chief effect of the argument seems to be, that it cut away from under the Sadducees the support on which they rested their cause, and transferred it to the other side of the question. It can hardly be considered as furnishing a proof of the doctrine, *independent of all further revelation*.

With regard to the instances of Enoch and Elijah, "who were taken up into God's immediate presence without tasting of death, these"—the author observes—"might, indeed, have given ground for *suspecting* that a future state might be designed for *all* men." It appears to us, however, that the value of these instances is here somewhat understated. It may reasonably be doubted whether the most ignorant or obstinate unbeliever, if he were to *see* a good man caught up into heaven, would not be assailed with something stronger than a mere *suspicion* that the spirits of men were destined to live hereafter. At all events, we cannot help thinking that the Country Pastor has been rather infelicitous and rash, in his attempt to expose the absurdity of any confident conclusions from such a spectacle; for he contends, that it would be just as unwarrantable to infer a future state from these instances, as it would be for any man to "conclude that he himself should never die, because such was the case of Enoch and Elijah." Now, a man, who could suppose that he should escape death because two individuals were admitted to heaven by another entrance, would have to arm himself against the experience of all

ages, and against the daily and hourly evidence of mortality around him. The conclusion, that the souls of men are immortal, would be encumbered with no such difficulties. *Against* that belief there is no positive evidence whatever; and the instances in question are decidedly in favour of it. There, consequently, can be no comparison between the value of these two conclusions. The one could not be reached without breaking through all the laws which regulate our ordinary presumptions; while no similar obstacles would stand in the way to the other, though the ground over which we must arrive at it might be of somewhat questionable firmness. The Country Pastor is, we believe, understood to be a great master of logic; but, in this instance, his right hand appears to have forgotten something of its cunning.

We are next assured that "many pious men among the Jews not only did not understand that a future state was revealed to them in the books of Moses, but even seem to have had no expectation of such a state."* And then, as might reasonably be anticipated, the testimony of the Psalmist is produced: "What profit is there in my blood when I go down into the pit? Shall the dust praise thee? shall it declare thy truth?" (Ps. xxx.) Again—"Wilt thou show thy wonders to the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise thee? Shall thy loving-kindness be declared in the grave? and thy faithfulness in destruction? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" (Ps. lxxxviii.) The next witness called is King Hezekiah, who exclaims, "Behold, for peace I had great bitterness: but thou hast, in love to my soul (or life), delivered it from the pit of corruption; for thou hast cast all my sins behind my back. For the grave cannot praise thee. Death cannot celebrate thee. They that go down to the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day." (Isaiah, xxxviii.) Now, to us, we must confess, the testimony of these venerable personages seems just nothing to the purpose, either one way or the other. Their language, to be sure, does not very much resemble what we should expect from a devout and mature Christian at the present day. But to collect from it that they had absolutely no expectation whatever of a future state, is to infer that a man *must* be ignorant of a subject, because he says nothing about it, under circumstances which might be expected to suggest some allusion to it. Their expressions can amount to nothing more than this; that when a man is dead there is an end of all opportunity for his employment in the service of God, in this world, or for the visible display of Providential mercy in his behalf. They are speaking, as Diodati observes,† "of the common course, according to

* P. 21.

† In Ps. lxxxviii. 10.

which the dead return no more into the world to enjoy new benefits from God, or to give him any praise therefore in the church." There would be nothing very intolerable, even now, in speaking of the grave as the *land of forgetfulness*; for it is the place where all earthly designs and hopes are "swallowed up and lost," and where generation upon generation is consigned to oblivion. It is the region in which—to produce the Psalmist again—*all a man's thoughts perish*; that is, where all his devices come to nothing, (Ps. cxlvi. 4.) We, therefore, cannot march with a step quite so confident as that of the Country Pastor, to the belief that these ancient worthies were in total darkness as to a *future* life, merely because they express a fervent anxiety for a longer continuance in the *present*.

Of course the Country Pastor is aware that the Epistle to the Hebrews gives the Patriarchs credit for very strong, if not very distinct, expectations of a future life. They died, we are told, in faith, or conformably to faith (*κατὰ πίστιν*). "They received not the promises; but, having seen them afar off, were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth; thus declaring plainly that they sought a country—not the country from whence they came out, but a better country, that is, a heavenly—even the city which God had prepared for them."* Words like these, we apprehend, ought to make a man very cautious in venturing to deny to the most eminent and enlightened Israelites any anticipations of a brighter world. If Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, lived and died in the belief that a celestial home was reserved for them, it seems very strange that such men as David and Hezekiah should be left destitute of any such consolatory persuasion.

After all, however, it must, we apprehend, be conceded, that whatever might be the notions entertained on this subject by the Jews who lived previously to the Christian Revelation, they were sufficiently dim and indistinct to justify the comparison of them to the glimmering of twilight, as compared with the splendour of the risen Sun. We find, indeed, that the light continued, for ages, to shine more and more unto the perfect day; and that, at last, it became sufficiently strong to expose all, who refused to walk by it, to the suspicion of loving darkness better than light. But, nevertheless, it was not till the coming of our Lord that the full blaze of day was shed upon this doctrine. After his appearance, it became, what it never had been before, a central and vital truth; to doubt of which was neither more nor less than to plunge wilfully into the shadow of death. As to the surmises and speculations of the wisest heathens on the subject, they can be

* Heb. xi. 13—16.

likened to nothing but to certain transient and momentary gleams, flashing across the path of thoughtful men, and then leaving them again to wander in the blackness of night. And yet, even these faint and shooting meteors, which played occasionally before the eyes which were straining after the truth,—even these would seem to indicate, that man is made for immortality. They never could have appeared to beings who felt as if their destinies were complete in the present world.

In the second, third and fourth Lectures is discussed the question, whether the Intermediate State between Death and Judgment is a state of consciousness or a state of insensibility: and, as might be foreseen, they end in a *conclusion* in which little is *concluded*. The truth is, that, on this subject, Revelation is by no means sufficiently express to warrant any confident determination. The Country Pastor, however, seems very strongly disposed to consign the soul to a deep slumber during the mysterious interval. He, indeed, presents the arguments on either side of the question to us, with sufficient fairness: but his own *summing up* is strongly in favour of the less popular hypothesis. We must honestly avow, that the considerations usually produced in support of the belief that the interval is one of consciousness, have never appeared to us to be of an absolutely overpowering weight. From the *parable* of the rich voluptuary and Lazarus—for instance—little can be safely inferred, but the certainty of a future condition of reward or of punishment. The representation, after all, it must be remembered, is but a *parable*; and is, probably, so framed as to appeal to the popular and prevalent notions respecting the state after death. We may reasonably imagine our Saviour to mean no more than this; namely, that, even supposing the views generally entertained, relative to the *details and particulars* of the future life, to be correct, there still could be no ground for hoping that the intercession of Abraham, or the good offices of departed saints, would be allowed to revoke, or to mitigate, the pains of those who died in impenitence. We may conceive our Lord, in delivering the parable, to speak to this effect:—"A future retribution there certainly will be, in some form or other. According to your conceptions of this state, the resigned and pious sufferer is conveyed to the bosom of Abraham, and the unfeeling sensualist is consigned to flame and torment. Be it so: still you must remember, that, in any case, a great gulf must be fixed between the regions of bliss and misery: that the just would not be invested with the privilege of assuaging the bitter lot of the wicked: and, above all, that neither the just nor the wicked would be permitted to convey to mortals any admonitory tidings from the unseen world. While

the state of trial lasts, men must rely on the ordinary means of grace. If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither would they repent though one should rise from the dead."

Neither, in our apprehension, would it be safe or judicious to seek in the mystic visions of the Apocalypse for any *conclusive* proof, that the souls of men are translated immediately to a state of partial and prelusive reward or punishment. The scenes there disclosed are altogether of so figurative a character, that they may be regarded rather as symbolical or emblematic adumbrations, than as accurate exhibitions of future events. If we are to give a literal sense to the passage which represents the souls of the martyrs as crying out to God to avenge his Church, it will, perhaps, be difficult to withhold the same mode of interpretation from those parts of the book which speak of white robes, and crowns of gold, and celestial harps, and gates of pearl, and pavements of pure gold transparent as chrystal. The Apostle himself tells us, that the phials of odours are only emblems of the prayers of the saints; it is, therefore, highly probable that the other particulars of the mysterious spectacle may admit of a similar interpretation. The cry of the martyred spirits for vengeance may, for instance, be just as figurative as the cry of the blood of Abel. It may signify no more, than that the death and sufferings of the martyrs were constantly present to the Divine Mind,—that their cause was never absent from his remembrance—and that, in his own time, he would signally vindicate the Church for which they bled.

The appearance of Moses and Elias on the mount of transfiguration is sometimes produced in support of the position, that a state of continued consciousness intervenes between death and the resurrection. The visible presence of Elias on this occasion, however, can prove nothing, as he never tasted of death, but was visibly translated to the mansions of the Blest; and the same power which caught him up into heaven, could send him down to the earth on any occasion which might be sufficient to demand his appearance. The appearance of Moses, indeed, involves some perplexity; but even, on the supposition of an intermediate state of sleep, there is no insurmountable difficulty in the conjecture, that his spirit may have been awakened and invested with a visible form for the express purpose of attendance at this awful solemnity. At all events, the whole scene is of much too visionary and mysterious a character to warrant any confident inferences, of a doctrinal nature, beyond what the spectacle itself seemed to suggest. Nothing can well be imagined more deeply impressive than such an apocalypse, considered as an intimation both of the future sufferings and exaltation of the Messiah, and of the har-

mony of the Law and the Prophets with the glories of the final dispensation. Further than this, the scene does not appear to us to be a very fit subject for argument or speculation;—and one thing is quite obvious, that whether the spirit of Moses were in a state of consciousness, or of slumber, the Almighty could be at no loss for means to produce all the effect of his actual appearance on the minds of the disciples who were present. There can be no doubt that the occurrence, whether real or visionary, was designed for their solemn instruction, and through them for that of the Christian Church: and if that purpose was accomplished, we cannot be very profitably occupied in speculating too deeply as to the means employed.

The promise of our Lord to the penitent robber on the cross, *this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*, is allowed by the Country Pastor to be more reasonably urged in favour of the opinion, that man passes at once from death into a state of enjoyment or of suffering. He contends, however, that the case was of too peculiar a nature to be considered as decisive as to the lot of other men, even if the words are to be literally understood. In our own opinion, it may reasonably be doubted, whether this saying of our Lord was designed by him to determine any thing on either side of the question. Paradise, we apprehend, to have been a popular and indefinite sort of phrase; and the use of it by Jesus Christ harmonizes perfectly with the vagueness and reserve which characterise every scriptural notice respecting the details and circumstances of the future life. We feel disposed to conjecture, that our Saviour may have meant to convey to the repentant criminal little more than this—"to-day (that is, when you are released from the body,) your lot shall be the same as mine, so far at least as relates to your eternal peace—there shall await you nothing hereafter but a state of bliss, whether immediate or eventual."

As to the text so confidently relied upon by Whitby—*fear not them who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul, &c.* (Matth. x. 28),—we are inclined to accord with our author in believing, that by these expressions our Lord may have intended merely to remind his disciples that their enemies could only inflict temporal death, whereas the power of God extends to the eternal destinies of man. What is meant by the *killing of the soul* but the *second death*? And what is the *second death* but the last penal infliction which Divine Justice shall lay upon the spirits of the impenitent? And what can the expression imply as to any state or condition which is to precede the execution of that sentence? "It is not easy," says Whitby, "to understand how an intelligent, thinking, and perceiving being can be more killed

than by depriving it of all sensation, thought, and perception." If this be just, the suspension of thought or perception for a single instant, amounts to no less than spiritual death; a position which, as the Pastor remarks, it would be difficult to reconcile with the effects of sound sleep, or of a stunning blow; for these, so far as we can discern, are often attended by a total interruption of consciousness. By an entire extinction of thought or perception the *soul* would doubtless be *killed*; but to say that a temporary obstruction of its powers would be the death of the soul, is to defy the experience of almost every day, and is, in effect, to assume the whole point in debate!

It is somewhat remarkable that no allusion is made by the author to a text which is usually very prominent in discussions respecting the intermediate state—namely, 1 Peter, iii. 18, 19, 20, a passage which has *sorely vexed* the commentators, and has *been sorely vexed* by the multitude of their interpretations and conjectures. Possibly the Country Pastor may have imagined that words so debatable were not the fittest for introduction into parochial discourses; and that where expositors have been so much at variance with each other, but little trustworthy guidance could be expected. We cannot, however, forbear to transcribe the recapitulation of Horsley in his sermon on this subject—not of course as conclusive authority, but simply as the judgment of a most powerful divine, which cannot be neglected without an unbecoming disregard of vast abilities and attainments. Having laboured to show that the words of St. Peter—(affirming that Christ had preached to the spirits in *prison* or in *custody*,) afford a strong confirmation to our article, that Christ descended into hell—he concludes thus:—

"Its great use in this—that it is a clear confutation of the dismal notion of death as a temporary extinction of the life of the whole man; or, what is no less gloomy and discouraging, the notion of the sleep of the soul in the interval between death and the resurrection. Christ was made so truly man, that whatever took place in the human nature of Christ, may be considered as a model and example of what must take place, in a certain proportion and degree, in every man united to him. Christ's soul survived the death of his body; therefore shall the soul of every believer survive the body's death. Christ's disembodied soul descended into hell"—(that is, into the place of departed spirits)—"thither, therefore, shall the soul of every believer descend. In that place the soul of Christ, in its separate state, possessed and exercised active powers; in the same place, therefore, shall the believer's soul possess and exercise activity. Christ's soul was not left in hell; neither shall the souls of his servants be left there but for a season. The appointed time will come when the Redeemer shall set open the doors of the prison-house, and say to his redeemed, Go forth."

There is also something in the text of Ecclesiastes, xii. 7, which seems to indicate that death is the passage to a conscious state of existence. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." We do not perceive that the Country Pastor has noticed this text. Probably he considered it as not very much to the purpose. He would no doubt say that the spirit may return to God, and yet not awake to life and action until the day of judgment. The expression certainly *may* imply nothing more than this, namely, that after death, the dust shall be abandoned to decay, but the soul shall not perish; it shall return to him who gave it, and be consigned to his safe keeping; and there it shall remain, whether in a state of consciousness or insensibility, till the moment when it shall be summoned to hear the final sentence. The expression of St. Paul—to *depart and be with Christ*—is of a similar import with the words of Ecclesiastes. It doubtless appears to imply, that there is no interval between death and the presence of the spirit with its Redeemer. Our author, however, is of opinion, that the words are by no means such as to force this belief upon us. He conceives that the expression may simply be indicative of the blessedness of a release from earthly trials, and of a change which shall *eventually* bring the soul into communion with Christ. His manner of disposing of the text exhibits considerable ingenuity, and is here submitted to the judgment of the reader.

"Imagine to yourself the case of a sincere Christian, who (we will suppose) is convinced that such is the fact"—(namely, that the words of the Apostle may be reconciled with an intermediate state of sleep)—"If he were asked what he thought of the condition of some deceased friends who had lived and died in the faith and fear of God, he would of course reply, they 'sleep in Jesus;' we must not regard them as at this moment actually enjoying their reward; but neither must we 'sorrow as those who have no hope;' on the contrary, we must fully trust that they will be raised up to immortal happiness at the last day. If again this same man were himself seemingly at the point of death in some lingering and painful disease, and worn down by other grievous afflictions, and were asked what he thought of *his own* prospects, he would be likely to answer, I long to be released from my sufferings, and 'to be with Christ;' for I believe that, to my own perceptions, the instant death closes my eyes, I shall be awakened by the last trump—the summons to meet my Lord. And though in relation to *you the survivors*, my dying this hour or a year hence makes no difference as to the time when that day shall arrive, to *me* it makes all the difference: *absolutely*, the interval from now to the general resurrection is the same; but *relatively* to me, it does, to all practical purposes, come the sooner, the sooner I am released from the burden of 'this earthly tabernacle.' You observe I have represented this man as speaking (which he naturally would do) in a very different tone when he is speaking of the

deceased friends whom he survives, and when he is speaking of his own death : and this, not from his supposing the conditions of the two parties to be at all different absolutely; but from their being very different *in relation to himself*. When he considers himself as the survivor of his friends, he speaks of their remaining in a state of insensibility for an interval, perhaps a long one, before they awake to happiness; for *relatively to the survivors*, there *is* an interval; when he considers himself as just departing, he speaks of no interval, but of awaking to happiness immediately; because *relatively to himself* there *is* no interval. It is thus then that the Apostle Paul, or any other sincere Christian, *would* express himself, supposing him to have such a belief. And just thus it is that Paul *does* express himself. Whenever he is administering comfort to the survivors respecting their brethren who have departed in the Lord, he always speaks of them as ‘asleep,’ and always points to the hope of the general resurrection; and also when he is speaking of *himself in conjunction with others*, his language is, ‘I have finished my course; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will give me in that day; and not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing.’ On the other hand, when he speaks of his eager longing to depart and to be with Christ, he is speaking of himself solely, without any reference to the perceptions and feelings of the survivors, but only to his own. Now in respect of his own perceptions, the moment of his breathing his last in this world, would be, as has been said, instantly succeeded (on the supposition of total insensibility during the interval) by that of his awakening in the presence of his Lord.

“I do not presume to say that this proves that the Apostle believed the intermediate state to be one of sleep; much less that he was commissioned to teach such a doctrine. But it does appear plain to me that if he *had* believed that doctrine, he would have expressed himself just as he has done.”—pp. 88—91.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the words of the shade of Samuel to Saul—“to-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me”^{*} or on the expression of David respecting his deceased child—“I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me.”[†] On surveying these, and all the various texts which may be produced in favour of the doctrine of intermediate consciousness, we shall hardly, perhaps, find any *one* of them strong enough to support it alone. But then, on the other hand, we think it must be allowed, that taken together, they are *at least* sufficient to give our thoughts a direction towards that doctrine. They may not amount, in the aggregate, to a positive affirmation of it; but they do assuredly leave us under some impression that the sacred writers must have contemplated a state of spiritual activity and life immediately after death. One cannot but find some difficulty in conceiving that inspired persons who had no such belief, could

^{*} 1 Sam. xxviii. 19.

[†] 2 Sam. xii. 23.

have had recourse to images and phrases, which would so easily suggest that persuasion to ordinary minds. Let us, therefore, in the next place consider, whether the Scriptures, which bear an opposite aspect, are sufficient to counteract this natural impression.

In the first place, then, it is urged by the author, that the opposite conclusion is favoured by “the style in which the sacred writers usually speak of the deceased, as of persons who are *asleep*.” Now, we do confess that we are beyond measure astonished at finding the judgment of a vigorous mind in the slightest degree influenced by this mode of speech. No one knows better than the Country Pastor that the phraseology and imagery of Scripture is throughout popular, and not technically and scientifically precise. Philosophically considered, it may be incorrect to speak of the sleep of the body. But the Apostles did *not* consider the matter philosophically. They adopted a familiar phrase, obviously suggested by the peaceful, slumbering appearance of a “timely parted ghost.” To say of the dead that they are *fallen asleep*, is only a gentle *euphemism*; it merely indicates, in the least repulsive manner, the termination of the present state. It represents death as a condition of repose from the toils and agitations of *this* life. In popular language, sleep is the half-brother of death (*consanguineus lethi sopor*)—and, “the sleeping and the dead are but as pictures.” In sleep, the body is apparently defunct, if not closely examined; and, when peaceably and recently dead, it is, to all appearance, sleeping; and from its condition in that state, the expression, beyond all question, has arisen. It is used purely to indicate the cessation of the vital functions, and the end of earthly troubles; and it is so used, in spite of subsequent dissolution—(which, in strictness, negatives all idea of mere bodily sleep,)—for the imagination does not always follow the mortal reliques into the sepulchre or the charnel-house. The firmest believer in a conscious interval between death and judgment might, with perfect propriety and consistency, speak of a Christian as having *fallen asleep* in the Lord. There is nothing—absolutely nothing—in this form of speech, to warrant any doubt upon the question; nothing which can weigh as a grain of dust against passages or phrases, which tend to the establishment of an intermediate state of activity and consciousness.

But then,—“the Apostle Paul, in comforting the Thessalonians concerning their deceased brethren, makes no mention of their being in a state of enjoyment, but alludes only to the joyful resurrection which awaited them:” whereas, “if he had known, and had been authorised to reveal, that these very persons were,

at that very time, actually admitted to a state of happiness, one cannot but suppose that he would have mentioned this as an additional consolation, &c." There is, perhaps, at first sight, something more in this argument, than in the other; but, in truth, it is but very little! The Apostle says, "*I would not have you ignorant, brethren, περὶ τῶν κοιμηθέντων*, that is, *concerning those who have been laid asleep*; or, in other words, those who have undergone that change which is usually and conventionally indicated by the term *falling asleep*. And, again,—*We which are alive*—(or living upon earth)—*shall not prevent τὰς κοιμηθέντας*, those who have long ago been *laid asleep*. In each instance, indeed, our Translation renders the original by the words—*which are asleep*; and this might seem to intimate that St. Paul considered the deceased as, at that moment, in a state of continued slumber or unconsciousness. But the original itself indicates nothing of the kind. It points simply to the fact, that the persons of whom he was speaking had sunk to rest, probably, without any reference, either one way or other, to the condition which would immediately follow their repose from the troubles of this life. Besides, what, after all, is the grand consolation which Christianity offers to the survivors of the righteous? Is it not the weight of glory which is finally reserved for them that *fall asleep* in the faith of their Redeemer? Is it not the joyful resurrection which awaits them, and their blissful admission to the presence of God? Compared with this prospect, the peace, or the hope of the intermediate state would be as nothing, and might well be omitted by a teacher intent on supporting his followers by the most powerful of all consolations. Again, therefore, we assert that, at this day, a preacher might be profoundly satisfied that the dead would pass at once into a state of consciousness; and yet that he would be fully warranted in speaking of them as having *fallen asleep*, and in comforting the survivors with the hope of their standing at the right hand of Christ in the day of final retribution.

Next to this comes the argument, that an intermediate state of hope or fear would forestall the Judgment of the Last Day; that the solemnities of Christ's tribunal would be rendered nugatory by the previous knowledge of our fate; that it is strangely absurd to suppose that men should first undergo their sentence, and afterwards be brought to trial; that they should first enter on their reward or punishment, and then, perhaps, many centuries after, should be judged, acquitted, or condemned. All this, to be sure, when thus represented does look exceedingly perplexing: and yet, when viewed a little more closely, we can discern in it nothing to shake the convictions of those who expect to emerge at once from the

shadow of death into the serenity of blessed expectation, or the "darkness visible" of terror and dejection. The condition of one who dies in his sins, and awakes to a sense of the retribution that awaits them, may, not unaptly, be compared to that of a criminal who is committed to gaol for trial, without the slightest hope of escaping conviction. It could hardly be said of such a person that his fear and anguish there would *forestall* the solemnities of justice, and render nugatory the subsequent administration and execution of the law. The forms and proceedings of earthly justice do not, indeed, provide a precisely similar illustration to the case of those who have persevered in well-doing: but, nevertheless, we are unable to comprehend why the analogy should not likewise be extended to them. What is there unreasonable in the surmise that a righteous man may awaken from death to that full assurance of acquittal and acceptance, which some have affirmed to be attainable even in the present life? Why may he not be placed in a state of which the enjoyment shall consist in the knowledge that his trials and agitations are at an end, that the forgiveness of his sins is finally sealed, and that a reward will, at some period, be assigned him, proportioned to his faithfulness, by the infallible wisdom and goodness of his Judge? What would there be in all this to forestall the inquiry and the sentence of the Great Day? For that day will be reserved the revelation of all hearts. The conscience of every man may then be a record, in which, at a single glance, he may himself be able to read his own fate; and the volume may be opened and exposed in the sight of angels and archangels and all the company of heaven. The wicked may then be publicly separated from the just; and the sentence may be publicly pronounced which shall assign to each man a righteous doom, precisely conformed to *the things done in the body*. And if this is to be so, what can there be in a previous state of anticipation to reduce the solemnity to an empty form? Until that solemnity has taken place, the destinies of all, who have passed through their probation here, will be incomplete, and the severity and goodness of God will have remained without their most open and glorious manifestation. Enough, therefore, will be left to give to the day of retribution its measureless and awful importance, even although it should be preceded by an interval of pain or satisfaction to those who shall then be summoned before the Judgment Seat.

According to our view of the matter, then, the Scriptural expressions, which speak of the dead as having fallen asleep, do not, by necessity, imply that the interval which follows death is a state of unconsciousness. At the same time, we do not hesitate to avow, in perfect agreement with the author, that we are unable

to comprehend why the notion of a long and dreamless slumber should be regarded with feelings of dejection and horror by the living. At first sight, it is, beyond all question, an appalling consideration that centuries should intervene between the moment of dissolution, and the final allotment. We are, not unnaturally, tempted to imagine, that so vast a period of utter insensibility must be wholly destructive of the identity of the individual. It is not without a somewhat painful effort, that we are able to conceive that the person who loses all consciousness and recollection now, can be the same with the person who recovers them at the distance of a thousand, or, perhaps, ten thousand years. And, hence it is, that the hypothesis of an intermediate sleep has been thought by some entirely incompatible with the notion of a future retributive adjustment. A little consideration, however, must surely satisfy us that the longest period of total insensibility, so far as the unconscious individual is concerned, shrinks into a moment. A man who awakes from a profound sleep is wholly unable to estimate the time which has passed since he was last awake. If he had been slumbering for twelve hours, he would be unable to detect the deception of one who should stand by his bed-side and assure him that he had been resting only for the same number of minutes: or, at all events, his suspicions of the incorrectness of this representation would be suggested by no purely mental phænomena, but entirely by the sense of imperfect bodily refreshment. The position may receive a still more striking illustration from the case of cataleptic patients. It is well known that persons on their recovery from a seizure of this nature will actually finish a sentence commenced in the moment before their seizure; nay, that they will utter the final syllables of a word, the initial syllables of which they had pronounced immediately previous to the interruption of their consciousness. The interval of insensibility may be greater or less—it may be one minute, or a quarter of an hour. But, whatever it may be, it is, to all appearance, absolutely blotted out of their existence. The moment of their restoration to consciousness is, to them, the next moment to that in which their mental powers were last exerted. And if this be so—if an interval of some minutes may elapse during which the intellectual man is, in the fullest sense, asleep—and if, when that interval is over, he continues to speak, and feel, and act, and reason, just as if consciousness had suffered no interruption,—if this be so—it is difficult to limit the period, during which the faculties may be suspended without affecting the identity of the man. For aught that we can discern, the moment of death and the moment of resurrection, may, to the dead, be one and the same. By the living, indeed, the intervening

hours, or ages, may be regarded as a dreary void—as an abyss, in which the conscious and responsible being may be lost, and from which he can never emerge. But this is a delusion, which philosophy, and experience, and even common sense if resolutely exerted, are amply sufficient to correct. We scruple not, therefore, again to declare, with the Country Pastor, that our composure is but little disturbed by the thought of that gloomy gulf and “abyss of time,” which peradventure may be fixed between the moment of our dissolution and our appearance before the judgment seat. If that period is, in effect, compressed into a point, it, virtually, interposes nothing between us and our final doom.

To sum up the whole matter, then,—although it appears to us, that the author may have stated the evidence somewhat too strongly, in favour of an interval of insensibility, we are not smitten with much alarm by his speculations. We should scarcely, indeed, have conjectured that such discussions would be potently edifying to a village congregation. But if the fact be, that the men, whose talk is of “land and beeves,” feel an interest in disquisitions of this sort, it is, perhaps, as well that they should learn, that the question is one which need not affect their peace; and that their faith may steer through the intricacies of this theological navigation without any danger of shipwreck. There can be no doubt that it is our duty to adopt the soundest opinions which our opportunities may enable us to form on this, and every other question, which relates to our eternal destinies: but it is some comfort to know that this is one respecting which different persuasions are not incompatible with the integrity of our religious profession. The reasons for which the point may have been left, by Divine Wisdom, in this state of comparative uncertainty, are so ingeniously, and, as it appears to us, so justly stated by the Country Pastor, that we must solicit the patient attention of our readers to the whole passage in which they are exhibited:

“It appears to me that good reasons may be perceived why the Scriptures have *not* revealed this knowledge to us; or at least, have not spoken more decidedly on the question than they have done. And I will, in conclusion, lay some of these reasons before you.

“First, let us suppose that the soul does retain its consciousness, and remain in a state of enjoyment or suffering during the intermediate time between death and the resurrection. There seems to be good reason why this truth (supposing it a truth) should not have been distinctly revealed. In the first place, it could be of no practical necessity. If, as is quite clear, a man’s final condition depends on his conduct in this life, and cannot be altered by any thing that takes place after death, there can be no advantage in *his* knowing, during his life, or his surviving *friends*, afterwards, what the intermediate state is. If they were told

that this is a state of consciousness, and of happiness or misery, the survivors would be tempted (I speak not now from conjecture, but from the experience of what takes place in the Romish Church, of which this doctrine is a received tenet) to offer up prayers for him, that if he is in a state of suffering he may be released from it; as is the practice of the Papists. These prayers, it has been said, are *harmless*, even if vain and ineffectual: in themselves they may be so: but if it should become the established practice (as with them) to pray for the souls of the deceased, and to suppose those prayers may be efficacious, (which of course is supposed by those who offer them) what is the consequence? Inevitably it follows, that men will be tempted to trust in these prayers for their souls after death, rather than to their own exertions during life. So many as are the excuses by which Satan leads men to continue in a life of negligence or sin, trusting that all will be well at the last, such an obvious and consolatory delusion as this, we may be sure would seldom fail to take effect. And accordingly, we know how common a practice it was, (and is, among the Roman Catholics) to make amends, as they thought, for an ungodly life, by leaving large sums of money to monks and others, to pray for their souls; and founding convents for that purpose.

“ Another most dangerous error, which (I do not say *might* arise, but) actually has arisen in the Roman Catholic Church, much worse than that of praying *for* the dead, is that of praying *to* the dead. Believing that the souls of eminently holy men are in a state of consciousness and enjoyment in the presence of God, no one could be sure that one or more of these holy men might not be, invisibly, near at hand: thence he was tempted to address a request to them, on the *chance* of its being so, that they would pray to God on his behalf; as any one of us might (and might lawfully) beg some devout friend to pray for him. By degrees this grew into a custom; they addressed their petitions to those holy men (or saints) for their intercession, first with a hope, and then with a confidence, of being heard; and these prayers were, and now are, offered up by thousands of persons who are in various places; and who thus blasphemously attribute to each saint the power of being, or at least knowing what passes, in many places at once,—one of the attributes of God himself; and impiously pay that worship to the creature which is due to the Creator alone: or to get out of that difficulty, absurdly make God reveal to the saints the prayers, which they then repeat back to Him.

“ If we look to the Scriptures, we find no shadow of authority for all this, nor for any thing that could lead to it. It *has* indeed arisen in a Christian Church; but it has arisen in consequence of that Church having dared to teach as articles of faith, what Scripture has never revealed.

“ But if, on the other hand, we suppose the contrary opinion to be true,—that the soul is in a profound and insensible sleep during the intermediate state, there is good reason why this also should not have been clearly revealed.

“ It not only seems not necessary to Christian practice, but it might with some Christians have a disheartening effect. Though they might be perfectly sure of attaining, if it were not their own fault, a joyful resurrection, and though their understanding might assent (as indeed it

could not but assent) to the truth, that a long or short interval of insensibility are exactly the same to the party concerned,—that there can be no difference between waiting one moment or ten centuries in a perfect sleep, from death to the resurrection,—yet there are many persons who could not easily bring their feelings to keep pace with their understanding in such a case. Their fancy might present pictures of weariness and discomfort which their reason would not be strong enough to dispel. And as their uneasiness would answer no good purpose, it seems agreeable to divine wisdom and goodness that it should be spared them, and that yet the Scriptures should so far leave the question at large, that those whose feelings strongly biassed and inclined them to either opinion, should not be compelled to adopt the other.

“ One important practical conclusion from what has been said is, (as I have already observed) the duty of making allowance for difference of opinion, and judging candidly of notions opposite to our own, in a case like this, where something plausible at least, may be urged on each side; and where, though only one can be right, neither need be *dangerously* wrong. The parent of this charitable candour is humility;—a due sense of the weakness of our faculties in judging by ourselves on such points;—and a disposition thankfully to accept the instruction God has given us in his written word, be it much or little.”—pp. 93—98.

The fifth lecture is devoted to the subject of the Resurrection; and the opinion maintained is in opposition to those who contend for the resurrection of the identical materials which composed the body of the dying man. This opinion appears to us to be here irresistibly established; not by the production of any new arguments, but by a very plain and forcible statement of the old ones. For instance: the body of any living individual is not, perhaps, in any one of its component atoms the same with the body in which he existed ten or fifteen years before. The nails of our fingers, and the hairs of our head, are undergoing a constant and very rapid change; and yet, in a certain and very intelligible sense, they are those which belonged to us when not one of their constituent particles were the same as at this moment. A similar succession of elements is going on in other departments of the animal economy; more rapidly in the less solid parts; less so in those that are more fixed. The fibres of the flesh may change more quickly than those of the tougher ligaments; and these again, more quickly than the material of the bones. All, however, are changing with greater or less rapidity; and, after a certain interval, the change is probably complete. The man nevertheless continues the same. His soul is the same; for its consciousness is not interrupted. His body is the same, for its organization is unaltered; or, at least, it undergoes no alteration but that which may reasonably be ascribed to the wear of the mechanism, independently of the substitution of new particles in

the place of the original ones. Let us then imagine the change which is actually effected in the course of time to be miraculously accomplished in an instant,—we should, then, have the *same* body without one of the *same* component parts: and this is precisely what we may imagine to take place at the Resurrection; with this modification of the hypothesis, that the body though still identical, will be inconceivably refined and improved.

That this process of refinement and glorification will not affect the identity of the body can readily be imagined. We experience something of the same kind every year, and almost every day. Every one is more or less acquainted with the transition, whether gradual, or comparatively sudden, from languor and dullness to vigour and alacrity. We, sometimes, “feel a pinion lifting every limb:” our frame seems to be endowed with new powers, and all this without any thing like a disturbance of its identity. An alteration somewhat similar in kind, —though beyond all imaginable measure, superior in degree,—may, possibly, be exemplified, when our vile body shall be changed into the likeness of the glorified body of our Saviour.

But to revert to the mere elements of the bodily fabric. The supposition that the corporeal integument in which we expire must, grain for grain, be the same with which we are to rise, is loaded with difficulties almost insurmountable. When an individual dies, his body crumbles into dust. This dust may, by a thousand accidents, be dispersed to regions far distant from the place of dissolution; till, at last, some portions of it may find their way into the bodies of other men: and these men, in their turn, may be dissolved, before such portions have been separated from their own bodies. And if so, at the period of the Resurrection there might be different claimants—(if we may so express it)—to the same portion of dust. And it is difficult to see how these claims are to be adjusted, on the hypothesis, that the body with which men are raised is, in every particle, to be rigidly the same as that which was deposited in the sepulchre, or swallowed by the sea, or engulfed in the maws of vultures and of kites.

It is probable, that many may have derived their opinions on this matter from the language of our creeds, rather than from the language of Scripture. Those formularies, it is true, speak of “the resurrection of the body, or, of the flesh.” But it should be remembered that this is a phrase which does not once occur in the Bible. The Bible, indeed, speaks repeatedly of the *resurrection of the dead*; and it affirms that our *vile body* shall be *changed*,* and that, at the resurrection we shall not be *unclothed*,

* 2 Cor. v. 1—4.

but clothed upon; that is, the soul shall not be, then, as it were in a state of nakedness, but shall be invested with a material and bodily tabernacle. But *with what body* we shall be raised is nowhere precisely declared. When therefore our creeds speak of "the resurrection of the body," they must be understood to do so in opposition to those heresies which treated the resurrection as a mere figure, and held the soul to be immortal in a state of separation from the body. It was maintained, for instance, by the Manicheans, that, even the resurrection of Christ himself was nothing more than his deliverance from sin; and the same reasoning would, of course, be extended to all who are to be made like unto him. St. Chrysostom, accordingly, sets himself to oppose this perversion. 'It is asked'—he says—'how it follows that, if our bodies are not raised, we have hope in Christ in this world only; seeing that, whether our bodies be raised or not, the soul will survive and be immortal?' And to this he replies, 'Because, even if the soul does survive, and even if it should be a thousand times immortal,—(καὶν μυριάκις ἀθάνατος ἦ)—it never can receive its unspeakable rewards and punishments apart from the body. If, therefore, the body rise not, the soul will lose its crown of happiness and glory in heaven. And, in that case, our hopes of retribution must be confined to this life: and then, who so miserable as the followers of the cross?'* It is true that this Father here speaks of the raising of our bodies. But his argument, evidently, requires nothing more than that the soul should hereafter be united to some bodily frame, since, without such union, it would be in no condition to profit or to suffer by the sentence of retribution.

The expressions of Chrysostom in this passage are very remarkable. They seem to show that, in those days, men were no strangers to the notion, that a bodily mechanism may be necessary to the activity of the soul; that the immaterial principle within us may be incapable of developing its powers without the instrumentality of a material apparatus. It lends a powerful support to the speculations of the Country Pastor, who says:—"It seems to me not improbable, that the change which shall take place in the body may be, itself, the appointed means for bringing about a change in the powers and tendencies of the mind." (p. 113.) This conjecture, it appears to us, is in perfect accordance with the soundest metaphysical principles. What would become of the spirit of man, if it were consigned to a body destitute of the organs of sight, of hearing, and of feeling? How could the powers of thought expand themselves if there were no

* Chrysost. Homil. xxxix. in 1 Cor. xv. 19, p. 365, 366, Ed. Bened.

instruments of sense? What then could be the condition of the soul, if it were altogether unconnected with a corporeal frame? On the other hand, what might not be the expansion of its energies if it were invested with a body more perfect than the present; if it were endowed with additional implements of sensation, and thus provided with ampler means of knowledge. For any thing we can know, there may be faculties latent in every human soul which would be called forth into exercise by a more complete and extended structure of bodily organs. If it be true, that thought originates in sensation,—or, rather, that without the impulse of sense, the powers of reflection would never have been awakened into any activity at all,—it may likewise be true, that by an addition to the means of perception, the faculty of thought may be awakened to an activity prodigiously more intense, that the mental capacities may be wonderfully invigorated and exalted, and its resources enlarged beyond our present powers of imagination. Neither is it unreasonable to conjecture, that, by some improvement in the structure of the brain, a vast additional compass may be given to the powers of reason, and judgment, and fancy,—in short to the whole intellectual energy of the man. All this, indeed, is too far removed from certainty to enter into our scheme of *faith*: but it is quite in harmony with the most enlightened philosophy of the human mind. And though we should deprecate any attempt to press religion and philosophy into an alliance offensive and defensive, it cannot be otherwise than agreeable and interesting to see the truths of religion and the principles of science, shedding light upon each other. The result of the whole then is this:—It *may* be the sole and incommunicable privilege of the Supreme Intelligence himself, to exercise mental activity without the slightest communion with matter; and the aid of material organs, more or less refined, *may* be absolutely needful towards the development of the intellectual capacities in all created beings, without exception. And if this be so, the argument of Chrysostom will be just: and immortality itself would not, in that case, confer on the spirit of man a capacity for punishment or reward. For this purpose, its connection with *some* bodily frame may be absolutely indispensable: but it never can follow from these premises that the needful corporeal structure should possess, numerically, the same specific atoms which composed the earthly tabernacle. Nothing more can be required in the glorified fabric than this,—that it “should belong to the same soul,—convey feelings and perceptions to the same mind—and obey the directions of the same will.”

We now pass on to the seventh Lecture, which opens upon a wide and mysterious tract,—namely, the Restoration of the Jews,

and the Millennium ! a region in which, at this moment, prophets are prophesying, and dreamers are dreaming, and seers are seeing, with all their might : a province, which actually presents the appearance of a Limbo, where wild spirits of every class, and colour, and complexion, seem to be gambolling and taking their pastime : a holy and awful space, where angels, probably, would tread with caution ; but into which certain intelligences, of a somewhat different order, have of late been rushing without remorse, and are there careering, and vaulting and tumbling after a fashion that might make the angels either smile,—or weep ! It must, really, demand some nerve for any sober-minded inquirer to venture into the midst of this scene, occupied, as, of late, it has been, by performers whose brain appears to be in a state of such perilous calenture, and whose evolutions seem occasionally to be as vigorous, and about as edifying, as those of a rotatory Dervise ! The Country Pastor, however, marches, with wonderful sedateness, into the midst of these apparitions, quite as unmoved as if they were, in truth, nothing more than *tenués sine corpore vite*. And he proceeds with his inquiries, just as if the ground were wholly unencumbered with a crowd of wild fantastic and adventurous intruders.

Any attempt to follow the author throughout his investigations would lead us into far too wide a field of theological discussion. We must therefore confine ourselves to one or two points. The notion that the saints or faithful Christians are to take a share in the solemnity of the general judgment, is the first object of his examination. This opinion, it is well known, is founded, chiefly, on that obscure passage in 1 Cor. vi., *Know ye not that we shall judge angels?* With respect to these words, he justly remarks, that *the saints*, here referred to, must be no other than *Christians, generally*,—so called because they are dedicated or consecrated to Christ by baptism ; and that consequently there can be no reason for concluding that this office of *judging* will be confined to persons who are distinguished from the rest by their eminence in piety and holiness. He next observes that the Apostle is evidently alluding, not to some future proceeding, but to one already begun, and then going on ; the sense being, according to the best copies of the original,—not the saints *shall judge*, but that they *are actually judging*. This reading, however, is hardly established with sufficient certainty, to make it the ground of any confident interpretation. Chrysostom, to whose authority he appeals for the true sense of the passage, reads it in the future (*κρίνουντι*). Be it, however, future, or be it present,—that Father certainly had no conception that the expression was used by the Apostle to indicate that the saints were to be as-

sessors on the final judgment seat. "They are not," he says, "to sit in judgment, and to examine—but they are to condemn: and this is the Apostle's meaning, when he says, 'if in you the world is judged, shall ye be unworthy to judge the smallest matters?—for his words are, not *by you*, but, *in you*'—(that is, in your persons and lives)—"as when it is said, the Queen of the South, and the men of Nineveh, shall rise in judgment against this generation So shall we condemn the world by our deeds."* As to *judging angels*, Chrysostom informs us that some imagined this to point to the right of Christians to judge, or censure, corrupt and unworthy priests, (who are sometimes supposed to be distinguished by the term ἄγγελοι); but this notion he, somewhat contemptuously, rejects; and maintains that the only persons indicated are the apostate spirits, alluded to by our Saviour, in the words, *Depart into the fire prepared for the Devil and his angels*. Such is the interpretation given by Chrysostom, and adopted by the Country Pastor. We cannot pronounce it to be very satisfactory: but, in truth, we have none better to offer in its stead. All therefore that we shall say of it is, that it is immeasurably preferable to that which represents the elect and sainted Christians as admitted to a share in the administration of divine justice; a notion to which nothing short of the most express declaration of Scripture could well reconcile us.

The next thing to be disposed of is the fancy that there will be a resurrection of pious Christians previous to the *general* resurrection. That this notion should have been extracted from 1 Thess. iv. 16, is an instance of the propensity which some people feel for the ingenious, but extremely perilous, exercise of poisoning a vast and overhanging theory upon very narrow foundations. The original says, οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ ἐγερθήσονται ΠΡΩΤΟΝ: evidently signifying nothing more than this—that, when our Lord shall appear, and the voice of the archangel shall be heard, and the trumpet of God shall sound, the first thing that shall take place, will be the raising of the *dead in Christ*; and that then, the living Christians—(ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες)—shall be caught up together with them: an explanation rendered necessary by the doubts of the Thessalonians, whether those who remained alive would not *prevent*, or have precedence of, those who were *asleep*. The text 1 Cor. xv. 23, 24, is disposed of with equal facility. The resurrection of Christ bears the same relation to that of be-

* Κρινοῦσι δὲ, οὐκ αὐτοὶ καθήμενοι καὶ λόγον ἀπαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατακρινοῦσι· τοῦτο γοῦν δηλῶν ἔλεγε, —καὶ εἰ ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται ὁ κόσμος, ἀνάξιοί ἐστε κριτηρίων ἐλαχίστων; οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ἢ ὑμῶν, ἀλλ', ἐν ὑμῖν. ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ, . . . Βασιλίсса νότου ἀναστήσεται, καὶ κατακρινεῖ τὴν γένεαν ταύτην· καὶ ἀνδρες Νινευῖται ἀναστήσονται, καὶ κατακρινοῦσι τὴν γένεαν ταύτην. . . . κατηγορήσομεν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτῶν ὧν ἐπραξαμεν . . . κ.τ.λ.—Chrys. Homil. xvi. in 1 Cor. vi. Ed. Bened. p. 137.

lievers, that the first fruits of the harvest bear to the harvest itself. And when the harvest has been gathered in, all is over—*then cometh the end.*

But what shall we say to Revel. xx. 21.? Just what every sober-minded expositor says. It was expressly predicted that Elias should come. And accordingly Elias was expected in person. But yet the chariot of fire never revisited the earth! There came indeed the spirit of Elias; for there came one in whom Elias seemed to live and breathe again. Even so is it intimated that the martyrs of Jesus are to live and reign with Christ one thousand years, and that the rest of the dead are not to live again until the thousand years are finished. Well then—what if a period should come, during which the spirit and energy of the ancient martyrs should be revived, and this period should immediately precede the consummation of all things?—will not this be as complete an accomplishment of the words of the Apocalypse, as the appearance of the Baptist was of the words of Malachi?

This reasonable view of the matter is ably supported and illustrated by the Country Pastor at considerable length. But though we are disposed to admit his conclusions, we are not quite prepared to acquiesce in the soundness of all his collateral reasonings. For instance, he tells us that if Elias had actually reappeared in his flaming equipage, men must have been “forced into belief.” This may be so; but we cannot be quite sure of it. We are always rather afraid of speculating upon the probable effect of miraculous agency on the human mind. Its powers of resisting such evidence have, occasionally, proved themselves to be absolutely prodigious. The earth opened to swallow up a congregation of rebels; and we might well imagine that such a portent would, at least for a time, extinguish all *gainsaying*; and yet, the very next day the people were in rebellion against the minister of Jehovah. Our Lord raised the decaying body of Lazarus from the grave; and what was the consequence?—The unbelievers sought to put Lazarus to death again! But why should we multiply examples, when our Lord himself hath told us, that the dead would rise in vain to preach to men of hardened and impenitent hearts? The truth is, that pride, or prejudice, or selfishness in any intense form, will do for the human mind what the plunge into water does for heated iron, it will convert it into steel. And we have no reason to be perfectly confident that, while *in this state*, it would not be able to repel the force of any imaginable evidence, whether ordinary or miraculous,—to resist any thing, in short, but the penetrating and softening influences of God’s sovereign grace. The appearance of Elias, in his flaming chariot, might, indeed, have overpowered the principle of unbelief in a

multitude of hearts ; but we are by no means prepared to admit, as a matter of course, that it would have *forced* ALL MEN into belief. We must know more of human nature than we now do, to take this as an affair of absolute certainty.

Again, the author objects to any interpretation of Scripture which seems to promise to the saints a long interval of earthly grandeur and enjoyment. Such interpretation, he conceives, exhibits the dispensations of God as absolutely retrograde, instead of being steadily progressive. And unquestionably there is much reason and sobriety in his estimate of all such visions. They seem to belong neither wholly to heaven above, nor to earth beneath: and, of all who entertain them, it might, perhaps, without any crying injustice, be said, as Crabbe says of the Swedenborgians, that

“ Their earth is crazy, and their heaven is base !”

But then the Country Pastor adds, that if Christ were thus to reign in person among his saints on earth, there would be this insurmountable difficulty and embarrassment—that by far the greater portion of his subjects would be withheld from the privilege of personal access to him;—that his local presence on any one spot would exclude all but a very few from the benefits and blessings connected with his diffused influence throughout the whole body of believers. Now here, we cannot help thinking that the license of speculation is somewhat too rampant. We are far from contending for the probability of a personal reign of the Saviour, like that which brightens the dreams of many an adventurer in prophecy. But then, on the other hand, we do not, by any means, feel ourselves in a condition to affirm, that if any such kingdom were distinctly announced in Scripture, means might not be found of providing for all the difficulties which may appear to us to be incident to such a dispensation. We may indeed be unable to discern or to imagine how the personal presence, and visible dominion, of Jesus Christ could be reconciled with the universality of his religion, and with all the relations in which he stands towards the human race. But this inability would furnish no safe ground for rejecting a revelation, in which such a state of things should be clearly predicted. And if so, it can scarcely be produced as a conclusive reason for positively rejecting any interpretation of Scripture which points to such a condition.

Once more—we are not quite satisfied that much weight is due to another consideration, which is adverted to by the author, though in a slight and cursory manner—namely, that the *day of the Lord is to come as a thief in the night*; whereas the restora-

tion of Jerusalem, and all the accompaniments of a secular millennium, would announce *the day of the Lord* with such ‘pomp and circumstance’ as would amount to an irresistible warning of its approach. Even if it were conceded that such might be the effect, we do not quite perceive how the difficulty is to be entirely got rid of, by the other supposition. An interval of visible and worldly splendour might, indeed, seize more forcibly upon the senses: but yet, it is not easy for us to imagine, how a period of primitive holiness and purity could fail to give a powerful intimation to all, who should look for such a state of things as prelude to the final consummation. A mighty outpouring of the spirit of Christ would produce results apparently little less than miraculous, when compared with the previous condition of the Church: and if such an effusion were universally expected, it might, for any thing we can now discern to the contrary, proclaim very intelligibly that the dispensations of God were drawing towards their completion.

We are anxious to have it understood, that these remarks are not directed against the more sober scheme of exposition, but merely against too much confidence in our own estimate of probabilities. In our apprehension, speculations such as the above, add but a questionable support to arguments against a literal interpretation of the Scriptures relating to the millennium. The most irresistible objection to it, we think, is derived from the considerations, that no prophecy interprets itself—that it becomes us to wait for the event before we confidently venture to pronounce on the *mind of the Spirit* which prompted the prediction—and that whenever we presume to search into the meaning of the prophetic Scriptures, it is much safer to look back to prophecies which have received their accomplishment, for guidance to the just interpretation of those whose fulfilment is yet to come, than to rely on the suggestions of our own unassisted sagacity.

We introduce here the following passage from this Lecture, because it seems to contain the germ of Mr. Hinds’s recent speculations “on the three Temples.”

“The universality of Christ’s kingdom forbids such a notion”—(the notion of Christ’s personal reign on earth for a thousand years,)—“God thought fit of old to manifest himself to one peculiar nation. His ‘glory,’ or Shechinah, by which he manifested himself to Moses in the bush and at Mount Sinai, dwelt afterwards in the Temple at Jerusalem, to which all his worshippers were commanded to resort. It was the place to which the Lord had chosen to set his name there; 2 Chronicles vi. and vii. (that is, his manifestation.) Next he was ‘manifest in the flesh,’ (1 Timothy iii. 16.) in Christ, who was the Emmanuel, ‘God

with us.' This presence or manifestation of God was no longer confined to one spot. Jesus Christ '*went about doing good,*' (Acts x. 38.) and preaching the Gospel. This was a second stage in the gradual extension of God's presence. But as it was expedient that of the Temple at Jerusalem, '*not one stone should be left upon another,*' (Mark xiii. 2; Luke xix. 44.) so it was also '*expedient,*' that even Jesus, (the second Temple,) (John ii. 19—21.) '*should go away*' from his disciples, (John xvi. 7.) that He might '*come again unto them,*' (John xiv. 28.) in a third manifestation, that of the Holy Spirit dwelling in the Church, (that is, the whole body of Christians,) which is thence called '*the Temple of the Holy Ghost,*' (1 Corinthians vi. 19.) Why was this '*expedient*?' Evidently because an individual man, as Jesus was, could not be constantly approached by all Christians in all parts of the world. Had He remained on earth even to this hour, there must have been millions who could never have come near him. Whereas his presence in the Spirit renders him universally accessible by all alike: for He has promised, that '*where two or three are gathered together in his name, there He is in the midst of them.*' (Matthew xviii. 20.) And thence it is that he told the woman of Samaria that the time was at hand when men should neither at Jerusalem, nor on Mount Gerizim, worship the Father, but should worship Him in Spirit and in truth: (John iv. 21, 22.) that is, not through the means of any outward *emblem* or *sign* of his presence, such as the sacred flame or Shechinah, but in the *truth* or *reality* of his nature, as a '*Spirit*,' present everywhere equally in the soul or spirit of his faithful servants."—pp. 173—175.

We have here, as it were in a seminal form, the whole theory which has of late been exhibited in full-blown developement by the publication of Mr. Hinds. We have already offered our own thoughts on this subject in the last Number of this Journal; and we have no intention to task the patience of our readers by any recurrence to it. The brief statement of the doctrine contained in the above passage, would probably be very innocent in its effects upon the worthy parishioners of Halesworth. They are, of course, in profound ignorance of the fiery language in which ecclesiastical history speaks of the opinions of Sabellius;* and scarcely can have eyes to discern the family likeness which the speculations of their Pastor are by some supposed to bear to the notions of that celebrated heresiarch.

The 8th Lecture, on Rewards and Punishments, does not call for any particular remark. It is very sober, very sensible, and calculated to be very useful. It exhibits, however, one instance of the amusing complacency with which the Country Pastor

* — δόγματος ὄντος ἀσεβοῦς, καὶ βλασφημίαν πολλὴν ἔχοντος περὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ἀπιστιὰν τὴν πολλὴν ἔχοντος περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος Λόγου ἀναισθησίαν τε τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.—Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vii. c. 6. Reading's Ed. vol. i. p. 326.

sometimes mounts a little hobby of a proposition, and canters away upon it,—in full confidence of its soundness and sureness of foot,—out of the heat and dust of a perplexing dispute. A chapter on retribution naturally enough involves the consideration of the eternity of future punishment; and the eternity of punishment introduces the question of the perfect benevolence of the Deity; and the mention of the Divine benevolence brings us at once to the very gorge of that inextricable labyrinth of difficulties, the existence of evil under the Divine government. And here the Pastor steps in and tells us, most truly, that we shall do wisely not to set our foot within the precincts of this bewildering region, in which all mortal sagacity is sure to be lost. But then, not content with giving us this good caution, he mounts his poney and leads us the way by which we are to effect our escape. The phenomenon in question, he tells us, is a mystery we cannot explain, the main difficulty being, not the *amount* of evil, but the existence of *any* EVIL *at all*. Now this is a proposition which we have often mounted ourselves; and we must honestly confess that we never found it carry us *quite* so safely and comfortably as it does the Country Pastor. In plain language, it is a consideration which may silence the inquirer, but never can afford him the slightest satisfaction. A man, for instance, feels his spirit almost crushed within him, by the thought that the whole creation is groaning and travailing under the bondage of misery and corruption; and then comes the Country Pastor, and says to him,—why should your spirit be oppressed by the *amount* of evil actually existing in the world? Only consider—if your finger were to ache for five seconds during your whole life, temporal or eternal, and all the rest of your existence were to be passed in bliss unutterable, the difficulty would remain just the same; for we can no more understand why a man's finger should ache, even for *one* second, than we can understand why a whole world should be well nigh bursting with sin and wretchedness! The inquirer might, perhaps, find it very difficult to answer this. But we suspect he would find it at least equally difficult to derive from it the slenderest consolation to his heart, or satisfaction to his understanding. He might resort in vain to his stores of logic for a reply; but he would nevertheless find, we imagine, something whispering him, that the reduction of the difficulty to an almost infinitesimal amount, would make it, in effect and practice, no difficulty at all; and he might hence, possibly, be led to suspect that *any considerable* reduction of it would proportionably relieve the pressure upon his faith.

For ourselves, indeed, we are free to declare, that we have some doubts whether an argument of this breed is more sure of

foot than it is easy of pace; or rather, perhaps, we should say that it appears to us to be a sort of vicious, headstrong, run-away argument, which, when once it sets off, its rider will never be able to stop! If no imaginable diminution of the existing evil would lighten the trial to our understandings, neither would any conceivable aggravation of the evil augment it. If the difficulty starts up into its full stature and gigantic strength, the instant that one atom of evil makes its appearance, the atom might swell to a mountain, the mountain to a world, and yet the dimensions and the power of the difficulty would remain the same. In that case, it might be maintained, that the suffering, and the wickedness, and the confusion, which at present deform and distract the creation, might be augmented ten-thousand-fold;—nay, that the life of every sentient and moral being in it might, with slender intervals, be a continued scene of unutterable anguish—and yet that the faith of a reasonable man could still have no greater burden to endure than it has now. An aching finger, and a universe of wretchedness, would demand precisely the same submission of our understandings—neither more nor less. We protest that it would be quite beyond our skill to *stop* the argument in its career to this conclusion; and, as we conceive that conclusion to be exceedingly comfortless and appalling, we altogether decline the adventure. The rough-riding courage and vigour of the Country Pastor may, perhaps, enable him to jerk the bit out of its teeth, and to bring it up upon its haunches: to his training, therefore, we must turn over such of our readers as may have any passion for the enterprize.

The 9th and 10th Lectures relate to the condition, society, and occupation of the blest. We find in them nothing to blame, and much to commend. They present the common-places connected with the subjects plainly and forcibly; and they peel off, gently and skilfully, the plastering with which popular error has, in some parts, miserably debased and disguised it. It is not at all unnatural that, when we speak of Heaven to men, whose thoughts have been fixed upon the clods beneath their feet, they should immediately begin to think of some place up in the clear blue sky over their heads, above the region of clouds and fogs, and frost and snow; and far beyond the reach of rheumatism and catarrh. Notions like these adhered to the ancient mythological Elysium; nay, to the retreats of the deities themselves:

“ Apparent Divôm numen, sedesque beatæ,
 Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
 Conspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
 Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilis æther
 Integit, et largè diffuso lumine ridet.”—*Lucr.*

And it is probable that, to this day, the same notions are not wholly banished from the visions of many a Christian man. We accordingly find the Country Pastor taking much laudable pains to satisfy his people that when they speak or think of "going to heaven," they are not to imagine it to be a matter of course that they will mount to the region of the sun and the moon, and the stars. There may, indeed, be a good deal of Scriptural imagery, which, lightly and ignorantly considered, might appear to countenance these fancies: and it would be difficult to see how this could well be otherwise. Inspiration itself can only appeal to such conceptions and such knowledge as it finds in the human mind. It could convey no notion of celestial magnificence but by arraying and combining the elements within our contemplation into every form of grandeur and of brightness. It may, nevertheless, be of the deepest importance to take care that these images do not find their way into the region of our religious belief. A poor and unlearned man, for instance, may believe that when his spirit is released from the body, it shall have its abode among the visible luminaries of heaven. But then comes the smatterer in astronomy, and tells him, with a sneer of triumph, of the millions of miles which separate the bodies of our own system from each other—and of the vast and immeasurable gulf of space which is fixed between our system, and those numberless points of light which we ignorantly speak of as *differing from one another in glory*. And to all this, perhaps, the bewildered rustic listens with a stare of perplexity and dismay; and begins to think that, after all, there can be no such place either as heaven or hell; till, at last, his faith may be in danger of dissipation in the midst of the boundless scene which is suddenly opened to his understanding. It therefore cannot be superfluous to apprize him that the localities of our future condition are not proposed to us as objects of our faith—that the information conveyed to us by revelation on this subject is extremely indistinct—that the whole is left in a wise obscurity—that, probably, our faculties are, at present, incapable of any further notices than those which have been actually vouchsafed to us—that the *new heavens and new earth* which are promised may, for any thing we can know, constitute a dwelling not wholly dissimilar from that which is now occupied by mankind, though greatly improved in every thing that can minister to the happiness and comfort of its inhabitants. It may be, further, judicious to remind him, that we have no sufficient reason for imagining that the next life will be a state of inactive contemplation, or stationary repose. On the contrary, it *may* be a condition of intense and most pleasureable activity. The fulfilment of God's gracious will—the promotion of mutual happiness among the blest—a constant advancement in the knowledge of

the works of God—and a perpetual approximation towards the character of Christ; all these are objects fit to call forth the most fervid energies of an immortal spirit, and to make the heaven it inhabits a scene of incessant and delightful exertion. These topics, with various others of a similar stamp and tendency, are vividly insisted on by the author in the 9th and 10th Lectures, and can hardly have failed to elevate and to enlighten his congregation.

We now come to the last two Lectures, the 11th and 12th, which contain an abundance of most unquestionable matter, and some of a very different description. They are eloquent and urgent, as all pastoral lectures should be, against the insanity of trusting to a death-bed repentance. They expose, as all such ministrations should expose, the incredible artifices by which men contrive to effect a sort of compromise between this world and the next, and to persuade themselves that there is a certain routine of proceedings by which a man may prepare himself for death, just as people prepare themselves for a journey, or a remove. All this is exceedingly useful and commendable; and all this is executed by the Country Pastor with a minute and unsparing attention to particulars, which will allow no man to lose himself in vague generalities, or to escape the grasp of a direct application to his own case. In saying this, we are pronouncing no ordinary praise. We are, however, under the necessity of qualifying our encomium by adding, that there are one or two positions in this part of the work, which—(if we may venture, on so grave an occasion, to borrow the phraseology of brother Jonathan)—made us feel “pretty considerably queerish.” We hardly recollect to have experienced a qualm so very uncomfortable, as that, which has been occasioned by one or two of the ingredients in the compound now before us. Let us, however, proceed regularly with our analysis.

The Country Pastor, then, begins by enumerating various particulars which are supposed to constitute the *εὐδαιμονία*—the happy death—of a respectable man. In the first place, he is to have ample time to prepare for death, and to make his peace with God. Secondly—(and this item is nearly connected, and, indeed, almost identified with the first)—he is to be exempt from the calamity of a *sudden* death; that is, he is not to go off in a fit, or to be cut down by an accident: for any thing of this kind is a catastrophe which, inevitably, robs the dying man of the advantages of *preparation*. 3. When danger approaches, he must have distinct notice of it, a point usually considered as so essential, that it is often enforced in defiance of the remonstrances of the physician, who is generally more bent on calculating the effects of such disagreeable intelligence on the nerves

of the patient, than its beneficial operation on his immortal part. 4. He must enjoy the good offices of a religious minister, and if possible must receive the sacrament, and this though he may have habitually disregarded, during the period of health and activity, all invitation to approach the table of the Lord. 5. It is supposed that a previous life of vice and impiety furnishes no ground for dispensing with these preparations and solemnities, wherever they can be practised; and that, therefore, it is humane and expedient to allow, to condemned criminals a certain interval between their sentence, and their execution. 6. It is a blessed symptom, if the dying man expresses a full assurance of his own salvation: it being often received as an indubitable verity that a man must go to heaven if he expires with a conviction of his acceptance with God. 7. A calm exit is often regarded as a very promising and comfortable symptom. Surviving relatives are generally found to derive the greatest comfort from being able to declare that the deceased breathed his last without agony or struggle. The preceding period may have been one of severe and protracted suffering: but if the closing hours or moments were apparently serene and peaceful, it is presumed that the soul must have passed into the regions of repose and bliss. 8. Lastly, if the process above described is followed by interment in consecrated ground, and by the construction of a goodly monument over the ashes of the deceased, then—what doubt can there be, that the departed is not only to be numbered among those whose memorial is honoured on earth, but among those whose names are written in heaven?

Such are the circumstances which,—(as we presume, the experience of the Country Pastor informs him,)—constitute the most approved course of *preparation* and accompaniment for the great and awful change; and if all these circumstances happen to be combined in the death of the same individual, the case is thought to be peculiarly satisfactory; and—(as we once heard a *disconsolate* widow express it)—every thing is said to *go off very pleasantly!* If all this be so, it really is most afflicting to contemplate the secret dominion of so much superstitious vanity. Whenever such fancies as these exert their *fullest* influence, the Christian is to all essential purposes in a state of disguised popery. Sacerdotal absolution, and extreme unction themselves, can effect no delusion more unscriptural and pernicious. And yet we greatly apprehend that all this may be so, in some instances at least—and that much of it is so, in many instances. We fear that what is here described corresponds, in the main, but too accurately to “death’s common-place” in many a Christian community. We would willingly hope, however, that, *on the whole*, the represen-

tation is a little coloured and exaggerated. We confess that when we first looked upon the picture, it had *somewhat* of the effect of a caricature; and, to this moment, we cannot entirely divest ourselves of the impression. The anxiety for the solemnities of Christian burial—for instance—we greatly suspect to be, in most cases, no other than the manifestation of a feeling which seems to be a part of our very nature. There probably is no country under heaven where men are not prompted by some indestructible and almost instinctive emotion, to treat the dead with reverence and honour; and it must be something of a vile and brutalizing process which should materially weaken this natural impulse. The clay which has recently been tenanted by a reasonable soul, is invested with a sort of sacredness in the eyes of all who have not succeeded in extinguishing every religious impression, and in persuading themselves that their species is doomed to perish like the beasts. And hence it is that in all ages, and in all climes, every thing that is impressive in religion has, usually, been assembled to aid the solemnity of funereal rites. It was scarcely, therefore, to be expected, or to be desired, that even the grand truths of Christianity should stifle this powerful and almost universal feeling. It is vain to tell us that, when the spirit is fled, there remains nothing but dust and ashes; and that the ruins of the man are, from that moment, nothing more to the man himself, than the carcase of a dog that may be lying in the next ditch. This sage and philosophical representation will never silence the yearnings of nature, or suppress the horror with which we should see the reliques of those, whom we loved and venerated in their lives, consigned, after their death, to the *burial of an ass*. We question, therefore, whether the Country Pastor does not look somewhat too hardly and sternly on the anxiety which hallows the reliques of the departed by the prayers of the Church, and protects them from insult and molestation by a consecrated enclosure. All this, to say the least of it, is a tribute both to nature and to Christianity, which no amiable or Christian man would wish to see abolished. It may, indeed, be rendered worthless, or even hurtful, by superstitious perversion and abuse; but it may, also, be made a signal instrument of good to the survivors. There is, indeed, a philosophy which will look upon it with a cold and heartless smile; but the better philosophy of the Christian will treat it, not only with indulgence, but with respect, and almost with honour.

The fondness for monumental pomp is a part of the same feeling; often debased, indeed, with abundance of vanity and absurdity, but seldom wholly unredeemed by a mixture of more worthy and amiable principle. At all events, we can scarcely

persuade ourselves that it ever forms a prominent or considerable item in the aggregate of particulars, which are supposed to constitute a *happy death*! No living man in Christendom can, surely, be insane enough to imagine, for a moment, that the condition of the deceased is improved by this mark of honour; nor can it be conceived that the dying regard it as a matter of any real importance to their *future* interest or comfort. The practice of lavishing care and cost on works which only mark out the locality of decay and corruption, will scarcely, indeed, stand before the austere scrutiny of reason. But it is maintained by something still stronger than reason: sometimes by love which is strong as death;—sometimes by pride, which rises against the thought that the grave is no respecter of persons;—but never, surely, by superstitious infatuation gross enough to seek in it for a ground of substantial and hopeful consolation.

The other delusions which hover round the close of life are often much more pernicious; and these the Country Pastor is, accordingly, most anxious to chase away. He tells the poor and the afflicted, for instance, that poverty and affliction have nothing *meritorious* belonging to them,—nothing that can entitle us to acceptance with God; and this, it must be allowed, is an unquestionable verity. We doubt, however, whether it is one which is precisely fitted to meet the deception that actually besets the more ignorant children of adversity. They can seldom be so infatuated as deliberately to believe that their mere sufferings can invest them with a claim to acceptance; but it is very probable that they may be cheated by a sort of secret, vague, undefined persuasion that, since they have received their *evil things* in this life, they may possibly have something of a better chance of *good things* in the life to come; a notion not very unnatural, though, beyond all doubt, most dangerously erroneous. The proper and obvious corrective of it is supplied by the Pastor. Trials of every description will, assuredly, through the mediation of Christ, recommend a man to God's favour, provided they have been endured with the spirit which became a disciple of Christ. But then it must be remembered that the path of probation runs through the regions of prosperity as well as those of adversity, and that there is no reason to believe that the dangers of the latter course are, in reality, at all more desperate than those of the former. On the contrary, the gate of life is like the needle's eye to the prosperous and the wealthy. No such straitened entrance is expressly threatened to the needy. They are more frequently spoken of as heirs of the kingdom—not *because* they are poor in worldly goods—but because they are affluent in heavenly

ones; because they are *rich in faith*, and in other Christian graces.

But there is nothing which has called forth the energy and zeal of the Country Pastor so potently as the delusions which he supposes to be prevalent on the subject of *preparation for death*. The solemn notice of approaching dissolution—the summons to the minister of religion—the communion of the sick—the *getting up*, if we may so speak, of the whole process of *making our peace with God*—the resulting persuasion that all is well, and that the acceptance of the dying man is secured—the confidence occasionally derived by the survivors from a gentle termination of the final agonies—all these are unsparingly examined, and the delusion, which in some cases, they too surely work, is faithfully exposed. For this purpose, the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Bride-maids is, on the whole, judiciously and vigorously insisted on; and we are solemnly reminded that a time will come when it will be too late to seek for oil, either from our own exertions, or the bounty and favour of others.

We are tempted by the mention of this beautiful and impressive allegory, to pause for one moment, for the purpose of noticing how strangely and unhappily, the words of Christ himself were sometimes perverted, even in the earlier ages of the Church, to the establishment of false and essentially unscriptural notions; and this, not with any deliberate intention to patronize delusion, but purely with the view of animating the Christian to deeds becoming his profession. For the accomplishment of this purpose all the resources of rhetoric and of fancy were called forth, till, in the multitude of images and metaphors, the simplicity of Scriptural truth was, sometimes, well nigh forgotten.

“Hast thou,” says Chrysostom, “committed a multitude of grievous sins? What then?—thou hast not yet sunk into the grave! the spectacles are not yet closed—you are still in the stadium—and there you may repair your former disgraces and defeats. You are not where *Dives* was, with the impassable gulf before you! The bridegroom is not yet arrived—you may yet procure oil: *and many are those who sell it*,—the naked, the hungry, the captives, and the sick. The day of account is not yet come; tell the debtors to write fifty for a hundred. Lose not the opportunity of providing for your admission to the everlasting habitations. Or, at any rate, if this hath hitherto been neglected, *remember it on your death-bed. Your last will may bear witness for you; for there you may write Christ joint-heir with your children*. This, indeed, may show no mighty affection towards him; yet it is something. You may thus,—not perhaps occupy a distinguished rank, among the sheep; but, at all events, it is something, not to be numbered among the goats.” *

* Chrysost. Hom. xviii. in-Rom. Ed. Bened. vol. ix. p. 639.

We have here, evidently, the germ of the doctrine of meritorious works, the elements of that legerdemain by which the Papacy conveyed—(“convey the wise it call”)—the wealth of dying penitents into its own treasury. We are told, not only to procure oil before the approach of the bridegroom, but we have a strong encouragement to hope that it is not too late to procure it, even after the cry is heard, that *the bridegroom cometh*; for, even on our death-bed we can write Christ joint-heir with our children. And if this supply to our lamps does not send up a very brilliant light, it may at least be enough to save us from wandering into outer darkness! Not that the good Father really meant anything of all this. His words are those of an ardent and zealous orator, not those of a corrupt and unfaithful teacher; and, doubtless, his hair would have stood erect, and his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, could he have dreamed that statements such as these were aiding the gradual developement of a system of religious imposture. But this is the way in which corruption comes to “boil and bubble.” The warmth of an honest fancy first sets it a simmering; the bad passions are at hand to pile up combustibles, and to throw in vile ingredients: till, at length, the Holy Vessel of the Sanctuary is brought to resemble the cauldron described by the prophet, full of dross and scum. And then, what can purge away the abomination, but the breath of the Divine wrath, which shall blow upon the flame, till the filthiness be molten, and the scum consumed?

But to return to the author. His solicitude to guard against the evils of false confidence has betrayed him into some statements which, we apprehend, will be found considerably to disturb the digestion of the generality of Christian subjects. It is to these ingredients that we, ourselves, owe the qualmish sensations we have adverted to above: and we, therefore, hold it our duty to apprise the public of this peculiarity in his compound. He tells us, in short, that

“our appointed trial on earth consists in the experiment, how we shall conduct ourselves with the knowledge that we shall *certainly* die, but without the knowledge *when* :” from which, he says, “it follows inevitably, *that this our trial is at an end, as soon as ever this uncertainty is at an end; that is, as soon as ever we know that our death approaches.* At any rate our trial must then become one of a totally different kind—of a kind which the Scriptures do not mention at all, except to warn us of the danger of placing our hopes on it.”—p. 316.

Again—

“The appointed time for preparing is, while we have *no* warning of the immediate approach of death; our trial on earth being—(so far as is revealed to us)—how we shall behave in a state of uncertainty as to the

time of our death. It follows plainly that a man's trial is at an end—(at least that particular kind of trial on which, we have every reason to suppose, our final doom chiefly depends)—as soon as the uncertainty is at an end. *The warning given,—the knowledge conveyed to the man of his approaching death, by putting an end to his uncertainty, shortens by just so much, that trial which is appointed to be made in a state of uncertainty.* And the case of a man whose life had hitherto been irreligious or careless, which is just the one in which most persons would be particularly anxious to warn him of the approach of death, is the very case in which I should be most desirous to keep back such warning. I should be aiming, though by contrary means, at the very same end as they; namely, to give him as much time as possible for repentance. I should therefore be especially anxious to bring him to a right sense of religion before he was aware that his life was drawing to a close. For his repentance would *then* be of quite a different character, and, one may hope, might be the more likely to be accepted, when it was not extorted by the mere dread of approaching death, and when it was accompanied with an earnest resolution immediately to amend his life, and to devote to God the remainder of it; which he himself might expect to be, possibly, many years. This at least would be far different from that sort of resolution (though, properly speaking, it is rather a wish than a resolution) which many a one makes on his death-bed, to reform his life *if* it should be spared; though he had not entered on any such reform till he found that his life would most likely *not* be spared. It is true, in the case supposed just above, *we* are sure that the sick man has but a few days or hours to live; but since *he* (we are supposing) does not know but that he may live many years, his good thoughts, and resolutions, and efforts are not the less commendable: which they would be, if he knew his situation. His life, it is true, is not *actually* lengthened; he will not have, in fact, any opportunity of “bringing forth fruits meet for repentance;” but so long as he is not himself aware of this, there is something of virtue even in virtuous efforts and resolutions: and we may cherish a hope that they may be accepted as “fruits” (though imperfect fruits) “meet for repentance.”—pp. 324—326.

Well, what are we to say to all this? It has, at least, so far as we are informed, the merit of being original. Not that it is original to admonish sinners of the folly of putting off the business of repentance, as if it were an affair to which the remnants of life were peculiarly appropriated, and which would be prematurely commenced at any earlier period: for against this prodigy of infatuation some divines, at least, have been found to protest in all ages of the world, since the publication of the Gospel. But we believe it to be a notion entirely original, that the notice of approaching death should be put off as long as possible, lest it should inflict a positive injury on the sufferer, by abridging the period appointed for his probation, and thus reducing his chance of escape from the wrath to come. And if it be just, as well as

new, the most faithful and enlightened of those whose office it is to deal with the souls of men for their good, have, for ages,—though without suspecting it—been cutting short the space assigned by the mercy of God for the preparation of their people; and in numberless instances may be said to have darkened their hopes of salvation. This is somewhat appalling to think upon! It is, therefore, natural to hope and wish that there may be good reasons for hesitating to acquiesce in the *discovery*; and for believing, that the ancient and established practice is not quite so destructive as the statement of the Country Pastor would represent it. Let us therefore devote a few moments to the consideration of it.

If, then, we understand the Pastor rightly, on being called in to visit a dying man, he would avoid all intimation that his end was approaching. He would address him just as he would address a person labouring under any serious indisposition not likely to be fatal. He would urge him to a change of life and habits, on the ostensible supposition that he would have to encounter once more the temptations of the world. But then, it may be asked, to what extent would he carry on this system of reserve? Would he lay it aside at any period previous to the final struggle? or, would he persevere in it to the very last? If he says, that he would desist from concealment at a certain point—we, then, should ask him—why, and when, he would desist? If the concealment lengthens the period of trial, why should it ever be laid aside? or if there be a moment at which the fatal intelligence should be communicated, upon what principle are we to judge of its arrival? But if—on the other hand—he should avow that he would, in all cases, or in any case, persevere in concealment to the last, it is obvious that he would be *practically* maintaining that a death-bed repentance must be altogether worthless,—contrary to his own repeated admissions;—for he distinctly allows that no man can have a right to make any such assumption. What then is to be done by any minister, who should adopt his views? On one side is the fear of abridging the period of trial: on the other, the dread lest the sinner should be defrauded of the last faint chance of being awakened to penitence. What, in this perplexity, is the duty of the spiritual guide? Shall the flax be suffered to smoulder away before his eyes without a symptom of revival? or shall he try whether the breath of terror will, peradventure, find out some latent spark, and kindle it into flame?

One grand consideration by which the Country Pastor supports his principles is, that repentance is good for nothing if it does not involve a firm resolution of amendment, and that “one

who believes himself to be *dying* cannot properly be said to intend to lead a *new life*!"—(p. 331.) We have here another of those hard-mouthed unmanageable arguments upon which this author sometimes delights to get astride. It rushes, ungovernably, to the full extent of the inference,—(from which his own mind seems constantly to be shrinking back)—that the repentance of a dying man *can* be of *no* avail. It is indubitable, that a *dying* man cannot reform his *life*. Equally veritable it is, that a man who knows that he shall never leave his bed alive, can frame no resolution to effect such *actual* reform. And if such reformation, or such resolution, be, in all imaginable cases indispensable to the validity of repentance, of course, all thoughts of penitence must be nugatory, when once the near approach of dissolution is positively announced. Our reasoner, nevertheless, appears to believe that he can stop short of that conclusion. But how or where he is to stop short of it, it exceeds our sagacity to discover!

The question, after all that can be said, is,—not whether we are to encourage healthy people to rely on death-bed preparation for another life, (for as to this, no doubt can be entertained for a moment by any intelligent person who has ever thought for five minutes together, seriously and honestly, on the subject of religion)—but the question is, whether, when we have actually before us a dying, and hitherto careless or impenitent person, we are to conceal his condition from him, in the hope of lengthening the period of his probation. The Country Pastor says that we are. The voice and the practice of centuries has pronounced that we are not. And we apprehend that, without any bigotted attachment to usages, purely because they are ancient, we may pretty confidently pronounce that the authority of ages is, in this instance, right. Let us reflect a moment upon the case in question. A man who has never thought at all,—or who has thought but lightly and indistinctly, on religion—or who has rejected its power with a high hand—is seized with a mortal disorder, which threatens speedily to terminate his earthly existence. The period of trial, therefore, can by no management be prolonged beyond a few months—perhaps not beyond a few days. How then is the minister of religion to turn the remnant of life to the best account? By leaving the man in such ignorance of his danger, as may disarm all instruction and exhortation of their power?—or, by apprizing him, that his days are numbered, and that if he would make one effort towards reconciliation with God, not an instant is to be wasted? By the former mode of proceeding, precious days and hours may be lost. The prospect of emerging again into life and health may dissipate all the influences of religious ministration. The whisperings of the world may still be in

his ear, and may out-plead the voice of a Boanerges. But what if he is told that this world is about to close upon him? that a comparative span of time must determine whether he is to awake to peace and joy, or in the shadows of eternal death? Is there no hope that this dreadful summons will rouse him from spiritual apathy or delusion? The shock of sudden calamity is sometimes known to produce a revulsion in the frame of the mind which causes, eventually, a beneficial revolution in the whole character. And why may not the fearful intelligence, that the angel of death is hovering over his bed produce an effect on the sinner as beneficial as that which is sometimes witnessed, when adversity comes like a wind from the desert and smites the four corners of the dwelling? It is true that this last hope may fail. But if the sight of the grave opening beneath him fails to effect a change, what probability is there that the voice of instruction would effect it while the hope of prolonged existence was before his eyes? What, in truth, is the system of the Country Pastor for *lengthening the period of probation*, in such a case, but putting off from day to day the most promising and active means of spiritual recovery? What is it but trifling with the best hope that yet remains of saving a sinner from destruction?

But, then, it is said that the whole of life is the true season of preparation for death—that a process which begins in abject terror must always be very questionable—that no man can venture to pronounce whether the resolutions formed in prospect of death are such as would produce a reformation of life in case life should be spared. All this, and much more to the same purpose, is very true; and all this is pretty generally known and felt; and all this, too, furnishes the strongest possible reason for caution and faithfulness in dealing with the souls of men, on the eve of their departure. But what then? The writer himself allows that a death-bed affords the properest opportunity for preparation, when a man is actually *there*: and for this simple reason,—that it is the *only* opportunity then left him? and yet he would keep the man in ignorance that it *is* his dying-bed, and thus would deprive him of the strongest of all imaginable motives for making the best use of the remaining fragment of his mortal existence.

One word more, and we close our remarks on the Lectures of Dr. ——— (we crave pardon; but we were just about to write a name, which, somehow or other, is apt to rush to the tip of our pen, whenever we engage with speculations of a somewhat eccentric character:—we meant to say the Lectures of the *Country Pastor*.)—He tells us, that when once a man knows that he is going to die, he may still be in a state of trial; but then, it is a trial of a very different nature from that to which he is exposed

while life is uncertain. We confess that, to us, this is very far from satisfactory or intelligible. His trial is, to be sure, somewhat different from that of a man in full health and vigour, who has nothing in his present feelings to remind him that there is such a thing as death. But it is not very different from that of an aged man, who knows that, in the course of nature, his life must be speedily drawing to a close, and who is reminded of this circumstance by the decay of his faculties. The writer seems to imagine that the uncertainty of the individual as to the hour of his death constitutes the very essence of his ordinary probation; and that the instant which assures him that he has but a short time to live, transfers him to a state of trial entirely different from the former. The difference, however, seems to us to be one of degree rather than of kind. That death is absolutely certain, and must, therefore, be constantly approaching, is known to all. That it cannot be delayed much beyond 70 years is equally notorious. And few persons are ignorant that it is seldom deferred so long. What, then, does the spiritual minister say to the dying man?—"The interval between you and death,—which you always knew to be limited, and constantly decreasing,—is now very brief. Your moral probation, therefore, now assumes a character of peculiar urgency. Before this period you may have imagined that you had time enough, and to spare. I now apprise you that you have not an instant to lose. Your negligence during your former period of trial has environed you, in this last remnant of it, with imminent peril and difficulty. What may be the event I cannot confidently say. But this I know,—that even if the gates of mercy are yet open,—nothing but a vigorous and devoted application of the powers 'yet spared to you, will ever enable you to enter in.' Is this the language of reason and sobriety or is it not? Are we to speculate upon the difference between the *sort* of probation which precedes notice of death, and that which follows it, until we have let slip the best, perhaps the only promising chance of awakening the dying sinner to the necessity of, at least, *attempting* to make his peace with God?

At the end of this volume is a note to the twelfth Lecture, adverting to the various interpretations, given to that part of the parable of the bridal virgins, which represents them all, the wise as well as the foolish, as slumbering while the bridegroom tarried. It is needless to dwell on these exertions of ingenuity. In all probability the circumstance is introduced merely as a part of the picture. An allegorical painting would naturally exhibit a variety of circumstances perfectly harmonizing with the scene represented, but not necessary in themselves to the completeness of the moral. The same may be the case with allegorical narratives: and there

is no reason to doubt that it often *is* the case in those short scriptural allegories, usually called Parables. If however we *must* seek for a moral application of the slumbers of the attendant Virgins, we may, perhaps, reasonably enough consider it as type of the imperfect watchfulness even of the sincerest and most zealous Christians, when the thoughts of death and judgment are excluded for a season. No human being can have his mind constantly, intently, and directly fixed on the coming of the Saviour. The maidens in the parable were bound to be prepared for the coming of the bridegroom; but they were not bound to occupy every moment of the interval in watching for his appearance. The actual difference between them was, that some had made the due preparation for it, and that others had not. And, in the same manner, there are certain seasons when the attention of all men may lawfully and safely be diverted from the immediate contemplation of heavenly things; but the difference between the *wise* and the *foolish* is this—that the *wise* are in a state of *habitual* preparation; the *foolish* either think nothing about preparation, or defer it till it is too late.

ART. II.—*An Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age, in Eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in the Year 1829, at the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury.* By the Rev. Edward Burton, D. D. Regius Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church. Oxford, Parker. London, Rivingtons. 1829. 8vo.

IN Modern Divinity we have scarcely perused any work more fully saturated with learning, or which reminds us more forcibly of those “giants of old time” who wrote what we, puny sciolists! scarcely find leisure to read, than the volume which Dr. Burton has now presented to the public. He has chosen an obscure subject for his investigation, one on which we possess fewer guides than, perhaps, on any other in the wide range of Church History; and it may fairly be said that he has handled almost every clue which the authors either of antiquity or of later days afford him, and that he has not left any portion of his field unexplored or at least unattempted.

The result of Dr. Burton’s labours, however, may not be altogether quite commensurate with the great diligence and sagacity which he has employed upon them. It would be engaging on far too subtle a question, if we were to inquire whether much *practical* benefit is to be expected from the peculiar course which he has trodden? Whether the dark passages in which he has been

shrouded and entombed can hope in the end to lead us into much light? We shall therefore confine our remarks on this head rather to the *form* than to the *substance* of his work, commencing by a fact which embodies the sum of our objections. The Lectures occupy 253 pages; the notes, printed much more closely and in a smaller type, fill 341! and we are assured in the Introduction that they might "have been extended to a much greater length"! The blame of this most disproportionate overlaying of the web by its embroidery is thrown upon the union of the two not easily compatible tasks required from a Bampton Lecturer: but may it not more honestly be referred to an error in judgment respecting the matter which that Lecturer has selected for his theme?

"He has to engage the attention of a congregation during eight Sermons which are orally delivered: and afterwards these same Sermons are to appear in a printed book. It is obvious that the style and method which might be suited to one of these purposes may not be adapted to the other. If one of them is exclusively attended to, there is a chance of the other being unsuccessful: or if the author aim at both, he may probably fail in both."

This argument would go very far to prove that no sermon which has been preached will bear to be printed; and yet it can scarcely be necessary to remind so well read a Divine as Dr. Burton, how many of our ablest theologians have directed themselves with equal success at the same time both to the eye and to the ear, and *that* on abstruse subjects. The cold and compressed metaphysics of Sam. Clarke indeed could scarcely extort much attention when delivered from the pulpit, valuable as they may be to a certain class of minds in the closet; but we need turn only to the pages of Horsley (to name but a single man among many others,) if we seek for examples of the method of conveying deep, critical learning or reasoning not familiar to common apprehension, in a form and language which shall attract as well as instruct.

"The subject which I have chosen," continues Dr. Burton, "is one which calls for an elaborate investigation in almost every page. To have introduced all my materials into the body of my Lectures would have been quite incompatible with the prescribed and ordinary length of such Discourses. *The point which I have chosen for discussion is one which ought to have been treated as a consecutive and connected history.*"

Nothing farther can be required than this frank admission—*habemus confitentem reum*. Seeing the great difficulty, the absolute impossibility, of compressing his extensive stores within the narrow compass of Eight Lectures, why did not Dr. Burton choose a more adequate frame-work for their exhibition? In the

present distribution of his Work, the reader is perpetually distracted from the Text to the Notes, if he attempts to follow the advice of the author by reading them together; an advice to which few, perhaps, will have the patience to defer for more than a single Lecture. Instead of advancing to the facts and conclusions by a regular train of arguments and evidence, we jump at once to the deduction and are afterwards led back to the premises; having taken the citadel by storm, we are compelled to turn round to sap and mine the outworks. It is needless to say how incompatible with perspicuity is this *hysteron proteron* collocation; how languidly the mind reverts to the slow process of unravelment after the knot has been already cut for it; how reluctantly the husbandman would trench, and plough, and harrow in a difficult and stony soil, if he were to find the harvest ripen spontaneously to his hand.

*Quod sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crederat
Sponte sua, satis id placaret pectora donum.*

Dr. Burton must therefore pardon the conclusion at which we have arrived after a diligent perusal of his Work; a conclusion which results indeed from a very high estimate of its value and importance, and from a regret that in its present cumbrous and inconvenient form it can scarcely hope to have that value fully and generally appreciated. *It ought to be entirely recast.* The materials newly arranged would thus go far to supply that want in our National Literature of which Dr. Burton very justly complains, and to extinguish his regret "that no Ecclesiastical Historian has appeared in our own Country who has given a full and particular account of the progress of the Gospel in the early Ages of the Church." Such a Work would be worthy of the profound and varied erudition which Dr. Burton brings to its achievement, and most gladly should we hear that he had undertaken it from the elements afforded by his present volume.

Having despatched this most ungrateful portion of our task, we turn with infinitely greater pleasure to the far more agreeable duty of putting our readers in possession of an outline of Dr. Burton's Lectures. More than this we can scarcely promise, for as there is scarcely a page in them which might not provoke an essay, it would be manifestly unjust to the great merits of the learned author if we were to seize upon one or two prominent points to the utter omission of all others.

"The inquiry, which I propose to institute, would be useful, if it merely enabled us to understand these passages, and if it only increased our materials for illustrating the Scriptures. But a knowledge of the heresies of the apostolic age becomes highly important, if not highly essentially necessary, when we look to the controversies, which in later

times have agitated the Christian church. It has been said, and the bold assertion has been repeated in our own day, that the Unitarian doctrines were the doctrines of the primitive church. It has been asserted with a positiveness, which ignorance alone can rescue from the charge of wilful mistatement, that the Ebionites, who believed Jesus to be a mere man, were not spoken of as heretics by the earliest Fathers. If these assertions be true, the pillars of our faith are shaken even to the ground. Names of party are always to be deprecated, and never more so than in religion. But where sects exist, they must have names; and if the statements of the Unitarians be true, the orthodox and the heretical must change their ground; we are no longer built upon the foundation of apostles and prophets; with shame and with reproach we must take the lowest room; we must retire—in the company indeed of Fathers and of Councils, those venerable names, which have adorned and spread the doctrine of God our Saviour—we must retire, not even to the rear of that host which fights under the banners of the Lamb; but we must range ourselves in the ranks of the enemy, with those who have corrupted and perverted the pure word of truth; and the charge of heresy, with all the woes denounced against it, must fall upon ourselves. In the name therefore of Truth, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the sake of our own souls and of those who will succeed us, let us go to the fountain from whence the living waters flow, let us see who they were that with unhallowed hands polluted its holy stream: let us learn, whether we are now drinking it pure and undefiled, or whether we have *hewed out broken cisterns, that can hold no water.*”—p. 7.

After proposing the subject, Dr. Burton, in a passage of considerable eloquence, states its present uses. He then notifies that the inquiry will be especially directed to the illustration of passages in the Gospels and Apostolical writings which bear reference to the early Heresies; and in his First Lecture he yet further clears the ground before him, by an able explanation of the term *Heresy* itself, carefully distinguishing between its ancient and modern usage.

“Before we proceed further, it is perhaps necessary that we should come to a right understanding of the term *heresy*: for since this, like other terms, from a twofold or general signification, has been restricted to one, and that a bad one, mistakes and confusions may arise, if we do not consider the different senses in which the word has been used. It is not necessary to observe, that the Greek term, (*αἵρεσις*) in its primary signification, implies a *choice* or *election*, whether of good or evil. It seems to have been principally applied to what we should call moral choice, or the adoption of one opinion in preference to another. Philosophy was in Greece the great object, which divided the opinions and judgments of men: and hence the term *αἵρεσις*, (*heresy*,) being most frequently applied to the adoption of this or that particular dogma, came by an easy transition to signify the sect or school in which that dogma was maintained. Thus though the *heresy* of the Academy or of Epicurus would sound strange to our ears, and though the expression was not common

with the early Greek writers, yet in later times it became familiar, and we find Cicero speaking of the heresy to which Cato belonged, when he described him as a perfect Stoic. The Hellenistic Jews made use of the same term to express the leading sects which divided their countrymen. Thus Josephus speaks of the three *heresies* of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes : and since he was himself a Pharisee, he could only have used the term as equivalent to sect or party. St. Luke also in the Acts of the Apostles (v. 17. xv. 5.) speaks of the *heresy* of the Pharisees and Sadducees : and we learn from the same book (xxiv. 5, 14.) that the Christians were called by the Jews *the heresy of the Nazarenes*. With this opprobrious addition, the term was undoubtedly used as one of insult and contempt ; and the Jews were more likely than the Greeks to speak reproachfully of those who differed from them, particularly in matters of religion. The three Jewish sects already mentioned were of long standing, and none of them were considered to be at variance with the national creed : but the Christians differed from all of them, and in every sense of the term, whether ancient or modern, they formed a distinct heresy. The apostles would be likely to use the term with a mixture of Jewish and Gentile feelings : but there was one obvious reason, why they should employ it in a new sense, and why at length it should acquire a signification invariably expressive of reproach. The Jews, as we have seen, allowed of three, or perhaps more, heresies, as existing among their countrymen. In Greece opinions were much more divided ; and twelve principal sects have been enumerated, which by divisions and subdivisions might be multiplied into many more. Thus Aristotle might be said to have belonged at first to the *heresy* of Plato ; but afterwards to have founded an heresy of his own. The shades of difference between these diverging sects were often extremely small : and there were many bonds of union, which kept them together as members of the same family, or links of the same chain. In addition to which, we must remember that these differences were not always or necessarily connected with religion. Persons might dispute concerning the *summum bonum*, and yet they might worship, or at least profess to worship, the same God. But the doctrine of the gospel was distinct, uncompromising, and of such a nature, that a person must believe the whole of it, and to the very letter, or he could not be admitted to be a Christian. *There is one body*, says St. Paul, *and one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all* : (Eph. iv. 4, 5.) which words, if rightly understood, evidently mean, that the faith of the gospel is one and undivided. Hence arose the distinction of orthodox and heterodox. He who believed the gospel, as the apostles preached it, was orthodox : he who did not so believe it, was heterodox. He embraced an opinion—it mattered not whether his own or that of another, but he made his own choice, and in the strict sense of the term he was an heretic. It was no longer necessary to qualify the term by the addition of the sect or party which he chose ; he was not a true Christian, and therefore he was an heretic. It was in this sense, that the term was applied by the early Fathers. If a man admitted a part, or even the whole, of Christianity, and added to it something of his own ; or if he rejected the whole of it, he was equally designated as an heretic. If Mahomet had appeared in the second century, Justin Martyr or

Irenæus would have spoken of him as an heretic : from which it may be seen, that the term was then applied in a much more extended sense than it bears at present. By degrees it came to be restricted to those who professed Christianity, but professed it erroneously ; and in later times, the doctrine of the Trinity, as defined by the council of Nice, was almost the only test which decided the orthodoxy or the heresy of a Christian. Differences upon minor points were then described by the milder term of *schism* : and the distinction seems to have been, that unity of faith might be maintained, though schism existed ; but if the unity of faith was violated, the violator of it was an heretic. This distinction appears hardly to have been observed in the apostolic age ; and St. Paul has been thought to use the term *heresy*, where later writers would have spoken of schisms. In the course of these Lectures, I shall speak of the heresies of the apostolic age in the sense which was attached to the term by the early Fathers : and all that I wish to be remembered at present is, that the term is not to be understood according to modern ideas ; but that an heretic is a man who embraces any opinion concerning religion, that opinion not being in accordance with the faith of the gospel.”—p. 8—13.

St. Augustin certainly had much less accurate notions than those expressed above. In the Tract in which he enumerates no less than 88 Heresies which sprang up immediately after our Lord's Ascension (and these 88 are “ exclusive of schisms and smaller factions,*”) the good Father thus expresses himself :—*“ Non enim omnis error Hæresis est, quamvis omnis Hæresis, quæ in vitio ponitur, nisi errore aliquo Hæresis esse non possit. Quid ergo faciat Hæreticum regulari quâdam definitione comprehendere, sicut ego existimo, aut omnino non potest aut difficillimè potest.”*†

Many, therefore, who were called Heretics in the first and second centuries would not fall under that designation as we now employ it ; they were not professed Christians who violated the Laws of their Church by adopting opinions and practices opposed to them, but they were Jews or Pagans who incorporated upon their own systems and mingled with the ignorance of Philosophy, falsely so called, such portions of Christian doctrine as accorded with their purposes or pleased their fancies. It can be no matter of surprise therefore that the Gospel was so soon corrupted, and that men *speaking perverse things to draw disciples after them* should arise even in the life-time of the Apostles.

The II^d Lecture carries us at once, *in medias res*, to the Gnostics, under various shapes the predominant, if not the sole Heretics of the Apostolical time. The system of these Mystics, before its adulteration by a mutilated Christianity, is ably traced up to two of the three sources from which it is commonly supposed to have been derived ; 1st, to the Orientalism, be it of Zoroaster solely, as Dr. Burton thinks, or of that most indefinite and *dyschronolo-*

* Anatomie of Melancholie, 406. † Opera Col. Agrip. 1616, tom. vi. p. 5, col. 2.

gical Sage, in conjunction with Confucius and Foë, as others have supposed; and 2dly, to the Jewish Cabbala. From the first source the Gnostics borrowed, with slight alterations, their notions of two Principles, one of them a supreme God (*Bythus*), dwelling from all eternity in a *Pleroma*, and producing a pair of *Æons*, of different sexes, by a mental operation, who in turn generated numerous others, each inferior to those preceding them. One of these *Æons*, the *Demiurgus*, passed the limits of the *Pleroma*, stumbled upon *Matter*, which, though eternal, was inert and powerless, and by acting upon it, created the World, gave birth to Evil, and remained at perpetual variance with the Supreme God. From the *Cabbala* the Gnostics derived their fondness for allegorization, their reliance upon oral tradition, and their belief in esoteric as well as exoteric teaching, and somewhat of their system of emanation also is probably referable to the Hebrew *Sephiroth*.

The remaining and most important source of Gnosticism, the School of Plato, is examined in the Third Lecture. In spite of the great authorities of Sydenham, Leibnitz, and Berkeley (for we will not make any apology to Reuchlin or Kant), we cannot but feel with Dr. Burton that some (may it not be said *most*?) of Plato's conceptions have never yet been understood; that, for the greater part, his system is impenetrably dark, and that the *Timæus* and the *Parmenides* "require a surrender of our Reason and a belief in intellectual mysteries, compared with which the Christian Revelation is plainness and simplicity itself." Who indeed will pretend to explain to us what is meant in the last-named Dialogue by the resolution of all things into One, and the sameness of that One? Is that One Matter or Mind? Are we to accept Aristotle's opinion* as conclusive? Are we to trace the doctrine of Spinoza up to Plato? Again if we look to the Cosmogony of the *Timæus*, its *essences* and *accidents*, its *similarities* and *differences*, the tempering of the four elements into a world of perfect figure and imperishable substance, the investiture of the universe with a soul, which, though *then* created, had been long before in existence, the production of Time, not a portion, but an image of Eternity, the self-moving Gods of fire, the revolving souls of the starry spheres, the origin of Dæmons, and of the soul of Man, we defy even Böckh or Bekker to simplify, or Mr. Thomas Taylor to render these matters more intricate. Even Cicero himself has acknowledged that they are unintelligible; "*Rerum obscuritas non verborum facit ut non investigatur oratio, qualis est in Timæo Platonis.*"† Be it remembered also, that we have not here spoken of the invisible, adamantine bonds

* *Met.* i. 6.† *De Finibus*, ii. 5.

which connect material with immaterial substances, and which dovetail the soul and body by spiritual *joggles*.* The observations also on Medicine and Lunacy, the diseases of Body and of mind, we have left to Physicians, and the scale of animal creation, with which the Dialogue closes, to Comparative Anatomists.

That Plato believed the primary substance out of which every thing is made, to which *we* give the name of Matter, which Aristotle called ὕλη, but which the great teacher of the Academy himself was content to describe by negatives—μήτε γῆν, μήτε ἀέρα, μήτε πῦρ, μήτε ὕδωρ λέγομεν, μήτε ὅσα ἐκ τούτων, μήτε ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἀόρατον εἶδος τι καὶ ἀμορφον πάνδεχες—that Plato believed this substance to be eternal and self-existent, is sufficiently plain to any one who has opened the Dialogue (*Timæus*) from which the above passage is taken; and in this coeternity of Matter with God the Gnostics also agreed with him. The later Platonists indeed, from a wish to reconcile their Master's Creed to the Gospel, laboured hard to deny that such was his doctrine, and both the abstruse nature of the subject and the involution of Plato's language was favourable to their attempt. Thus, to take but one instance, Plotinus extending and perverting the above definition (if it can be called such) of Matter, explains Plato's doctrine to mean that there is nothing real except Divinity, that Matter is no more than a shadow, a vain appearance, not only to be described negatively but itself an absolute Negation. But neither the scheme of the two Academies on this point, nor on Plato's yet more obscure doctrine of Ideas, has ever yet been more simply or more clearly explained than by Dr. Burton. It is unjust to have detained the reader so long from his brief but complete summary.

“The (later) Platonists went so far as to assert, that Plato did not hold that matter was eternal. But the assertion was undoubtedly false: and no position seems more firmly established, and none is more important for a right understanding of ancient philosophy, than that all the schools of antiquity agreed in acknowledging the fundamental principle that nothing was produced out of nothing,

Nullam rem e nihilo gigni divinitus unquam.—LUCRET. I. 151.

Hence it followed, that all the Grecian philosophers believed Matter to be eternal. Whether the one proposition does necessarily lead to the other, or whether a system of emanations, like that of the Cabbala or of Spinoza, might not account for creation without the intervention of Matter, is a question which we are not called upon to discuss. The Grecian philosophers did not adopt the system of emanation. They all held, that Matter was eternal: and such undoubtedly was the opinion of

* If this word sounds strange to any of our readers' ears, let them turn for an explanation of it to Smeaton's *Account of the Eddystone Lighthouse*, a Work as attractive on account of its piety and modesty, as of the narrative which it contains of a great triumph of science over difficulty.

Plato. This was the expedient by which all the philosophers thought to rescue God from being the author of evil: forgetting, as it appears, that at the same time they limited his omnipotence, and made him, though not the author of evil, yet himself subject to its influence: for a being who is all good, and yet restricted in his power, is undoubtedly subject to evil. This, however, is only one of the many inconsistencies which appear in ancient philosophy; and I have already pointed out another, when speaking of the Gnostics,—that the ancients gave to God a power of modifying Matter, though they believed it to be coeternal with himself.

“It is, I believe, true—though the remark will not perhaps immediately obtain assent—that unassisted human reason never arrived at the idea that God can create Matter out of nothing. This is one of the points, which we know from revelation only; and that man’s metaphysics are as yet very imperfect, who can conceive God to be omnipotent, and yet imagine that any thing exists without his will, which he cannot modify and annihilate as he pleases. *The world by wisdom knew not God.* Plato was wise, but he knew him not: he saw him darkly and at a distance; but his mind was too small to contemplate the time when God spake the word, and called Matter into being. Here, then, was the basis, the false, the unphilosophical basis, on which all the Grecian sages built their systems. Matter was co-eternal with God; and the world was formed, either by Matter acting upon itself, or being acted upon by God. The School of Epicurus made Matter act upon itself, and the Deity was reduced to a name. The Stoics and Peripatetics believed God to have acted upon Matter; but it was from necessity, and not from choice.

“Plato had already adopted a system more worthy of the Deity, and conceived that God acted upon Matter of his own free will, and by calling order out of disorder formed the world. Plato certainly did not believe the world to be eternal, though such a notion is ascribed to Aristotle. Plato held the eternity of Matter; but he believed the arrangement and harmony of the universe to be the work of the Deity. Here begins the peculiar intricacy of the Platonic system. Every thing, except the Deity, which exists in heaven and in earth, whether the object of sense or purely intellectual, was believed to have had a beginning. There was a time when it did not exist: but there never was a time when the *Idea*, i. e. the form or archetype, did not exist in the mind of the Deity. Hence we find so many writers speak of three Principles being held by Plato, the Deity, the *Idea*, and Matter. It is difficult to explain the Platonic doctrine of *Ideas*, without running into mysticism or obscurity; but perhaps if we lay aside for a time the doctrines of the ancients, and take our own notions of the Deity, we may be able to form some conception of Plato’s meaning.

“We believe that there was a time, when the world which we inhabit, and every thing which moves upon it, did not exist; but we cannot say that there ever was a time, when the works of creation were not present to the mind of the Deity. There may therefore be the image of a thing, though as yet it has received no material form; or to use the illustra-

tion of the Platonists, the seal may exist without the impression. We know indeed that our own minds can form to themselves images, which are not only unsubstantial, but no likeness of which was ever yet an object of sense. In the same manner the images of all created things are present to the mind of the Deity; and these images must have existed before the material copies of them. Plato supposed these images to possess a real existence, and gave to them the name of Form, Example, Archetype, or *Idea*; and the use, which he made of them, constitutes the peculiar character of the Platonic philosophy. He saw that these *Ideas* not only preceded the creation of the world, but must have been present to the Deity from all eternity; and he could assign to them no other place than the mind of the Deity, which he sometimes calls *Mind*, and sometimes Reason. Plato's conception of the creation, or to speak more properly, the formation of the world, borders hard upon the sublime. He conceived the first process of it to be purely mental. The mind or reason of God, in which were the *Ideas* of all things, acted upon Matter, and gave to the universe a soul, or moving principle. Creation began with beings purely intellectual, whom Plato, in deference to popular opinion, called Gods, but which were very unlike to the Deities of Paganism; and from the obscurity of his language it is difficult to distinguish them from the heavenly bodies. These intellectual beings received a principle of immortality, and were commissioned by God to create beings of an inferior order, whose souls had already existed, when the soul of the universe was formed. Here again we find Plato struggling with the difficulty of believing God to be the author of evil. God employed his celestial agents to finish the creation, and to form mortal bodies; for if he formed them himself, he would be the creator of evil, and that evil would be immortal. This was the weak part of Plato's philosophy; but the same weakness pervaded every other system."—pp. 59—63.

In a belief "that the material world was formed after an eternal and intellectual *Idea*"—that an intermediate order of Beings existed between God and Man, the *Æons* being a personification of the Platonic *Ideas* blended with the Angels of the Jews; and also of a metempsychosis, the Gnostic Creed coincided with that of the Academy. It differed from it respecting the origin of Evil: Plato, equally anxious with every other uninspired inquirer who has essayed the same mysterious path, to save his God from the imputation of creating Evil, and equally unsuccessful otherwise to account for its existence, escapes by a subterfuge, and makes the Supreme Being organize the elementary Chaos by the intervention of the subordinate Beings which he had generated. The Gnostics had *their* legerdemain also, but it was borrowed more from the East than from Athens. They introduced an adversary to the Demiurgus, who stole a march upon Omnipotence, and without the knowledge of Omniscience, created the World. *Utrum mavis*—which is the least absurd hypothesis of the two?

But take the acute and *Christian* reasoning of Dr. Burton as an antidote to both.

“ That evil exists, we know from our own experience : we know also, that all things, which exist, are ordained of God ; and that they need not have existed, if God had not willed it. If this position be allowed, it is consonant to reason to believe, that God gave to things, which he had created, a liability to become evil : but it is not consonant to reason to believe, that matter existed without the consent of God. The fallacy lies in supposing *a priori* that evil ought not to exist : whereas it is more philosophical to argue *a posteriori*, because evil does exist, that therefore it ought to exist. This the sceptic will not allow : and reasoning *a priori* has led many persons into a labyrinth, but I have seldom heard of its extricating them from it : and I may end this long note by asserting, without fear of contradiction, that the sublimest conception which ever yet entered into the mind of man, is that of God being alone before things were, and ordaining by one act of mind that things should be.”—pp. 326, 327.

The remainder of the Third Lecture considers the effect produced upon the Greek Philosophy by the Alexandrian School, and the systems which arose from it ; how the Platonists began to Judaize, and the Jews to Platonize, till they jointly littered an adulterous and hybrid progeny of Gnostics, to be rendered yet more figurative, fantastic, and mystical, by a partial adoption and perversion of the Gospel as soon as it appeared. It is evident that the precise birthday of this sect, like most other *Origines*, is not to be stated : the name, it is said, is not met with in any writer who has come down to us earlier than Irenæus, who uses it generally for all Heretics engrafting Christianity upon Heathen Philosophy. It was a name assumed by themselves, as denoting their own profound knowledge (*γνώσις*) in the great principles of Religion, not bestowed by others ironically ; and it presents one among many instances in Church History, in which a title in itself and in its proper meaning symbolical of peculiar excellence, has become, through the folly and fanaticism of those who bear it, a term of reproach. Dr. Burton concludes this Lecture with examining certain texts of St. Paul which appear to refer to this *γνώσις Πευδάνυμος*.

The History of Simon Magus occupies the greater part of the Fourth Lecture, and he is considered, in agreement with most of the early Fathers, as the parent of all Heresies, that is, of the only Heresies with which they were acquainted, all of which sprang from the Hydra of Gnosticism. Mosheim has considered this view of Simon Magus to be incorrect and injudicious, and places him among the *enemies* who decidedly opposed, not among the *Heretics* who perverted Christianity ; and even so late a writer as

Mr. Hinds has spoken in like manner of Simon's character, as "decidedly not that of a Heretic, but of an Infidel and Blasphemer." Dr. Burton clears the difficulty by a reference to his own antecedent definition of Heresy. Simon Magus was not a Christian, but he borrowed a portion of Christianity and united it with his own scheme, and therefore, in the language of the early Fathers, he was strictly a Heretic. How simple is this resolution, and in what advantageous contrast does it stand with the forced and vulgar notion through which Vitringa and others have attempted to evade the difficulty by imagining two persons of the same name, one the "real Simon," mentioned in the *Acts*, the other an unsubstantial phantom, for whose separate existence there is no authority, the leader of the Gnostics,

"nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram."

On the two chiefly disputed points in the History of Simon Magus, the statue erected to him at Rome in the reign of Claudius, and the circumstances attendant upon his death, Dr. Burton speaks in a tone of decided belief, in which we are far from being prepared to agree with him. For the first, he says, "the words of Justin (the earliest writer by whom the tale is asserted) are too precise to allow us to suppose that he had not seen the statue." If we could persuade ourselves that such really was the case, it would doubtless go very far to produce conviction that such a statue once existed, and that Justin had not mistaken *Semoni Sanco* for *Simoni Sancto*, an error which his little acquaintance with Latin is supposed to have occasioned; and into which he might also more readily fall, if he adopted his belief that Simon Magus had been thus honoured, either from hearsay, or from a copy of the inscription; one of which may reasonably be supposed to have been his only authority. If he had *seen* any such statue it is by no means likely that he would confound the sculpture under which it is *probable* Simon Magus was represented, with that which *we know* was assigned to Semo Sancus. A tablet still exists, or did exist lately, at Rome, representing a groupe of three figures in *basso rilievo*. By the side of one of these, a man clothed in a Roman habit, is engraven *Honor*; by the second, a Tuscan crowned with laurel, *Veritas*. These two join hands with each other, and between them stands a third figure, a youth of noble form, inscribed *Amor*. Above the whole is engraven *Fidii Simulachrum*.* To Simon, by birth a Samaritan, and certainly not *young* at the time when he could have obtained sufficient celebrity to deserve a votive statue, such an image could bear little resemblance; and if *Deus Fidius* or *Semo Sancus*, as is believed most generally on the best authority, was no other than Hercules, there could be nothing in

* Du Choul, *Vet. Rom. Religio*, p. 26.

common between him and a Syrian conjurer. So that Justin, provided that he had seen the statue, could scarcely be deceived as to the personage it was intended to represent. But on turning to the Father's words, we cannot in any way deduce from them that he at all intended either to assert or to imply his own ocular testimony; on the other hand, he simply mentions that such a statue is to be found at Rome. Σίμωνα μὲν τινα Σαμαρέα . . . ὃς ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος . . . ἀνδριάντι παρ' ὕμῶν ὡς Θεὸς τετίμηται ὃς ἀνδριάς ἀνεγήγερται ἐν τῷ Τίβερι ποταμῷ, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, ἔχων ἐπιγραφὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν ταύτην Σίμωνι δέω σάγκτω,* and again, ἐν τῇ Βασιλίδι Ρώμῃ ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος γενόμενος ὁ Σίμων . . . ὡς Θεὸς νομισθῆναι καὶ ἀνδριάντι ὧν τὰς ἄλλας παρ' ὕμιν τιμωμένους Θεὸς τιμηθῆναι.† Justin, by the precision with which he has marked the spot whereon this statue was erected, appears to have furnished conclusive evidence against himself. The inscription to Semo Sancus was dug up in 1574 from the *Insula Tiberina*, μεταξὺ τῶν δύο γεφυρῶν, in the very place to which Justin points, between the *Pons Cestius* and the *Pons Fabricius*. Assuredly, as Dr. Burton observes, if the inscription had *not* been discovered, we should not see much reason to object to Justin's account; but, we add, since *it has been discovered*, we cannot hesitate in rejecting it. That Justin "would hardly have asserted in an Apology addressed to the Emperor what every person in Rome would have known to be false," we scarcely think is a tenable argument. It is not his veracity which is impugned, for doubtless he believed that which he stated, but in this belief he was deceived.

Some apology perhaps may be necessary for dwelling so long on a point which has been frequently and lengthily controverted: we will add no more, therefore, except that Grotius, whom Dr. Burton cites as a supporter of the story, certainly does *not* support it; he says not a word respecting it, at least in the passage to which Dr. Burton refers, in 2 Thess. ii. 8. The words of that great commentator are as follow: "*Rectè autem impius dicitur Simon Magus qui paulo post initia Claudiani principatús Romam venit, ut homines a Christo abduceret, sibique manciparet, omnibus libidinibus, quibus dediti erant Romani commeatum faciens.*"

To the narrative of the death of Simon Magus produced miraculously by the prayers of St. Peter and St. Paul, we attach equally little credence with that which we afford to the account of his statue. But Dr. Burton's defence of it is most ingenious, and deserves very close attention and much respect.

"According to every account, it was the ambition of Simon Magus of setting his own false miracles against the true ones of St. Peter which led to the catastrophe. Some writers represent the challenge to have

* Ap. ii. p. 69. *Coloniae*, 1686.

† *Ibid.* p. 91.

been given by the apostle, others by the impostor; and as Tillemont relates the story, 'Simon, wishing to show that as the Son of God he was able to ascend into heaven, caused himself to be raised into the air by two dæmons in a chariot of fire, for which purpose he made use of his power of magic. But St. Peter having united his prayers to those of St. Paul, the impostor was deserted by his dæmons, fell to the ground, and broke both his legs: after which he destroyed himself through shame and vexation, by falling from the top of a house to the bottom.' I have stated, that Arnobius is the earliest writer who furnishes any foundation for this story, and his words are as follow: 'Viderant currum Simonis Magi et quadrigas igneas Petri ore diffatas et nominato Christo evanuisse. Viderant, inquam, fidentem diis falsis, et ab eisdem metuentibus proditum, pondere præcipitatum suo, crucibus jacuisse præfractis: post deinde perlatum Brundam, cruciatibus et pudore defessum ex altissimi culminis se rursus præcipitasse fastigio.' In this passage there is not a word said of Simon having attempted to fly; and if we had known nothing of later embellishments, we should only have inferred from it that Simon made use of a fiery chariot to impose upon the multitude by some pretended miracle, that the prayers of St. Peter caused his experiment to fail, that he fell out of the chariot, and fractured his legs. That Arnobius had read an account of this kind can hardly be denied; nor can I see any thing improbable in supposing that some such an event actually took place. It is also not unnatural, that the same narrative which was followed by Arnobius should have led later writers to make additions to it, and to confound Simon's subsequent and voluntary fall from the top of a house, with his former fall out of his fiery chariot. Eusebius, as I have stated, does not give the slightest countenance to the story. Epiphanius, who was fond of the marvellous, and was certainly not over critical in his examination of evidence, appears never to have heard of it; and he only informs us that Simon died after having fallen down in the middle of Rome. This is perfectly reconcileable with the passage from Arnobius; and I should say the same of the following account given by Theodoret, who wrote about A.D. 423. 'Simon came to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and so confounded the Romans by his magical tricks, that he was honoured with a brazen statue. But St. Peter arriving there also, stripped him of the wings of his deceit, and at length having challenged him to a contest of miraculous power, and having shown the difference between divine grace and imposture, threw him down (κατέρραξε) from a great height, in the sight of all the Romans, by his prayers.' If Arnobius and Theodoret followed the same document, we certainly cannot say that the later writer magnified or embellished the story. He does not even mention the fiery chariot, though his words imply that Simon made some experiment, which was intended to appear miraculous. He only mentions, as Epiphanius had done before him, that Simon 'fell down:' and we might almost fancy that Theodoret's style, which is often poetical, had furnished some materials for the invention of later writers. He says that St. Peter 'stripped Simon of the wings of his deceit;' and the author of the Constitutions certainly speaks of Simon flying through the air. Ambrosius says that

‘ Peter caused Simon to fall down when he was taking a magical flight up to heaven, having dissolved the power of his incantations :’ and this is perhaps no very great enlargement of the original story, as told by Arnobius. Simon is there said to have prepared a fiery chariot, which he must certainly have intended by some artifice or other to have put in motion ; but his scheme was frustrated, and he fell down from the eminence on which he had fixed this perilous vehicle. It was not very unnatural that later writers should have described his aerial journey as having actually commenced, or that they should speak of his attempting to fly, without making any mention of the chariot. Some persons indeed have supposed the story of Simon’s extraordinary death to have been taken from what we read in Dio Chrysostom and Suetonius, of a person having attempted in the reign of Nero to fly like Icarus, and who died in the attempt. The coincidence of the time is perhaps worthy of remark ; but beyond this, there is no reason for supposing that the one story gave rise to the other. I would observe, however, that the fate of this unfortunate *Icarus* shows that there is no improbability in supposing a person to have attempted to fly in the reign of Nero : neither can it be doubted, that Simon Magus had recourse to some artifice or other, to delude and astound the multitude. The only part of the story therefore which requires much credulity, is the effect which we are to attribute to the prayers of St. Peter. But let us suppose the rest to be true ; let us suppose Simon to have prepared a fiery chariot, and to have publicly proclaimed that he was going to perform a miracle, greater than any which Peter had exhibited ; and who will say that the apostle might not have prayed to God, or that his prayers might not have been heard ? That Simon met his death by the failure of one of his pretended miracles, is, I think, extremely probable ; and those who doubt the efficacy of the apostle’s prayers, may charge the Christians with ascribing to the sanctity of St. Peter, what was really owing to some mismanagement in a hazardous experiment. After all, the whole story may be a fiction ; but I have offered these remarks, to show that the marvellous circumstances attending it are not really so great as some persons would assert.”-pp. 371—373.

It is in the highest degree presumptuous, where miracles are concerned to affect to determine *what* the Almighty may consider to be *dignus vindice nodus*, or we should otherwise be inclined to treat the juggling trick of this impostor as little deserving so remarkable a demonstration of Divine power as is here asserted. Thus far, however, may be safely argued, that so distinguished a miracle, one not inferior to any recorded in the *Acts*, if it had been really worked, would scarcely have been left without due record ; and that it would not have been presented to us for the first time by a writer who lived full 160 years after its occurrence. That Simon broke his neck while exhibiting some mountebank feat, is most probably true ; but natural causes may so readily have produced this catastrophe, that without far stronger confirmation

than is offered to us, we hesitate to admit that any more powerful agency was connected with it.

Attaching full credit to these particulars, Dr. Burton nevertheless rejects others which rest upon precisely the same authority, and which do not appear to us to present equal difficulty. He does not believe the doctrines advanced by Simon Magus to have been so wicked and so absurd as they are represented by Justin Martyr and Irenæus. Yet we know not how to reconcile a belief in the erection of a statue Σίμωνι ΔΕΩΙ σαγκτω, with a disbelief in his pretensions to divinity; nor can we conceive any adequate reason for the mad attempt which cost him his life, unless it were that he might prove himself, in the words of Justin Martyr, τὸν πρῶτον Θεόν . . . Θεὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως. He would scarcely have been content to attribute his fiery chariot to the favour of any Power higher than himself which protected him; and he would claim as the product of his own supremacy that which the Sorceress of Grecian Fable acknowledged to be the gift of her grandfather.

Τοίονδ' ὄχημα πατρὸς Ἥλιος πατήρ
Δίδωσιν ἡμῖν, ἔρυμα πολεμίας χερσός.

These arguments of course are only addressed to believers in the two stories which we have just been considering; and we by no means quarrel with that charity which thinks better of Heretics than their contemporaries have done. There can be little doubt that in the fervour of controversy, they, no less than the Orthodox, have been most grievously falsified and calumniated.

The doctrine of Æons, which was embraced by Simon Magus, leads Dr. Burton next to consider what passages in the New Testament furnish allusions to this leading tenet of the Gnostics. These he considers to be *Hebrews*, i. 2; *John*, i. 3; *Colossians*, i. 16, 17; *Titus*, iii. 9, 10; *1 Tim.* i. 4—7; *Eph.* vi. 12; *2 Cor.* iv. 4; *Colossians*, ii. 18, 19; and, lastly, that most difficult text *Eph.* ii. 2, in which we have no doubt that St. Paul expressly intended the words τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου to be applied in a *personal* sense, and that he accommodated his expressions to a very generally prevalent false doctrine. Dr. Burton's comment, that from other passages in St. Paul, it is plain "that the Almighty does allow Evil Spirits to have some power of injuring his creatures," might perhaps be more cautiously worded. Not that it is possible that any one should *honestly* impute a dangerous meaning to this sound and learned writer, but that such a meaning may perhaps be *dishonestly* wrung from him. Even if we interpret all the passages to which Dr. Burton refers* quite literally,

* *Eph.* iv. 27, vi. 12; *Col.* i. 13; *James*, iv. 7; *1 Pet.* v. 8.

dismissing altogether that figurative sense which each without violence may receive, nothing more can be designed by them but that God permits the Adversary to profit by our evil intentions and inclinations, and to entice us into sin as we also ourselves frequently entice one another. This no doubt, in strict parlance, is permitting Evil Spirits to do us injury : but the expression might seem to the unwary as if it implied more than this, and that Evil Spirits are permitted to compel us to sin, to prevent our repentance, or even to inflict upon us bodily hurt. That all such power is denied them, is a fact warranted by countless texts, and by the whole tenour of Scripture. The suggestions (for they are no more) of the Devil may always be counteracted by the opposite suggestions of the Holy Spirit, if we will but flee to him, awaken, foster, and encourage him. Both influences act in a similar manner—*Sicut qui divinis motionibus piè obtemperant, tandem accipiunt Spiritum inhabitantem, ita qui suggestionibus Diaboli liberè consentiunt, tandem Deo eos derelinquente, mancipia Satanae fiunt* is the just remark of Grotius on St. Luke's account of Satan* entering into Judas ; and again, on μήτε δίδοτε τόπον τῷ διαβόλῳ—*si motus animi negligendo foreantur, transeunt in ἔξιν, Diabolo jus quoddam in tales nanciscente. Sic*

Neglectis urenda filix innascitur agris.

Perhaps the only passage in the New Testament allusive to Æons, which Dr. Burton has omitted to notice, is one pointed out long ago by the learned, acute, and judicious Hey, 1 *Timothy*, i. 17, in which St. Paul offers honor and praise to God in language very peculiarly marked—Τῷ δὲ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ Αἰώνων, Ἀφθάρτῳ, Ἀοπατῳ, Μονῳ, Σοφῳ, Θεῳ, τιμὴ καὶ δόξα, words very inadequately rendered in our authorized translation, “Unto the King eternal, &c.”

The consideration of the New Testament references to Gnostic language is continued in the Fifth Lecture. Πλήρωμα no doubt *may* be used, and probably sometimes is so, with a bearing on the Heretical sense, but we are much inclined to think that the Apostles employed it also as a *verbum ampullaceum*, when panting and striving to express somewhat connected with Divinity, and beyond the ordinary powers of human speech. It should be remembered also that it is a word of not unfrequent occurrence in the LXX. Waterland,† however, unequivocally maintains that St. John employs it in opposition to Cerinthus : Dr. Burton holds, that although “often used by the sacred writers without any other meaning than its common one, of *filling* or *completing*,” there are other occasions on which it is produced antignostically ;

* xxii. 3.

† *Imp. of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, ch. vi.

and without a doubt, all the texts which he brings forward support his reasoning.

Dr. Burton proceeds to show the passages in which the Gnostic denial of the Inspiration of the Scriptures is contradicted in the New Testament; but from these we should certainly wish to exclude our own faulty version of *2 Timothy*, iii. 16. The similar denial of the Resurrection and final Judgment is next considered. It is shown, that as the Gnostics refuse to admit that Christ had a real, substantial body, they therefore equally, in order to preserve consistency, were obliged to refuse to admit his death, and if he did not die, he could not rise again. This objection is amply met by St. Paul, *1 Cor.* xv. 13, &c. The Resurrection of the Gnostics, on the other hand, was only a figurative Resurrection, and they affirmed that no more was intended by ἀνάστασις than that rising from the death of ignorance to perfect knowledge (γνώσις) which our Saviour effected by the revelation of the true God.

“They taught, that the soul of the perfect Gnostic, having risen again at baptism, and being enabled by perfection of knowledge to conquer the Demiurgus, or Principle of evil, would ascend, as soon as it was freed from the body, to the heavenly Pleroma, and dwell there for ever in the presence of the Father: while the soul of him, who had not been allowed while on earth to arrive at such a plenitude of knowledge, would pass through several transmigrations, till it was sufficiently purified to wing its flight to the Pleroma.

Against these perversions it is admitted on all hands that much of St. Paul's preaching at Athens was directed. On the mysterious and inexplicable doctrine itself—the reply which is to be given to that question which the natural and pardonable restlessness of human curiosity will never cease to put, and to which, while yet in the flesh, we can never receive an answer—*How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?* Dr. Burton remarks that “it is plain St. Paul saw no difficulty, and we might be satisfied with knowing that in some way or other *we shall be changed.*” If St. Paul really “saw no difficulty” it must have been because he shut his eyes; if he was “satisfied,” it must have been by humbling his Reason to the fullness of Faith; and in no other way can any of us attain the same blessed and comfortable reliance. Do what we will, the difficulty still remains, and it is only increased ten thousand fold if we rashly pursue investigation. The Fathers maintained a literal Resurrection in the Flesh; The Gnostics believed the immortality of the Soul, but denied both the bodily Resurrection, and also a Judgment; and it is to their anxiety to refute the latter error that Dr. Burton imputes the use of language by the Fathers which he

thinks no where authorized in Scripture. The subject is too extensive, we may add in its very nature is too awful and too solemn, to be more than approached in the narrow and inadequate limits of a Review, and we must be content with a simple citation of Dr. Burton's opinion.

“ It is nowhere asserted in the New Testament that we shall rise again *with our bodies*. Unless a man will say, that the stalk, the blade, and the ear of corn are actually the same thing with the single grain which is put into the ground, he cannot quote St. Paul as saying that we shall rise again with the same bodies : or at least he must allow that the future body may only be like to the present one, inasmuch as both come under the same genus : i. e. we speak of human *bodies*, and we speak of the heavenly *bodies* : but St. Paul's words do not warrant us in saying that the resemblance between the present and future body will be greater than between a man and a star, or between a bird and a fish. Nothing can be plainer than the expression which he uses in the first of these two analogies, *Thou sowest not that body that shall be*, xv. 37. He says also with equal plainness of the body, *It is sown a natural body ; it is raised a spiritual body : there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body*, 44. These words require to be examined closely, and involve remotely a deep metaphysical question. In common language the terms *Body* and *Spirit* are accustomed to be opposed, and are used to represent two things which are totally distinct. But St. Paul here brings the two expressions together, and speaks of a *spiritual body*. St. Paul therefore did not oppose *Body* to *Spirit* : and though the looseness of modern language may allow us to do so, and yet to be correct in our ideas, it may save some confusion if we consider *Spirit* as opposed to *Matter*, and if we take *Body* to be a generic term which comprises both. A *body* therefore in the language of St. Paul is something which has a distinct individual existence. If we were to call it a *substance*, the expression might again be liable to indistinctness ; because *Substance* in modern language conveys the idea of materiality, or at least of tangibility. But the language of Metaphysics might allow us to call *Spirit* a *substance*. St. Paul, as we have seen, would have called it a *body* : and Tertullian in the same manner says that the soul may be called a *Body*, though he adds that it is a body ‘ *propriæ qualitatis et sui generis*.’ His expressions seem still more extraordinary in another place, where he asserts that God is a body : ‘ *Quis enim negabit Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus Spiritus est ? Spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effigie*.’ One of his commentators observes that this expression is not to be endured, and that it savours of anthropomorphism. But we must not judge of Tertullian's phraseology according to the modern acceptance of words. If he chose to say with St. Paul, that a Spirit is in one sense a Body ; and if it be true, as it undoubtedly is in some sense, that God is a Spirit, it seems to follow logically, that God is a Body in Tertullian's and St. Paul's sense of the term. It is true, that we must consider whether the word *Spirit* is not here used equivocally. Every person perhaps would admit, that a Spirit, i. e. a spiritual or angelical being, is a Body in St. Paul's sense of the term, i. e. it is a Being or Substance : but

whether God is a *Spirit* in this signification of the word, involves one of the deepest of all metaphysical questions, and would lead us to inquire, whether the Deity possesses personal individuality, or whether he is to be abstracted from all ideas of lineaments and space. There is no need to examine this abstruse subject, nor to seek to penetrate that *light, which no man can approach unto*, 1 Tim. vi. 16 : but I would observe, that our ideas are liable to great indistinctness upon this point. All persons are not disposed at first to admit, what is nevertheless undoubtedly true, that a Spirit is bounded by space. Every Spirit is not every where : there must be portions of space, where any given Spirit is not : it is therefore bounded by space, and as Tertullian says of the Soul, ‘*Solentiora quæque et omnimodo debita corpulentia adesse animæ quoque, ut habitum, ut terminum, ut illud trifarium distantivum, longitudinem dico, et latitudinem, et sublimitatem, quibus metantur corpora philosophi.*’ It is very unfair therefore to say that Tertullian was an anthropomorphite in his notions of the Deity : he believed that God had a distinct being, and that he was, in the language of St. Paul, a spiritual Body. In the same manner St. Paul tells us, that every individual, when he rises again, will have a spiritual body : but the remarks which I have made may shew, how different is the idea conveyed by these words from the notion which some persons entertain, that we shall rise again with the same identical body. St. Paul appears effectually to preclude this notion, when he says, *Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God*, 50. The Fathers felt the force of this text, when they were defending literally the resurrection of the flesh : and Beausobre is in this instance not unjust to the Fathers, when he says of one of them, “*Adamantius, ou l’Orthodoxe, pressé par cette objection, a recours à une tres-mauvaise défaite, quoiqu’elle ait été adoptée par plusieurs des Pères. Il dit une vérité, mais qui n’est point à propos. Selon lui la Chair et le Sang ne signifient dans cet endroit que les actions vicieuses de la Chair. Il faut en convenir ; cette solution donnoit la victoire à l’adversaire : car il est plus clair que le jour, que l’Apôtre a pris la Chair et le Sang dans le sens propre : sans remarquer, que cette expression ne signifie jamais que l’Homme mortel.*” Tertullian labours at great length to establish the same interpretation of 1 Cor. xv. 50, and Epiphanius does the same, when arguing against the Manichees. Nothing however can be plainer, than that St. Paul asserts in this place, that the bodies, with which we shall rise at the last day, will not be bodies of flesh and blood : *we shall be changed*, 52 : and *Jesus Christ shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body*, Phil. iii. 21. Epiphanius tries in the same manner to explain away another expression of St. Paul, where he speaks of delivering a man unto Satan, *for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus*, 1 Cor. v. 5. Manes made use of this text to prove, that the soul or spirit will be saved without the body : and Epiphanius shews, that in this instance at least, his opponent had the advantage of the argument. Upon the whole I should conclude, that though the Gnostics entirely mistook the doctrine of the resurrection, the Fathers also did not represent it in its proper light. The former error perhaps led to the latter : and while the notion

entertained by the Gnostics concerning Matter made them shrink with horror from a reunion of the body and the soul, the Fathers insisted more strongly upon the resurrection of the body, in order to maintain the belief in a future judgment, which was denied by the Gnostics. Neither party seems to have been aware of the full meaning of the expression, *there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body*; an expression which allows us to believe that we shall rise again with a consciousness of identity, but which leads us also to conclude that the bodies, with which we shall rise, will not be material. Origen appears to have approached much nearer to the truth in this particular than any other of the Fathers: and he certainly did not believe, that the same material body of flesh and blood would rise again unchanged: for which opinion he incurred no small share of reproach, and Epiphanius labours at great length to prove it to be heretical. There are few persons, however, who would not allow that the arguments of Epiphanius are miserably weak."

The moral effect produced by these doctrines of the Gnostics as to a Future State is very ably investigated by Dr. Burton. That, like the tenets of Antinomianism, they *occasionally* pandered to licentiousness not to be spoken of, it is but reasonable to suppose, and is indeed incontrovertibly established on Apostolical authority, for to these doctrines must be referred many strongly criminatory texts. Yet we cannot but think that in those *general* charges the Fathers must be received with much suspicion. What Sect in turn has not been charged with unholy abomination? When is it to be hoped that the fury of zeal will cease to exaggerate, to distort, perhaps to invent? The same accusations brought by their adversaries against the Christians themselves as a body, were shifted by Justin Martyr in turn upon the Heretics, and they may be equally untrue in both cases. "The real statement," observes Dr. Burton, "most probably is to be found in a middle course between the violence of ancient writers who literally accused the Gnostics of these atrocities, and the paradoxical scepticism of certain moderns who would doubt whether the Gnostics were profligate at all." Such, doubtless, is the view most consonant with both charity and experience.

The earnestness with which St. John has spoken of the blood and water which himself saw issue from our Lord's side when pierced upon the Cross, is attributed by Dr. Burton to the Apostle's desire to refute an absurd notion of the Docetæ, that Christ had not a real body. In this view of the occurrence he is plainly supported by passages which he cites from Irenæus, Origen and Athanasius. Some of the Fathers discovered a mystery in this efflux, which they considered entirely preternatural. Apollinaris, in a Tract *de Paschate*, states that Jesus shed out of his side "the two instruments of restoring our purification—water and blood, word and spirit." Tertullian (*de Pudicitia*, 22) refers it to the

two Sacraments; Cyprian, or whoever else was the author of a Tract *de duplici Martyrio*, is yet more fanciful—"It was contrary to the course of Nature that blood and water flowed from the side of a dead body, that the triple testimony might be complete. He poured forth his whole *spirit* that we might breathe again; whatever remained of *watery* humour he strained out that we might be washed; whatever *blood* had settled in the heart he put forth that we might be strengthened." Lightfoot is almost equally mystical—The blood and water flowing from Christ, he says, is the antitype of *the blood of calves, and of goats, with water*, (*Hebrews ix. 19.*) which Moses used for purification; and the particularity with which St. John recounts the fact, arises from his conviction of the plain correspondence between the type and the antitype. The Jews, indeed, had a tradition, that when Moses struck the rock twice, blood issued forth at the first stroke, water at the second; and Lightfoot goes on to find an allusion to this belief in *1 Corinthians, x. 4.* Bochart points to the blood of the sacrificed bird, mixed with water, ordained for purifying Leprosy; and Hammond says that water signifies the purity, blood the fortitude of Christ, and that the two together bear witness. (*μαρτυροῦσι.*) All this is very silly trifling. The generality of modern Commentators have rested in an opinion, that the point which St. John sought to establish was the absolute death of our Lord, for that the presence of water mixed with blood proves that the pericardium was pierced. Dr. Burton shows that there is no ground for this explanation of St. John's intention in antiquity, and modestly continues, "with respect to the fact of water being collected round the heart of a dead person, I do not presume to offer an opinion; I believe, however, that the notion will be found not to be correct." Unless we imagine the occurrence to have been altogether miraculous, for which it would be difficult to assign a reason, the question is one requiring the decision of an Anatomist rather than of a Divine; and by the authorities upon which most reliance can be placed, it is a point still unsettled. Haller, in his *Elementa Physiologiæ*, § xix. xx. has given hosts of opinions on both sides, and he states that in a heart torn from a living man, on the pericardium being immediately opened water was really found. Hunter (*on the Blood*) speaks of the *liquor pericardii*, which, however, he does not call water, as being about a teaspoonful in quantity; Soemmering (*De Corporis humani fabricâ. ad v. Cor.*) mentions a few drops of lead-coloured humour contained in the pericardium of a dead man; and Bichat (*Anat. Descript. iv. 32*) writes much to the same purpose. On the whole we should be little inclined to rest the proof of our Saviour's real death, for which there is ample other evidence, on this fact, and

we think Dr. Burton has suggested a far more tenable resolution of St. John's design.

We cannot quit this part of our subject without mentioning another somewhat similar fact belonging to Gospel History, which, though not immediately connected with the point before us, has yet been suggested by it. The bloody sweat during our Saviour's agony in the Garden has often proved a *crux* to commentators, and we have seen it explained away by a statement, that he sweat great drops, *as big as drops of blood*. A little farther acquaintance with Physiology would have removed all difficulty. An acute medical friend, who, more happy than many of his brethren, has found, not the shipwreck, but the confirmation of his Faith in the study of Nature, has pointed out to us the following passage in Blainville, which is invaluable, both as it is incidental, and as it proceeds from a quarter not likely to have felt any undue bias in favour of Revelation. "*On l'a trouvée (la sueur) colorée en rouge dans une affection qui a reçu le nom de Diapédèse maladie dans laquelle il n'y a pas une véritable transpiration, mais qui constitue bien plutôt une hemorrhagie par exhalation, comme celle que l'on observe à la surface de la membrane pituitaire. Cette transudation a lieu dans les cas où par suite d'une frayeur subite ou d'une vive émotion, il se fait une congestion non comme à l'ordinaire de la peripherie au centre de l'organisme, mais dans le sens inverse.*"—iii. 57.

A short consideration of the Ebionites, towards the close of the Sixth Lecture, introduces a Note on the much controverted text 1 John, v. 7. We will not detain the reader by any observations of our own on this beaten and almost exhausted ground, but we should be wanting in respect both to the distinguished station which Dr. Burton holds, and not less so to the distinguished ability with which he fills it, if we did not, even at the expense of a long citation, present his opinion in this place.

"It is by no means my intention to enter at length into the discussion of this unhappy text, which during the course of the last two centuries has been examined *usque ad nauseam*: and of which discussions we may say with some truth,

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.

I shall make a few observations presently concerning the external evidence, the preponderance of which must be allowed to be against the genuineness of the 7th verse. Still, however, I have endeavoured to divest myself of this previous notion, and to examine the disputed text with all impartiality, according to what I have supposed to be the course of St. John's argument. The result of this investigation has been to increase my doubts very considerably: but in joining myself to those commentators who have pronounced the 7th verse to be an interpolation, I

cannot help deprecating the tone and feelings of those critics, who seem to take a pleasure in exposing the forgery, and who exult over the rejected passage, as over a prostrate enemy. If I may keep up the metaphor, I should part with the 7th verse, not as from a friend who had sought to betray me, and whose duplicity I had detected and exposed; but as from one who had been incautiously recommended, and whose powers I had found unequal to the services for which he was engaged. I may be charged with weakness, and perhaps with bigotry, but I confess that I give up the genuineness of the text with reluctance. Not that I think the absence of it shakes in the smallest degree the foundation of our faith:

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis

Tempus eget:

but I plead guilty to being insensible to the pleasure, which some minds can entertain, when any evidence which has been long looked upon as valid, can be treated with ridicule and contempt. I lay claim to no merit for learning or ingenuity, even if I have furnished a new argument for attacking the genuineness of the text: and I would cheerfully own myself altogether mistaken, if any external testimony should be discovered, which compelled me to admit the verse. But it is time that we should proceed to the consideration of the passage; and I shall begin with repeating what I have already stated, that the object of St. John, in this part of his Epistle, is to show, that Jesus and Christ were not two separate beings, who were united for a time, but that from the birth of Jesus they were *one* and the same. He asserts, therefore, that Jesus was not made Christ, nor adopted as the Son of God, at his baptism; but that he was Christ and the Son of God when he was first born into the world: and as a *witness* of this he appeals to the words spoken by God himself, *This is my beloved Son*. The point at issue was, whether this witness applied to Jesus before or after his baptism; in other words, whether Jesus and Jesus Christ were *one* being or two. Now if we look to the words of the 8th verse, as they are in the Greek, we shall find St. John expressly saying of the witnesses to which he appeals, *οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν*. Our version, which says, *And these three agree in one*, does not convey any very definite meaning: but let us remember the dispute to have been, whether Jesus Christ who came out of the water was *one* and the same with Jesus who went into the water, and who was born of Mary, and we may perhaps think that the words *εἰς τὸ ἓν* were intended to declare this unity or identity. The witnesses appealed to by St. John are *the Spirit*, which is explained by St. John himself (v. 9, 10,) to mean the voice from heaven; the *water*, or the baptism of Jesus, at which time he was said by the heretics to have been born again as Christ; and *the blood*, or his natural birth, when he was born of Mary. *These three*, as St. John says, *εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν*, i. e. as I should understand the expression, *are for the unity, or prove the unity*, of Jesus Christ: and if we read the 6th and 8th verses together, omitting the 7th, I should paraphrase the whole passage thus: 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, of whom I have been speaking, is that same Jesus who was born and baptized: he was not made Christ, nor was he adopted as the Son of God, when he was

baptized, and when the Spirit descended upon him, in Jordan ; but he united both these characters when he was born of Mary his mother : and as for the Spirit which descended upon him, it merely came to testify what was openly proclaimed by the voice from heaven, that he had always been the Son of God. The Gnostics refer only to the voice from heaven and to his baptism, as proving that he was then made the Son of God : but I refer also to the time when he was born into the world ; and I assert that the words spoken from heaven were as true then as they were afterwards ; and these three things, his birth, his baptism, and the voice from heaven, all prove the unity of his character as Jesus Christ ; not as Jesus only, who became Christ at his baptism ; but as Jesus Christ, who was always the Son of God.' If this interpretation is allowed, I cannot help observing that there seems no occasion for the 7th verse. If the object of St. John was to assert that Jesus was Christ and the Son of God before his baptism, there seems no reason why the statement should be interrupted, in order to admit a declaration of the doctrine of the Trinity. The point which is asserted by the three witnesses, is the identity of Jesus and Christ, as well before as after his baptism ; and I cannot see how this is established by the fact of the three persons, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, being one. But the three other witnesses were intimately connected with the question under discussion. *the Spirit* had audibly proclaimed that Jesus was the Son of God ; *the water*, or his baptism, was said by the Gnostics to have invested him with this character ; and *the blood*, or human birth of Jesus, was said by St. John to have united him to Christ. This union therefore of Jesus and Christ is the unity, τὸ ἓν, which these three witnesses establish ; and the person who interpolated the 7th verse introduced an entirely new sense when he said that the three witnesses *were themselves one*. It will be observed, that in the 7th verse we read οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι, and in the 8th οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν. I conceive the two expressions to be entirely different ; and that St. John had no intention whatever of saying that the three witnesses *were themselves one*, but that they *served to prove the unity* of Jesus Christ. The question has often been asked, how the 7th verse came to be introduced into the text ; and critics have had no scruple in answering, that some fanciful expositor wrote it as a remark in the margin, and that some zealous Trinitarian afterwards inserted it into the text. That the verse owed its origin to some fanciful commentator, is perhaps perfectly true. Almost all of them perceived that the witness of the Spirit alluded to the descent of the Holy Ghost and the voice from heaven ; but the real meaning of the water and the blood seems soon to have been forgotten. Most of the Latin MSS. read *tres unum sunt* ; and this may be one reason why the 7th verse was inserted earlier in the Latin copies than in the Greek ; for a strict Trinitarian would not have cared to say that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost *εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι* ; but he would have been very glad to have extracted from this passage, that the three Persons *unum sunt* : and accordingly when the text was admitted into the Greek copies, it was not written, as in the 8th verse, οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσι, but οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσι, which seems to con-

firm the idea that the Greek text in the 7th verse was a translation from the Latin.

“ Though I cannot help concluding against the genuineness of this text, I may add, that the argument which is taken from the silence of Athanasius and the other Greek Fathers, is perhaps carried too far. It seems to be forgotten, that the 7th verse, which says that the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one, would certainly not have silenced an Arian, who would also have quoted the text, and affixed to it his own interpretation : in the same manner as we learn from Epiphanius that the Arians explained John, xiv. 10, xvii. 23, to mean ‘ that the unity was not at all of nature, but of agreement : ’ and so they might have said, that the unity, which is predicated of the three Persons in 1 John, v. 7, was not an unity of nature. There was also another reason why the most zealous Trinitarian might not have chosen to quote the text. He exposed himself by so doing to the charge of Sabellianism : for Eusebius informs us, that the Sabellians, when they wished to prove that the Father and the Son were one and the same, insisted particularly on John, x. 30, xiv. 10, and so in a work which has been falsely ascribed to Athanasius, when that Father is made to quote to an Arian, *I and the Father are one*, John, x. 30, the other replied, ‘ then you are a Sabellian.’ Either of these reasons might have operated to hinder a controversial writer from quoting 1 John, v. 7. The Sabellian controversy occupied the latter half of the third century ; and nearly the whole of the fourth was taken up by that and the Arian together : so that our surprise might be diminished, if we do not find the orthodox writers insisting upon a text, which would have been quoted by one of their opponents as favourable to themselves, and which would not have produced any impression upon the other.”—pp. 522—526.

The Eighth Lecture is perhaps the most important of the whole series, and little justice would be done to it by an attempt at abridgment. It considers the use of Platonic phraseology by St. John ; a use which it is but natural we should find, if the School of Plato, as it has been sufficiently shown to be, is one of the foundations of Gnosticism, and if it was against the Gnostics that St. John more especially directed himself. Hey, who from his overflowing stores frequently throws out hints with a profuse, and, as it were, a careless hand, upon which whole Dissertations may be founded, has remarked that a person, who kept in mind the tenets of the early Heretics, would read St. John’s Gospel with more of the spirit in which it was written than one who did not :* and it is plainly in this spirit that Dr. Burton has turned himself to the writings of the beloved disciple. Modern infidels have sought to persuade us, that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ is borrowed by the Fathers from the Platonists. If it can be so proven, if such a vital doctrine be the invention of Man, not the revelation of God, then, says Dr. Burton, “ Christianity itself must fall to the

* *Lectures*, vol. i. *Appendix*, 8, 26.

ground. "The remnant of our Faith," he continues, with most beautiful imagery, "*might* be true, but who would rest his salvation upon a speculative chance? Who would care to cling to the little which was left him of the Gospel, if, after having fondly hoped that he was warmed by a ray from Heaven, he found that he had only been enveloped in an exhalation from the Schools?" The Lecturer's great object here, therefore, is to establish the contrary position, and since every step is to be confirmed by authorities as well as by reasoning, we must refer to the volume itself, both for his sound and well-weighed arguments and his most triumphant conclusion. One happy illustration we may separate from the rest without injury. The term *Λόγος*, as is well known, is repeatedly employed by the Platonists to signify the Reason of God, but never in a personal sense. St. John has given a new meaning to this term, and used it personally for the Son of God. But how came he to admit it at all? Dr. Burton supposes on good grounds (and Mosheim has preceded him in almost the same course), that the Gnostics, during the Apostle's banishment in Patmos, largely propagated their tenets, one of which considered the *Λόγος* to be an *Æon*, coming next in order to the Supreme God, and that the true believers, discovering somewhat of analogy between this *Æon* and Christ, as he had been revealed to them, adopted the name, though with a widely different meaning, and applied it to our Lord.

"According to this notion, St. John was as far as possible from being the first to apply the term *Logos* to Christ. I suppose him to have found it so universally applied, that he did not attempt to stop the current of popular language, but only kept it in its proper channel, and guarded it from extraneous corruptions. He knew very well that the word *Logos* did not properly belong to Christianity: but terms are of little importance, if the ideas which they convey are sound: and I can see nothing more extraordinary in St. John making use of a popular expression, than in St. Paul arguing from the inscription to the *Unknown God*, though he knew very well that the altar was not really raised to the God whom he then announced. We may put a parallel case, which might happen in our own days. We are told that the Avatar, or Incarnation of Vishnu, holds a conspicuous place in the Hindoo mythology. Now if a Christian missionary should find that the Indian notion of an incarnation was substantially the same with that of the Christians, would he introduce a new term, or would he not suffer his converts to speak of the Avatar of Christ as they had before spoken of the Avatar of Vishnu? There is no compromise of principles in an accommodation such as this. He would explain that the incarnation of Christ had happened only once: and he would also explain the causes which occasioned it: but if he was scrupulous in not using the term which had been profaned by superstition, we may be sure that his converts would use it for themselves; and at length

he would be compelled, as we have supposed St. John to have been, to admit the heathen term and consecrate it to a purer creed."—p. 220.

This Lecture ranks in the same high class as Horsley's celebrated Thirteenth Letter to Priestley; and the two, when taken together, must ever prove an impassable bulwark against both the Unitarian and the Deist. We know not whence to provide an antidote of more powerful virtue to dissipate the poison of those subtle and elaborate misrepresentations which may be found in the Twenty-first and Forty-seventh Chapters of Gibbon.

The concluding Lecture presents an accurate and useful summary of the matters which have been already discussed, and points out the application which may be made of them to the Unitarian controversy. We need not follow Dr. Burton here; few of our readers can be unacquainted with the arguments which have proved the Ebionites to be Heretics, and have overthrown the modern appeal to them by the deniers of Christ's divinity, miraculous conception, and atonement. Dr. Burton on these points also, as on all others which he has touched, adds strength to his predecessors. After the sincere feelings of high admiration which we have expressed for his eminent success in all the more important branches of his inquiry, he will perhaps forgive us if we warn him, in conclusion, of a few minor blemishes of composition. Strange as it may appear, few *educated* Englishmen of our own days ever write pure, idiomatic English. Other languages are studied grammatically, but we are content to slide and shuffle into our native tongue colloquially; and on that account the true employment of particles, or the right collocation of words, is rarely to be found in the book of a scholar. This style, which we would characterize as the *Academical style*, is adopted by Dr. Burton, and the sooner he can remodel it the fuller justice will he do to his thoughts. These thoughts must at all times command respect in any clothing, but their effect will be greatly heightened by a little closer attention to the toilette:—*qui res invenire et disponere benè scit, verba quoque et eligendi et collocandi rationem percipiat.*

ART. III.—*Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society.*
Volume the Third, Parts I. II. and III.

WE think we are doing a service to our readers in calling their attention to this volume, both on account of the valuable and curious memoirs on various subjects which it contains, and also because it may assist them in forming a correct opinion of the condition of one of our English Universities with regard to the cultivation of physical science. We conceive that a few remarks on this subject may be in season at the present moment, inasmuch as these institutions have of late been incessantly assailed with charges of the neglect of modern knowledge and improvements. And these assertions, confidently made and often repeated, while no answer is offered on the other part, may easily have left a persuasion that there may be some ground for blame, on the minds even of impartial persons who are unacquainted with the state of the case.

We are not surprized, indeed, that none of the more distinguished members of our Universities have stepped forth to reply to such accusations as we have referred to. It is no doubt very disagreeable and vexatious to persons of literary and scientific habits, to be compelled to assume the appearance of setting forth their own merits, in order to show the ignorance and unreasonableness of their accusers. The mere thought of having to maintain a controversy concerning their own good qualities must be, to all persons of liberal acquirements and cultivated minds, in itself disgusting and intolerable; to say nothing of the weapons with which they may expect the adversary to carry on the war. Such persons may be disposed to remain silent, in the persuasion that human wisdom, as well as divine, must be content to be justified of her children; and that those really acquainted with their pursuits will do justice to them, and to the institutions with which they are identified. We fear that such a course of action is of too calm and philosophical a cast to be well suited to the stirring and angry times in which we live. But however this may be, we are sure that many of our readers will be interested in a few remarks illustrative of the place which our Universities really occupy in a general view of the scientific character of the country.

There is a preliminary observation which, in justice to the Universities, we must make, though we believe it will appear, before we have done, that they are far from needing such a plea as an apology for deficiencies. Their primary function is that of institutions for the purpose of education; and their being seats of science is a character which belongs to them mainly as connected

with and resulting from the other. No doubt it is, in the capacity which we thus attribute to them, eminently desirable that their teachers should be men of the highest talents and attainments; active to acquire and profound to estimate all newly produced knowledge; but it is mere folly to look upon such persons as men whose office is *discovery*, or to make demands upon them as if their duty were to produce *new* truths. We can conceive no more unreasonable or petulant temper than that in which our academic bodies are upbraided, because, as is asserted, the great advances in science are generally made elsewhere. Who are the persons whose manhood is spent in these abodes? They are principally men holding official stations in large establishments, with stated daily employments and engagements. They have not only to analyse and to communicate the existing stores of knowledge, but they have, most of them, a number of other occupations, often laborious, always ungenial to habits of original investigation. That among persons so circumstanced a large body is found strongly interested about all that is discovered by others; that, unable to make scientific and literary speculation their business, they persevere in making it their favourite pleasure; seems to us rather to deserve praise, than taunts of inactivity and barrenness. How far the Universities are from being inactive and barren we shall see shortly.

Indeed, it seems to be allowed, by some of the complaining voices, that the two habits—that of original discovery and that of academic instruction—are not very compatible; and that it is rather too much to expect that a person undertaking one of these offices is to be called upon for the performance of the other, precisely in proportion as it is impossible for him to give his thoughts and time to such a pursuit. A project, it appears, founded on the assumption of this incompatibility, has been proposed for the benefit of the country; the amount of which is this, that 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year being conceived to be sufficient for a lecturing professor, the surplus of the income, which is supposed to be of about equal value, shall be given to a philosopher whose time is to be employed in original research. We believe our English professors will look with admiring envy on the happy ignorance which could suggest such a plan as applicable to their condition. In what distant and favoured land these golden visions may exist as realities we know not. In the English University with which we are best acquainted, we lament to say, the *average* income of the professorships of physical science is under 200*l.*; and we believe, that if we were to add any emolument which may arise from lectures, it would very slightly affect this average. We include in this estimate the Plumian Professorship,

which has been raised to 500*l.* per annum in consequence of having the important and heavy labours of Observer added to the duty of Professor of Experimental Philosophy. It will easily be understood therefore, that several of these professorships do not exceed 100*l.* per annum, as is in fact the case. We can imagine that the holders of these would be delighted with the operations of a reformer who should level all these offices *up to* the standard above mentioned.

Such are the pecuniary encouragements to science at Cambridge, which, it seems, entitle her judges to rebuke her for doing so little. We may observe, that in the distribution of its offices, it seems difficult to discern what this institution could do for the promotion of science which is not done. Those emoluments which do not involve such restraints and employments as we have mentioned, nor even the condition of residence, are given in the best way which a zeal for the advancement of knowledge could suggest. They are given to those whose previous career has shown most promise; they are given with the greatest readiness to those whose characters exhibit most prospect of scientific and literary activity; they are given to the class in which the rare gifts of heaven, the possessors of inventive power, are most likely to be found. They have thus been given to hundreds of men, whose names, no where more honoured than in the seats of their first studies, are now in the first places of intellectual honour. They were thus given to Wollaston, and Herschel, and Babbage: and yet these very names are set in array against the Universities, to show how little they encourage science. Truly the grave office of judge and reformer of the scientific world does not seem to protect the bearer from a marvellous captiousness of spirit and perverseness of inference.

We shall, however, leave both the friends and enemies of our Universities to their own opinions on these parts of their construction, and shall proceed to consider their present condition with regard to the cultivation of natural science: and in this we trust to show that Cambridge and Oxford are most unjustly accused of being backward and inert.

Our wealth of evidence on this point is so great that we hardly know where to commence. We suppose, however, that we cannot be complained of if we begin with one of the most modern and most progressive of sciences, Geology. To all who can annex its meaning to the word, it is known that Professor Buckland has for a long course of years been engaged with a vigour never interrupted and never exceeded, in some of the most original paths of research to which the study has given rise. There are few parts of Europe which have not been the scene of his labours;

none which is not the theatre of his fame; and it would therefore be most superfluous to add our praise. Mr. Conybeare is no less known as one of the most honoured names in the roll of geological distinction; one of the creators of the science, and one of the principal founders of the Geological Society; and finally, one whose fame has received the valuable stamp of foreign recognition, by his appointment as corresponding member of the French Institute. Though he is at present fixed at a distance from Oxford, his scientific activity was eminently connected with his academical position. The same may be said of his accomplished brother, the sharer of the same talents and the same pursuits, till he was removed by an early death, which his virtues and merits made to appear still more premature. Dr. Kidd's name must always be mentioned with respect as that of one whom the eminent men just spoken of, and others similarly circumstanced, venerate as their first teacher and guide in natural science; the author and instigator of the philosophical progress of a succeeding generation. Professor Sedgwick of Cambridge, the present President of the Geological Society, is acknowledged by all to be as distinguished in philosophical views as in activity of observation; and has contributed, or rather we ought to say, is perpetually contributing, papers most laborious and comprehensive, full of new and striking views, on the strata of Europe, from the Orkneys to Stiria. His energetic geological operations in the field are interrupted only by the official obligation of delivering his most animated and instructive courses of lectures. Indeed, we are compelled to declare, that we know not in what part of England, *except in the two Universities*, a young student has any possibility of acquiring a knowledge of Geology according to the views of those who have successfully cultivated it in modern times. And we do think it strange, that the Universities, which thus unquestionably have been and are the first and most zealous nurses of this youngest of the sciences, should be exposed to the trite and unmeaning charge of cherishing antiquated dogmas and neglecting the advances of modern discovery.

But to go on to other subjects. The Observatory at Cambridge has been erected but a few years; it possesses but one fixed instrument, a transit instrument; to which a few months will, we trust, add the other eye of such an establishment, a mural circle. Of the observations there made, two volumes have already appeared, concerning those made in 1828 and 1829; and these publications are allowed by all astronomers to be models of method, accuracy, and skill. The improvement of *reducing* the observations before printing, unattempted before in English observations, has *quintupled* the astronomer's labour, but it is difficult to express in what

proportion it has augmented the utility of the work. It is no easy matter to enumerate the "trains of original research" in which Professor Airy, in his capacity of astronomer alone, is engaged. The correction of the Tables of the Sun—the *theoretical* determination of a minute inequality of Venus neglected by Laplace, a task involving enormous labour of calculation—the *practical* detection by observation of another inequality of the same planet depending on the Moon's mass, an undertaking in which he has engaged the most eminent of the Italian astronomers to co-operate with him—the observation of the planets, so much neglected hitherto in this country—these are some of the objects kept in view at the Cambridge Observatory. And these might be considered sufficient for one man's time and thoughts. But Mr. Airy's official range includes experimental philosophy as well as astronomy; and though his task is thus made a laborious one, it is well for the University and for science that it is so. Another of the *newest* of the sciences, that concerned with the recently discovered properties of light, has received a large share of the attention of this officer of a bigoted and unprogressive establishment, and of the interest of his numerous hearers. Indeed we will venture to say, that of British savans, not more than one man in England, and Dr. Brewster in Scotland, are pursuing the path of discovery in this subject with similar zeal and intelligence. We will venture to say, also, here again, that with regard to this new department of science, there is no institution in Great Britain where the student can acquire a knowledge of it either so beautifully illustrated by experiment, or theoretically so profound, as in the *Plumian Lecture Room*.

Another set of lectures accessible to the Cambridge student, of a kind which, we believe, is not to be found in any other place, is the highly curious and useful course which Professor Farish has been for many years in the habit of delivering, upon machinery and manufactures. The main substance of these lectures was originally gathered from an actual examination of the manufactories of England: they are illustrated by a very ingeniously constructed collection of models, and they have long been known to most of those who have spent any portion of their time at Cambridge, as an habitual source of pleasure and instruction alike to young and old.

We dwell not the other professors whose merit is the unostentatious, but most useful one, of giving good lectures to their respective classes. Those who attend the lecture rooms of our Universities find, we believe, that the newest as well as the oldest discoveries in each department—in Chemistry, in Medicine, in Anatomy, human and comparative, in Botany, and in

Mineralogy—have been studied by the professor, and are laid before the student. The chemical professor at Cambridge, indeed, Professor Cumming, is known as *one* of those, to say the least of him, who took a lead in the discoveries with respect to the thermo-electric properties of metals; and we may here mention that the coincidence of his results, published in the Cambridge Transactions, with observations afterwards published as original by Becquerel in the *Annales de Chimie*, is of a nature which has excited strongly the impression of an unacknowledged appropriation on the part of the French scavant.

But we quit for the present these notices of professorial operations, and proceed to the immediate subject of our review. We cannot hesitate to say, that the volume of Academical Transactions before us would be remarkable, from whatever quarter it had proceeded, for the collection of original and important dissertations which it contains. And these are, with scarcely any exceptions, the labours of resident members of the University; the pledges and evidence of trains of research in which they have been lately engaged. And in what we have to say of these gentlemen, we would most earnestly beg them to excuse us for any unwelcome publicity of character which our remarks may seem to impose upon them. They are, many of them, persons bound by no tie but that of inclination to the pursuit of science, living under no professional obligation thus to bestow their time and talents; and some, as we know, attached to such employments by the promise, which they seem to hold out, of an unobtrusive and peaceful life of intellectual enjoyment. We should not therefore have ventured to indicate their individual pursuits as part of the character of the University, if it had not been declared over and over, in a manner bordering upon arrogance, that there are no such persons; and that our Universities contain neither successful private votaries of science, nor professors distinguished in their appropriated departments.

We owe, perhaps, also an apology of another kind to men whose names are already mentioned with reverence wherever science is spoken of; to such men as Professors Buckland, and Sedgwick, and Airy, when we seem to suppose it necessary to inform our readers who they are: when we remind them that these are academic persons, men whose scientific researches have been most peculiarly identified with their positions in their Universities; who have had their thoughts directed by their professorships—have had their first admirers in their own lecture rooms—and have, we will add, many of the persons best able to appreciate their labours, in those who now listen to their yearly courses. It is no doubt ridiculous enough to tell this to those who charge

the Universities with possessing neither philosophy nor philosophers: for if they do know these names, what are we to think of the candour which allows them to make such assertions? and if they do not, what can be the use of addressing to such persons any argument at all on the state of science? But we have, perhaps, said enough to show the temper in which such charges have been urged.

In examining the contents of the third volume of the Cambridge Transactions, we begin with the papers which refer to experimental researches. Among these, we find some very curious memoirs by Mr. Willis, Fellow of Caius College; and one in particular, "On Vowel Sounds and Reed Organ Pipes," exhibiting one of the most original and remarkable trains of research which have been hit upon in modern times, and one of which the merit belongs entirely to Mr. Willis himself. Our limits do not allow us to give more than a sketch of the contents of this memoir; but we may observe, that no one had previously at all succeeded in analysing the acoustical condition of the different vowel sounds. It had always been supposed that these conditions would best be studied by observing the human organs of utterance. Mr. Willis was, however, directed by his own observations to a different path of investigation; and this led him to a most curious series of results. It appears that when a musical *reed* is made to blow through any cavity whatever, a vowel sound is produced depending upon the form and size of the cavity. When this cavity is a tube, different lengths of the tube correspond to the different vowels, in the order I, E, A, O, U. If the tube is made longer still, we come, after a certain interval, to the same vowels in the inverted order, U, O, A, E, I; and then in the direct order again, and so on, in a very remarkable law of progression. Following up this discovery, Mr. Willis has completely explained the relation of vowel quality to musical pitch.* The author has thus apparently obtained the key to all the complexities of articulation, except so far as consonantal sounds are concerned. We believe that Mr. Willis has, since writing the Memoirs which occur in the present volume, been engaged in pursuing other researches connected with the same interesting subject. He has in particular been engaged, with the help of Dr. Clark, the anatomical professor, in researches on the anatomy of the organs of articulation; and his dissections carried on for this purpose have led him to very remarkable results; for in consequence of Mr. Willis's accurate and scientific views of the pre-

* It appears, for instance, that when the pitch of the reed is very high, some of the vowels become impossible: and this agrees with what takes place in the human voice; female singers are unable to pronounce U and O on their higher notes.

cise mode of working of these organs, he has been able to assign the true office of several pairs of muscles which had hitherto been very imperfectly understood, and has detected in a muscle appointed to act upon the larynx, a structure which had escaped the notice of preceding anatomists. We rejoice that a person so well qualified for the task as his experiments prove him to be, is employed in so promising a field of investigation; and we hope at some future period to have to congratulate him on having reduced to its simplest principles the complex and curious process of articulate utterance. When this is done, "*ascendendo ad axiomata*," we shall expect Mr. Willis to proceed to the remainder of the Baconian process; and "*descendendo ad opera*" to construct a perfect talking-machine. We can imagine nothing more edifying to those who love to see the powers of science exhibited in a tangible form, than to listen to such an automaton delivering in an audible voice the results of the calculations of its elder brother, that consummate specimen of mechanical skill on which Professor Babbage has been and is employed.

There is likewise another paper by Mr. Willis in this volume, containing a more complete experimental analysis than has elsewhere appeared, of the circumstances of a phenomenon which a few years ago excited some notice; *viz.* that a small disk exposed to a stream of air rushing through an orifice in a plane surface is *attracted* towards the orifice instead of being *driven off* as we might expect. Mr. Willis, by means of a very ingenious apparatus, measured the pressure at each point of the disk, and the limits of the effect; and the experiment thus examined possesses additional interest in consequence of being included among the problems of which the theoretical investigation has been given by Mr. Challis in the same volume.

While speaking of the researches of the Cambridge philosophers, which have been carried on experimentally, it would be unjust not to mention one or two smaller papers in this volume; not as presenting great discoveries, but as inquiries on subjects of scientific interests conducted in a suitable manner, and such as might be expected among men to whom modern science is familiar. We have for instance from Mr. Miller, Fellow of St. John's College, exact descriptions of the form and angles of the crystals of boracic acid, borate and bicarbonate of ammonia, and indigo. We have another paper from the same gentleman, on a subject at present offering much interest to mineralogists, the identity of the crystalline form of certain slags found in furnaces at Birmingham and at Merthyr Tydvil, with the natural crystals of olivine; and along with this, a notice of the approximate identity of other minerals connected by *isomorphous* or *plesiomorphous*

relations. This is a subject which has recently been much attended to by German and French mineralogists, and especially by Mitscherlich, and we know not how a person can do better service to the science than by contributing similar observations.

We notice in the same manner Mr. Coddington's account of his improvement in the microscope, by substituting a sphere for a lens in its construction: a step suggested by theoretical considerations, and of which the anticipated advantages have been fully confirmed by trial. And we have to mention finally Mr. Jenyns' Observations on the habits and character of the Natter Jack of Pennant, a reptile of which Dr. Fleming has very recently observed in his *British Animals*, that "its history is involved in obscurity." Mr. Jenyns has added to these observations a list of the reptiles found in Cambridgeshire, having, in a former volume of the *Transactions*, given a list of the birds of the county, with various original remarks on their habits, &c.

Indeed we cannot but consider that a taste for Natural History is growing up in our English Universities: for though their constitution is destitute of all means and encouragement whatever for this study, (except with regard to plants,) the want of collections, lectures, and funds, has been in some degree overcome by the zeal of the present race of individual members. The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, under the generous and unwearied exertions of Dr. Duncan and his brother, has become no inconsiderable collection of objects of Natural History. The Philosophical Society of Cambridge has, in a similar spirit, acquired, by the voluntary contributions of its members, an excellent Collection of British Birds, and the rudiments of collections belonging to some of the other kingdoms of nature. We trust at some period to see added to each of our Universities a Museum of Comparative Anatomy: an establishment so indispensable not only to the medical student, but to the geologist, and we may add, to the student of natural theology. When we speak of the Museums of Natural History in our Universities, many persons seem resolved to assume that these bodies have had such appendages for a long course of time, and have had at every period ample means of adding to them all that might enable them to keep pace with the advance of these sciences. How far different the case really is, no person interested in science, or in the Universities, can call to mind without great sorrow. It is certainly much to be regretted, that though the treasures of this kind now amassed at Oxford and Cambridge are so very imperfect, they yet already overflow the space which can be allotted for their reception. In many cases the professors dare not even accept the most valuable objects when presented, from the impossibility of finding room

for such gifts. Efforts are making at Cambridge to remedy this crying evil, by the erection of a suite of Lecture Rooms and Museums; and we trust soon to see these edifices rising in beauty and utility for the benefit of future years. When this addition to the splendour and usefulness of Cambridge has taken place, it will be just to those who have exerted themselves for the object, to call to mind that they undertook their task without the resources or prospects which may in other places have rendered it an easier labour; with no assistance from the government, such as in our own and other countries has been given to such establishments; with no fund ready to their hands; with no prospect of any adequate return; but in hope and confidence in the goodness of their cause, and animated simply by the strong feeling of the necessity of such institutions to the dignity and purposes of their University.

As one of the leading promoters of the study of natural history at Cambridge, we must mention Professor Henslow, the professor of Botany. He has, more perhaps than any other person, contributed to the progress of the collections which the Cambridge Society is accumulating, having been originally one of the earliest persons to urge and forward the establishment of such a society. We trust that he will before long succeed in effecting the intended removal of the Cambridge Botanical Garden into a more open and favourable locality, and will thus have to bestow his cares on a more grateful field than has yet been his lot. If any of our readers should desire to see the students of our Universities pursuing natural science in a guise which savours very little of academical formality and solemnity, he should join the herborising parties which, several times every summer, roam over "trembling bog and deep morass" on the banks of the Cam, under Professor Henshaw's direction; or, if he boast equestrian skill and ambition, let him repair to the oolitic slopes of Oxford, and charge the heights of Shotover, under the spirited and intelligent guidance of Dr. Buckland. The Cambridge geological professor, unhappily situated among boundless wastes of alluvial rubbish and featureless confusion, would attempt in vain to lead out his class to a "field-day," such as those which afford so much instruction and amusement at the sister University.

We may here notice, as illustrative of the readiness which exists at Cambridge to engage in scientific labour, the attempts which some members of that University have recently made to ascertain the mean density of the earth, by comparing the gravity at the surface and at a distance below it, by means of invariable pendulums. Two expeditions, in the summers of 1826 and 1828, were made for this purpose, to Dolcoath, one of the deepest of

the Cornish mines. The experimentalists, who consisted of a few graduates and one or two younger members, incurred by their undertaking the necessity of undergoing labours little less severe than those of the common miner, for a period of several weeks. The extreme delicacy of the kind of apparatus employed on this occasion, which is perhaps not yet thoroughly understood, and had never before been applied in the same manner, together with some unlucky accidents, have hitherto placed obstacles in the way of obtaining a satisfactory result from the experiments thus made. But there can hardly be any doubt that the method which was thus devised, is one better adapted than any other to afford the solution of the important and difficult problem of the earth's density: and several of the processes employed were incontestibly both novel and valuable.

But we return to our proper office of Reviewers. We have mentioned some of the Memoirs in the volume before us, belonging to those departments of knowledge in which experiment and observation are the instruments for the discovery of truth; and we conceive that the account we have given indicates the prevalence neither of ignorance nor inactivity in our Universities. There is however another range of speculations which, we believe, most persons would be disposed to consider as more likely to flourish among a set of cloistered students: we mean speculations of pure reasoning, where calculation and thought are the only instruments employed; and especially mathematical investigations. Of this class we have no lack in the volume in question; and we believe several of them will be allowed by all competent judges to possess no common originality and merit. The first of these probably in importance is Professor Airy's paper on the correction of the errors of eye-pieces arising from the spherical form of the surfaces. Indeed we conceive that this memoir, in combination with two others, must be considered as having entirely changed the face of the mathematical science of Optics. The condition of this branch of their studies was, till lately, a subject of reproach to mathematicians; for the abstruse researches of Clairaut, Euler, and D'Alembert, had produced only a mass of complicated formulæ, which remained inapplicable, or at least unapplied, in practice; and which in theory were devoid of that symmetry which could alone make them attractive or easy to the student. In 1821, Mr. Herschel published, in the Philosophical Transactions of London, his researches on the aberrations of *object-glasses*; in 1824, Mr. Airy gave, in the Cambridge Transactions, a Memoir on the chromatic correction of *eye-pieces* and of Microscopes: and in the present volume he has completed this branch of optics, by an admirable paper on the

Spherical Aberration of Eye-pieces; a subject of great and hitherto almost unattempted difficulty. Without endeavouring to describe the course of his reasonings, we may observe that the causes of the faults of eye-pieces are those properties of pencils of rays, which we may call 1° *distortion*, the image being of a different shape from the reality; 2° *diffusion*, the pencil not being collected to a point in the proper place: 3° (employing a word which we believe Professor Airy is in the habit of using in his lectures on this subject,) *astigmatism*, the pencil not being collected to a point at all. This last property, though one of the most essential considerations in the whole of optical theory, has not we believe been before taken into account. The course of investigation followed by the author in this complicated problem is remarkable for that mathematical symmetry which introduces all the simplicity of which such a subject is susceptible: and he has given the results of his researches in rules of the plainest form, applied to a great variety of the most frequent practical combinations of lenses. We may, therefore, now consider the theory of telescopes and microscopes as having, by the writings of these eminent mathematicians, assumed its true and permanent shape. And we may here mention the labours of Mr. Coddington, Fellow of Trinity College; who, taking advantage of the results thus obtained, has succeeded in reducing the investigations of them into a form suited to an elementary work. He has thus published the most original treatise on Optics which has appeared for a long period, and one which cannot but modify very greatly for the future the mode of presenting to the mathematical reader this branch of physics.

Besides the Memoir on Eye-pieces, Professor Airy has contributed to this volume various other mathematical papers—one of these is Article III. containing the Theory of the *Escapements and Balances of Clocks and Watches*; in which, among various other applications of his results, he compares the different escapements now in use—recoil escapements, dead-beat escapements, and those which he designates as Cumming's escapements—and finds that the order of merit which is assigned to those different constructions by the theory, is precisely that which is confirmed by experience. We have also from the same author a paper on the *Conditions under which a Perpetual Motion is possible*; which, though apparently an entirely hypothetical investigation, was in fact suggested by certain observations made by Mr. Willis on the continued vibration of the *tongue* of a reed, and similar laminæ.

Some others of Mr. Willis's experimental researches are illustrated by Mr. Challis's results, in two very valuable papers, one "On the Theory of the small Vibratory Motions of Elastic

Fluids," and another "On the general Equations of the Motion of Fluids, both compressible and incompressible; and on the Pressure of Fluids in Motion." Mr. Challis has taken the equations which belong to these very difficult problems, and has made various steps in their examination and solution, some of which are both new and important. We cannot hope to make these abstruse processes intelligible to many of our readers, and we shall not here attempt it; but we may observe that the author has compared his results with those of the most recent and profound of the French writers on the subject, M. Poisson; and has in various instances given his reasons for taking views different from those of that excellent analyst. Mr. Challis has also, by means of his methods, obtained the solution of several problems hitherto considered impracticable; and among others has given the mathematical explanation, as we have already mentioned, of the curious phenomenon of a disk drawn towards an orifice in a plate by a stream of air issuing from it.

We have also from Mr. Challis another very remarkable paper, "On the Extension of Bode's Empirical Law of the Distances of the Planets from the Sun, to the Distances of the Planets from their respective Satellites." The law which expresses the distances of Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, &c. from the Sun, is that of the numbers 4, 7, 10, 16, 28, &c. in which the numbers follow this simple rule; *viz.* that the differences, after the first, go on doubling. No one has ever suggested a reason of this physical fact; but if it be owing to any general cause, Mr. Challis conceived that a similar rule ought to be found prevailing also with regard to the satellites of each planet. He has examined the distances of these bodies, with the view of ascertaining the truth of this surmise, and has found at least sufficient confirmation to make it a subject worthy the attention of astronomers. It appears that the differences of the distances of Jupiter's satellites go on by a ratio very nearly of $2\frac{1}{2}$; that those of Saturn do not so nearly follow a simple law, an irregularity which Mr. Challis is disposed to refer to the existence of that planet's ring; and that the satellites of Uranus have $1\frac{1}{2}$ for their ratio; supposing that in consequence of the great distance and apparent smallness of the satellites of this planet, we are at liberty to suspect that there are others besides those already discovered. "We know," says Mr. Challis, "how the law of Bode rendered probable the existence of a planet between Mars and Jupiter. The same law extending to the satellites of Uranus, authorizes the conjecture that there are two between the fourth and fifth and one between the fifth and sixth, making in all nine."

Without asserting that Mr. Challis has established his point

conclusively, we repeat that there is enough of *primâ facie* evidence to make extremely interesting any researches for these yet undiscovered bodies of our system, of which the existence is thus indicated.

We have to notice also two very valuable and instructive memoirs by Mr. Lubbock, on the subject of annuities, and others connected with it. These are Art. V. "On the Calculation of Annuities, and on some questions in the Theory of Chances," and Art. XII. "On the Comparison of various Tables of Annuities." The object of the first of these papers is to show how the probabilities of an individual living any given number of years, are to be deduced from any table of mortality, according to a more accurate and scientific application of the principles of probability than is usually made by writers on this subject. We have not here space to explain the mathematical ground of inaccuracy in the common modes of calculation; but we may remark that it gives a result in all cases differing from the true result; and often by a quantity of some importance: for instance, a year and a fraction in the *expectation* of life; and half a year in the purchase-value of an annuity. The tables referred to in this paper, are those of Dr. Haygarth, of the Mortality of Chester. In the succeeding paper Mr. Lubbock has compared these tables with various others, as those of Paris, Dr. Halley's Breslau Table, Kerseboom's Tables for Holland, Desparcieux for the Tontines, M. Quetelet's for Brussels. This memoir is full of extremely curious and interesting observations, and indeed it contains an exhibition and analysis of the data which we at present possess for determining questions connected with the duration of human life, drawn up with the pen of a skilful mathematician and an intelligent collector of materials. Mr. Lubbock is not at present a resident of Cambridge; but we rejoice to find that persons, who like him, are actively and successfully employed in the prosecution of various scientific pursuits elsewhere, are still ready to combine their labours with those of their former fellow-students and friends.

The astronomical papers are, the determination of the longitude of the Cambridge Observatory by Professory Airy, which by a comparison of *six* chronometers, appears to be 23 seconds 54 hundredths east of Greenwich: and a paper by Mr. Rothman, Fellow of Trinity College, "On an ancient Observation of a Winter Solstice." In this Mr. R. proves very clearly, that the observation in question, made at Alexandria and recorded by Strabo, really belongs to the solstice, though given as belonging to the equinox. As all who have hitherto treated of this passage in Strabo have been able to explain it only by altering the num-

bers, we conceive Mr. Rothman's satisfactory correction to be by no means without value.

The extraordinary extension of general methods in the modern history of mathematics, and the truly remarkable influence of symbols in the processes employed, are singularly calculated to attract the attention of persons possessed of mathematical tastes and talents. Accordingly there has been at Cambridge a succession of mathematical students, who have rejoiced to disport themselves in the wild and wondrous region of analytical generalities and symbolical involutions, sometimes to the perplexity and dismay of an older race of reasoners, accustomed to more palpable objects of thought and narrower rules of combination. Without pretending to give any opinion as to what students in general have gained or lost by quitting the ancient path, we may venture to say that the Cambridge mathematicians would have been most bitterly, and we may add, most justly blamed, if they had not studied the use of those instruments of investigation, by which alone all the great and important applications of mathematics in modern times have taken or can take place. Nor have there been wanting from time to time persons who have fed and trimmed the lamp of analysis, as well as used its light. Those who are acquainted with English mathematical works, will probably recollect a very remarkable quarto, "*Memoirs of the Analytical Society*, vol. i." which, seventeen years ago, issued from the University Press of Cambridge. In this publication, the extraordinary complexity and symmetry of the symbolical combinations sorely puzzled the yet undisciplined compositors of that day, and led unmathematical readers to the conviction that the whole was a wanton combination of signs, left to find a meaning for themselves, like the Javanese character of Princess Caraboo. It will, however, be acknowledged by those who have read the book, that this was no unworthy production of the talents of those who there put forth the youthful promise of their strength and goodwill; and this is no slight praise, when it is remembered that among them Mr. Herschel and Professor Babbage were the principal writers. Since that day others have followed in the same paths, if with less vigorous steps. This volume of the Cambridge Transactions before us contains in particular, two contributions to this department of pure mathematics. One is a paper "on Algebraical Notation," by Mr. Jarrett, Fellow of Catherine Hall, in which the author has applied, more extensively than has yet been done, the use of symbols in the treatment of Algebraical questions. It will easily be understood that a series of quantities following any law whatever, may be represented by

a symbol which expresses one term, and indicates by its indices or appendages the mode in which other terms precede or follow; and that all the operations which can be performed upon series will thus be exhibited by means of certain relations among symbols of this kind. Mr. Jarrett has applied this principle to a great number of the most important processes; with great gain of symmetry and generality, and consequently of facility and conciseness, for those who have made themselves masters of his machinery.

Another paper of this class, by Mr. Murphy, Fellow of Caius College, is "on the General Properties of Definite Integrals;" a class of functions, which, as the author observes, have acquired a new importance in modern times from their application to various physical theories, particularly those of the propagation of heat and the distribution of electricity. It does not appear that the properties which the author of this paper establishes, though very general and curious, have any immediate bearing on such theories: but we hail with pleasure Mr. Murphy's wish to extend the boundaries of analytical knowledge, and we trust to see him appear before the world again, as the author of more extensive and systematic speculations.

While we are thus speaking of the labours of Cambridge mathematicians in the field of pure mathematics, we may mention some curious speculations published by Mr. Warren, of Jesus College, on the geometrical representation of the square roots of negative quantities. For the results of such operations, which are generally considered as not having any intelligible analogy or connexion with space or number, Mr. Warren found a very simple and perfectly consistent mode of interpretation, which led to many remarkable consequences. Mr. Warren, on publishing his book, found that he had been anticipated in most of his views by a recent French writer; he has, however, more recently still, pursued them in a paper which appeared in a late number of the Royal Society's transactions. A circumstance which seems to show that this mode of interpretation is not merely arbitrary and accidental, is that the same views have been obtained by Mr. Peacock, of Trinity College, travelling by a different road and proposing to himself a different object. Mr. Peacock's notions have been laid before the world in his *Treatise on Algebra*, which has recently appeared: a work in which he makes a bold, and, as appears to us, successful attempt, to establish the rules of algebraical combinations on higher and wider evidence than that which is obtained from the generalization of operations on number: and thus to show, that algebra is

an independent science, possessing its own principles and foundations, and that arithmetic occupies, with regard to it, the place only of a *science of suggestion*.

We may notice finally, as a sort of novelty in mathematics, Professor Whewell's "Mathematical Exposition of some Doctrines of Political Economy." For ourselves, we cannot say that we expect any great profit from this application of mathematical processes, nor do we think that the mathematicians are likely to help us much in our journey along the difficult and tangled road which leads to political truths. In dealing with the moral elements of our nature, the laws of space and number bestead us but little. If Professor Whewell, as a mathematician, chooses to lay claim to all the political economy which has nothing to do with such elements, we can only wish him joy of his acquisition: and we shall be greatly obliged to him to invent symbols, as we have no doubt he may do, which will condense the whole science into a single sheet of paper. We may point out to Professor Whewell's notice, that M. Dupin, in France, has been pursuing a somewhat similar train of speculation, and apparently in a much bolder spirit. Mr. Dupin founds his reasonings on the same table of the relation between the diminution of the supply, and the increase of price which is, in a great measure, the basis of Professor Whewell's calculations; and erects upon it, without any misgivings, "*une expression du troisieme degre*." This table was originally given by Sir W. Petty: it is very partial, and, we conceive, of very uncertain accuracy; but some such table must no doubt be assumed in every attempt to reduce to calculation changes in the distribution of wealth.

We have not attempted to associate with the reputation of the University, any labours of persons possessing only a formal connection with it. We have not even adduced the present occupant of Newton's chair, Professor Babbage, as one of the supports of its scientific name. But we cannot refrain from saying, that nothing could be more honourable to the body as well as to the individual, than the selection of that eminent mathematician by the heads of colleges to fill the Lucasian professorship, without solicitation on his part, without academical claims, and while he was absent in a foreign country. We might mention also, that Cambridge supplies from among its *resident* members not only a President to the Geological, but a most efficient and scientific Secretary to the Astronomical Society. We might with truth assert, that the labours of these and other active cultivators of science are not to be disjoined from the character of the place, though they appear, not in the Cambridge Transactions, but

in those of the Astronomical or Geological Society*, or in journals, "cyclopedias," and "libraries." But one remark we will make. We may consider the effect and influence of the institutions and tone of the University, as fairly illustrated in the attainments and disposition of its younger members, immediately after they have finished their academical career; and we will venture to say that, judged of in this way, the impression cannot but be very decided, of the alacrity of thought and zeal of scientific acquirement which its institutions produce. An extraordinary number of persons in this situation have been selected to occupy the most important offices in other academical establishments, in every quarter of the globe, in distant countries, and, we add with pleasure, in our own. And a still more extraordinary number of persons of the same description, have been employed as unprofessional and volunteer agents in the dissemination of every species of scientific knowledge. It is well known that of the tracts circulated by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, a very large proportion has been contributed by the labours of Cambridge men, some residents, holding a distinguished name and place in the body;—but many, persons who quitted the University after the usual course of study, and who took up the task, with the attainments and with the dispositions which their college life had infused. Some of these compositions may be cited as the happiest examples which the language possesses of the best scientific history, the intellectual biography of great discoverers. But even where they deserve a lower praise for their execution, these undertakings must be considered as most decisive evidence both of a sincere love and a steady possession of knowledge, and of an eager but unostentatious zeal for its extensive communication. And the circumstances which we have mentioned show that these writers inhaled this excellent spirit from the atmosphere of the University; that their nursing mother neither failed to impart to them the best treasures of modern discovery, nor taught them to grudge to the most uninstructed among their countrymen all the knowledge that they were capable of receiving.

* We purposely avoid going into any detail with respect to Oxford, not being confident that we should do justice to the cultivators of physical science which that University possesses. But we may observe that, to say nothing here of Dr. Buckland, in himself a host, or of the Conybeares and Dr. Kidd, whom we have already mentioned, Mr. Powell's continued researches on the laws of the radiation of heat; and Dr. Daubeny's labours, with regard, first to volcanos, and then to mineral waters, as well as others in which he has been more recently engaged, prove anything but an apathy as to the progress of science. Professor Rigaud, a most intelligent and learned astronomer, is employed in the publication of Bradley's Observations. And we will add, that a zeal for speculative science is so far from being weak or inactive in Oxford; that within a few weeks a voluntary association of its members has subscribed above 3000*l.*, which is to be employed in the best way which they can devise for promoting the cultivation of mathematical science in that University.

But we return to our Cambridge Transactions: and having shown what they contain, we really cannot but feel tempted to ask—Where is the evidence of the sloth and prejudice, the want of habits of inquiry and of sympathy with the advances of modern knowledge, which are so plentifully attributed to the English Universities, whenever they are mentioned by various classes of writers? What branch of knowledge is uncultivated? With what modern discoveries are they unacquainted? To what corresponding class of their countrymen are they inferior? What set of men can be pointed out as doing more with means such as they possess? How many of those who sneer, and rail, and propose the re-modelling or subversion of these institutions, can claim to have contributed to science so much, or at all? How many of these persons are capable even of understanding and appreciating the valuable voluntary labours of which we have been giving an account? And what opinion are we to form of those who, never having looked at what has been written, or inquired what has been done and is doing, repeat obsolete calumnies, and accusations ridiculously unfounded?—What but this:—that they are themselves, as they accuse others of being, enslaved by traditional phrases, incapable of forming or of changing their opinion upon evidence, and devoid of the habits and disposition which alone can lead to truth on such a subject.

One additional observation we must make, to avoid misrepresentation, or at least to leave it without excuse. It would be grave injustice to the authors of the various papers which we have quoted, to allow it to be supposed that we hold them up as containing great discoveries. To merit such a description can be but seldom, and by singular fortune, the lot of any volume of academical memoirs, or of any other kind. It must be obvious to the reader, that we are not called upon to maintain, either that the Cambridge memoirs, or any other exertions for the advancement of science in the two Universities, are of first-rate importance with reference to the scientific world at large. But these matters are of very obvious and decisive importance as connected with the character of the Universities: as a proof of intellectual activity, of zeal for science, of perseverance and intelligence in its prosecution, of familiarity with the most valuable portions of recent discovery. This praise we are fully persuaded no competent judge can refuse, on the evidence we have produced. If any adversary should endeavour to evade the impression which such an exposition must leave, and should bring against us a charge of exaggerating the labours of our Cantabrigians, and of representing as vast strides in science what are in fact minute steps; we conceive that no reader of fairness and sagacity is

likely to be imposed upon by such a manœuvre. He will see that, whether or not they are advancing with a giant's pace, they are at least not stationary and sleeping; and we are persuaded that if he is competent to the task, and will examine the memoirs themselves, he will be led to a feeling of no small respect towards the authors whom we have quoted, and the body of which they are examples.

But it would be sacrificing too much to the fear of cavil, if we were to allow that none of the papers in the volume of which we have spoken, are to be considered as containing important advances and forming epochs in the subjects to which they refer. We will point out two of them of which the substance must for the future always appear as a prominent and valuable part of their respective sciences. Professor Airy's papers on Eye-pieces have, as we have already intimated, substituted a complete and scientific solution of the problem in question, for a set of useless and trifling formulæ; and he has put this solution into a form in which it can be employed by the practical optician; thus really reducing the hitherto rebellious theory of telescopes into a subordination to the authority of mathematics. The other paper for which we do not fear to claim this high place, is Mr. Willis's upon the Vowel Sounds. It has already been referred to, with a due appreciation of its value, by Mr. Herschel in his admirable *Treatise on Sound*. The vein of discovery, thus opened up, appears to be rich with the most curious truths and inventions connected with the philosophy of articulation; and it is likely, we trust, in the hands of the discoverer (we believe there are none in which it could be more likely) to lead to the complete solution of a problem so attractive, and yet hitherto almost untouched.

It is unfortunate that lively or vehement dispraise of others is, to most ears, more entertaining and interesting than praise the best deserved and best supported. We fear that our reader may be wearied with the favourable report which we have had to make of the Cambridge philosophers. We would gladly have spent more of our time and space, in a closer and more distinct analysis of the substance of these memoirs, which might have had a calmer and more instructive interest than that which belongs to a vindication, however necessary and clear. But the unprovoked and unfounded attacks of a perverse generation of critics have compelled us to the reflections which we have connected with the publication of these memoirs, as with other facts. Under any circumstances however, most certainly neither we, nor any other set of censors, could with justice have spoken otherwise than we have done of the volume which has been our principal subject of examination.

ART. IV.—1. *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys, collected during his Travels in the East.* By the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Published by Authority of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa. London. Colburn and Bentley. 1830. 4to. pp. 440.

2. *Arabic Proverbs, or the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, illustrated from their Proverbial Sayings current at Cairo.* Translated and explained by the late John Lewis Burckhardt. Published by Authority of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior of Africa. London. Murray. 1830. 4to. pp. 232. 25s.

THIRTEEN years have elapsed since the lamented death of the author of these two Works, before the African Institution has brought up its arrear of promise. But, since we have at length obtained them, we will rather congratulate ourselves upon the acquisition, than quarrel with the delay, which may, indeed, have been occasioned by satisfactory causes, not likely to fall under our knowledge. We lament to find that they are the last publications which we shall receive from the pen of the late distinguished and most enterprising individual by whom they have been furnished.

The biography of a traveller is almost necessarily comprised in his travels, and in the case of Mr. Burckhardt, these have been so long before the Public that little now remains to be added. He was a native of Zurich, a younger branch of one of its chief families. Gifted with considerable natural talent, which he had very assiduously cultivated, a strong constitution, and an ardent spirit, he early sought distinction in a course eminently demanding those qualities; and, after a short residence in England, whither the tyranny of France had driven him from the mountains of his birth, he tendered his services, under the patronage of Sir Joseph Banks, to the African Institution. We well remember the profound interest excited by him during a short visit which he paid at Cambridge, to one of kindred habits and pursuits; and we have now before us a speaking likeness etched by the accomplished lady of Dr. Edward Daniel Clarke, while Burckhardt was the guest of her deeply-regretted husband. In 1809, he quitted England on his first expedition, and wisely employed three years in preparation and probation for his future task, chiefly as a resident at Aleppo and Damascus. Among the Turkmans of Northern Syria and the Bedouins, with whom he established a close intercourse, he acquired, during that period, a familiarity with Oriental manners and Mohammedan rites, with the Religion and languages of the followers of the Prophet, which, perhaps,

has never before been equally obtained by any other European; and which, no doubt, would afterwards have mainly contributed to the furtherance of the objects contemplated by him. It was not till 1812 that he directed his steps towards Egypt, having previously well acquainted himself with Palmyra, Balbec, and the other wonders of the Syrian Desert. The route which he selected from Damascus to Cairo deviated widely from that commonly pursued along the coast; and in the garb of a Bedouin of the lower order, a character which he was now fully competent to support, he penetrated Arabia Petræa, intending to accompany the first caravan destined for Fezzan or Darfour.

Although his hopes were never to be realised, the five years in which he made Cairo what may be considered his head-quarters, and prosecuted his researches first in Ethiopia and Nubia, then in the Hedjas, and the borders of the Red Sea, have added more to our knowledge of the Countries which he visited and the condition of their inhabitants than the labours of any other individual, it would scarcely be exaggerated praise to say than the combined labours of all his contemporaries engaged in similar pursuits. The notice of the Wahábys, contained in the first of the two volumes, of the contents of which we are about to present a rapid outline, affords, indeed, the only correct representation* which has yet been given of the tenets of that remarkable Sect, if that indeed is to be called a Sect which may more properly be esteemed a dominant Church. The second Work, the *Collection of Proverbs*, is dated from Cairo, the 25th of March, 1817, when Burckhardt was looking forward with vivid delight to an opportunity soon to be afforded him of joining a caravan to Morzouk, and thus fulfilling the great object to which hitherto he considered himself as having only served an apprenticeship. We need not add that he was snatched away when on the very eve of commencing his expedition. A dysentery, which attacked him on the 5th of October, in the same year, put an end to his invaluable life, after ten days illness.

Sir William Ouseley, by whom these Volumes have been edited, gives a satisfactory pledge, in a short Preface to the first of them, that the author's sentiments, on all occasions, are expressed with the most scrupulous fidelity, and that his very language is retained, without any attempt to heighten its effect by a polish which, if we may so speak, would deprive it of its freedom of touch and sharpness of outline: no alterations have been permitted excepting such as were naturally required in order to render idiomatically English,

* Burckhardt's account of the Wahábys has received strong confirmation in the recently published *Adventures of Giovanni Finati*.

certain peculiar constructions upon which a Foreigner not writing in his native Language could scarcely fail to stumble.

The great mass of Bedouins inhabiting the Syrian Desert are divided into two leading classes, the *Aeneze*, such as in Spring and Summer approach the cultivated portions of Syria and quit them in winter; and the *Ahl el Shemál* and *Ahl el Kebly*, who abide near those spots during the whole year. The first are the most powerful Arabs in the neighbourhood of Syria, and they are all Wahábys; of their subdivisions we cannot be expected to present the detail, but the population of their *Northern Tribes* alone is estimated at from 300,000 to 350,000 souls, spread over at least 40,000 miles. The *Ahl el Shemál*, or Northern Nations, who never venture into the Eastern Desert, consist of small Tribes, possessing, in proportion to their numbers, as may be expected from their different choice of abode, fewer camels, but more horses than the Aenezes, and they encamp among the villages of Eastern Syria. The *Ahl el Kebly*, or Southern Nations, extend themselves over the mountains Southward from the Lacus Asphaltites, and on the Eastern coast of the Red Sea. It is to the Aezenes exclusively, the only true Syrian Bedouins, that the following Sketches relate.

The number of tents in each encampment varies from 10 to 800; when few they are pitched in a circle which has the name *dowár*, when more numerous they are disposed in ranks and called *nezel*; in winter the whole Tribe spreads itself in small parties over the plain, and the three or four tents belonging to each detachment are then called *jereik*. The duties both of War and of Hospitality demand that the Sheikh's tent should occupy the extreme West, for it is on that quarter that the attack of an enemy is to be expected and that guests also alight, and it is usual for the latter to enter the first tent which offers itself. Nothing can be ruder than the interior of the tent. It is divided into two apartments, (that of the men on the left, of the women on the right,) by a white, woollen carpet, fastened to posts. The ground of the men's apartment is covered with a good Persian carpet, and round the middle post are heaped up wheat-sacks and camel-bags. In the *gynæceum* are deposited cooking utensils, butter and water-skins and the rubbish belonging to each family.

The Bedouin summer-dress for the men is a coarse, cotton shirt, over which the wealthy sometimes throw a long gown (*Kombar*) of silk or cotton, made after the Turkish fashion, and the generality a woollen mantle. The Aezenes reckon it shameful to wear drawers; and although they greatly esteem yellow boots and red shoes, these, like the less gaily coloured *tibialia* of

our Scottish neighbours, are more articles of luxury than of use, since their possessors, for the most part, both ride and walk bare-footed. A yellow, or green and yellow turban (*keffie*) covers their heads, and the two corners which depend from this answer the occasional purposes of a parasol, an umbrella, or even of a masque. "Over the *keffie* the Aczenes tie, instead of a turban,* a cord round the head." The Aezenes also never shave their long black hair, which hangs in tresses (*keroun*) over their cheeks down to the breast. Round the waist, both sexes wear a leathern girdle of four or five thongs, bound together by a thick cord. This is the first vestment of any kind assumed by the boys, at about eight years of age. A pelisse of sheepskin is the winter male costume, and, on the principle that what keeps out cold will keep out heat also, many continue to swelter under their fleeces, as a *refrigerim*, during an Arabian summer.

The female toilette is naturally somewhat more ornamental. It consists of a wide, dark, cotton gown, and a black head-kerchief for the old, a red one for the young. Silver nose-rings and ear-rings, (we wish those who wear the one barbarous trinket were, in all Countries, compelled to adopt the other,) some of the former, three and a half inches in diameter, are in great request. All the women puncture and dye blue their lips, temples, and foreheads, some their cheeks, breasts, and arms, and others their ancles. Glass and even silver bracelets and silver neck-chains complete their articles of *bijouterie*; the Ladies as well as their Lords are gymnopodists, but although they expose one extremity, they cover the mouth and chin of the other with a dark-coloured veil. Both sexes in general are well-formed, graceful, and handsome in their features: but their stature, referred to the European standard, is diminutive, rarely exceeding five feet three inches.

The Bedouin's arms are a lance, seldom thrown; a sabre, which is his inseparable companion; a curved knife, a wooden club, a target, a coat of mail, an iron skull-cap, a matchlock, and a paste-board suit, which is lance-proof, for his horse. Their diet is neither much varied nor particularly tempting, and the Gastrosoph would hastily repudiate a *Carte* presenting the following among other unrecondite dishes: *F'ta*, unleavened paste of flour and water, baked, mixed with butter, kneaded, and served up in a leathern bucket; sometimes, as a *bonne bouche*, milk is substituted for water, and the compound then assumes the more dignified name of *Khâfoury*. *Ayesh*, flour and sour camels-milk made into a paste and boiled, which is their daily and universal dish, as con-

* This we do not understand, for the turban has just been named *keffie*.

stantly produced as the Frenchman's *potage*, the Irishman's potato, or the German's cock and bacon. Of animal food, the gazelle is a very favourite dainty, the jerboa or rat of the Desert is much esteemed for its fine flavour, a kid or lamb, with *burgoul*, (dried wheat boiled with oil,) is a fit dish for the entertainment of a man of rank, and each morsel, before it is swallowed, is dipped in the melted grease of the animal. Camels are but rarely killed for the table, they are thought most in season during summer, and the female is preferred to the male; a tough he-camel, indeed, especially if served up whole, would be likely to satiate the most uncontrollable *Bulimia*. Butter is used to excess; whoever can afford such luxury swallows one large cup-full every morning before breakfast, and snuffs another up his nostrils. Respecting tidiness in eating and the *petites politesses* of the Table, the Arabs do not appear very solicitous; they thrust the whole hand into the dish before them, shape the *burgoul* into balls as large as a hen's egg, and then force it down the throat with as much rapidity as the bore of the channel permits. They wash their hands before dinner but seldom after it, being content to lick the grease off their fingers, rub them on the leathern scabbards of their swords, or wipe them on the *roffe*. Since their dishes are always served as hot as possible, it requires some practice to avoid burning the fingers and at the same time to keep pace with a voracious company. The women are content with the broken victuals, the offal and appurtenances, seldom receiving a choicer morsel than heads, feet, and livers can afford.

Blacksmiths and saddlers are the only artists among these simple Barbarians; horses and camels their sole property. Unless among the very poor Tribes, every family must have one camel at least, that which has but ten is thought scantily provided, thirty constitute easy circumstances, sixty bestow wealth. Some Sheikhs of the Aezenes possess 300. A good camel is worth about £10; and the annual expenditure of an Arab of the middle class amounts to nearly £40 sterling, distributed as follows:—

	Piastres.
Four camel-loads of wheat	200
Barley for his mare	100
Clothing for women and children	200
Luxuries, viz.—coffee, <i>kammerdin</i> (dried apricot-jelly from Damascus), <i>debs</i> (grape jelly), tobacco, and half a dozen lambs	200
	<hr/> 700

Wealth is eminently precarious, for hostile incursions or robberies

may at once strip the richest of his whole property; but to counterbalance this evil, wealth is of little importance in a Society in which it can purchase but few gratifications. For the most part, all ranks live alike, and the richest Sheikh exceeds the poorest man of his Tribe only by the possession of a fleeter mare or handsomer dresses for his wife and daughters.

The small-pox still commits great ravages in Syria, notwithstanding the practice both of Inoculation and Vaccination has been introduced, insomuch that in 1810, 900 children were vaccinated at Damascus. Obstructions and Rheumatic affections are very prevalent, and the treatment for them is scarcely less severe and rude than that practised by our own contemporary cauterizing Empiric; the skin is burned all round the seat of pain with a red-hot iron; sometimes, after having been taken up between two fingers, it is perforated with a slender red-hot iron, and a seton left in the wound; and at others, a branch of very dry wood is rubbed over a millstone till it becomes quite hot, and is then applied to the invalid's body. This burning and a reliance on Providence are remedies for Fevers also; for opthalmic disorders, which are very prevalent, the latter only of the two is administered, and in the Leprosy even that is abandoned. Fortunately that melancholy disorder is uncommon, a French Physician at Aleppo having seen but one case during a practice of twelve years. It is either congenital, or for the most part attacks the sufferer in middle life; it is said to be hereditary, passing over, however, each alternate generation. It has never been cured; the miserable wretch afflicted with it is regarded with contempt and disgust, no one will sleep near nor eat from the same dish with him, and any intermarriage with his family is strictly forbidden. A singular remedy for a consumption came under Burckhardt's knowledge; the Patient was recommended to eat the raw liver of a male camel and nothing else for a fortnight. As it was summer and this delicacy was not attainable in a fresh state every day, the man persisted in feeding upon tainted liver till death relieved him.

Every Tribe has its chief Sheikh, and every camp, of which there are often many belonging to one Tribe, a Sheikh as its commander; but the authority of these nominal Heads consists only in the influence which they can obtain by courage and talent, for the Arabs are not a free, but an anarchical People. The Sheikh's prerogative, if it can be called such, appears to consist only in the right of occupying the most dangerous post in battle, and of spending more property than any of his Tribe in hospitality. On questions of Peace and War, even on that of the site

of an encampment, he is obliged to take counsel, and, though his example is generally followed, he never issues an order. His revenue is derived, not from his own People, to whom, on the contrary, he is obliged to make large disbursements, but from a tribute exacted from the Syrian villages, and his emoluments from the Hadji caravan. For the most part, on his death, the dignity remains in his family, but this is by no means necessary if a man of superior qualities is to be found elsewhere in the Tribe. In matters of litigation the parties *may* abide by his decision, but it is only the Kady's sentence which is final. Yet, even before the Kady, questions may be brought which apparently defy all human sagacity, and he then refers the disputant to a Chief Judge called *mebesshae*, who institutes an ordeal. A long iron spoon, used in roasting coffee, is made red-hot, and licked on both sides, first by the tongue of the *mebesshae* himself, and then by that of the accused. If he escape, he is declared innocent, although his safety is attributed, not to any benevolent Power, but to the Devil; and some persons have been known to encounter this test twenty times without the slightest injury. Corporal punishments are unknown, but every crime has its fine ascertained in the Kady's Court, as for example:—

“ *Bokhyt* called *Djolan* ‘a dog.’ *Djolan* returned the insult by a blow upon *Bokhyt*'s arm; then *Bokhyt* cut *Djolan*'s shoulder with a knife. *Bokhyt* therefore owes to *Djolan*—

For the insulting expressions 1 sheep.

For wounding him in the shoulder 3 camels.

Djolan owes to *Bokhyt*,

For the blow upon his arm 1 camel.

Remain due to *Djolan*, 2 camels and 1 sheep.

“ Among the fines paid for certain crimes and aggressions, that paid for killing a watch-dog is remarkable. The dead dog is held up by the tail, so that its mouth just touches the ground; its length is then measured, and a stick (as long from the surface of the ground as the dog) is fixed into the earth: the person who killed the dog is then obliged to pour out over the stick as much wheat as will wholly cover it; and this heap of wheat is the fine due to the owner of the dog.”—*Notes*, p. 71.

The warfare of the Arabs is that of partizans, general engagements are avoided as much as possible, and surprise and plunder are the chief objects. Nevertheless, occasionally, splendid personal achievements are exhibited. The following noble trait of self-devotion will remind such readers as maintain their glowing faith in Roman History against the frigid scepticism of Niebuhr and his translators, of one of the most heroic deeds recorded in those annals:—

“ *Gedoua Ibn Gheyane el Shamsy* is known to have slain thirty of his enemies in one encounter; he prided himself in having never been put

to flight, and the booty which he took was immense. But his friends alone benefited by this, for he himself continued always poor. His life at last was sacrificed to his valour. A war broke out in the year 1790, between the *Ibn Fadhel* and *Ibn Esmeyr* tribes, while most of the Aenezes engaged themselves on one side or the other. After many partial encounters, the two sheikhs, each with about five thousand horsemen, met near *Mczerib*, a small town on the Hadj road, nearly fifty miles from Damascus, on the plain of Hauran, and both determined on a general battle that should terminate the war. The armies were drawn up in sight of each other, and some slight skirmishing had commenced, when Gedoua, (or, as the Bedouins in their dialect called him, *Djedoua*) formed the generous resolution of sacrificing his life for the glory of his tribe. He rode up to Ibn Esmeyr, under whose banners the Shamsy then fought, took off his coat of mail, and his clothes to his shirt, and approaching the chief, kissed his beard, thereby indicating that he devoted his life to him. He then quitted the ranks of his friends, and, without any arms besides his sabre, drove his mare furiously against the enemy. His valour being well known to the troops of both parties, every one waited with anxious expectation the result of his enterprise. The strength of his arm soon opened a way among the hostile ranks; he penetrated to their standard, or *merkeb*, which was carried in the centre; felled to the ground the camel that bore it by a stroke on its thigh; then wheeled round, and had already regained the open space between the two armies, when he was killed by a shot from a *metrás*, or foot-soldier. His friends, who had seen the *merkeb* fall, rushed with a loud cheer upon their enemies, and completely routed them; above five hundred foot-soldiers having been slain on that day. Whenever the *merkeb* falls, the battle is considered as lost by the party to whom it had belonged.” —*Notes*, pp. 77, 78.

The *merkeb* appears to claim from the Arab the same high veneration which the Israelites attached to their Ark, the soldiers of Constantine to their *Labarum*, and those of the mediæval Italian Republics to their *Carroccio*.

Although, in domestic intercourse, the women of the Aenezes by no means hold an exalted station, a singular respect appears to be paid to them in time of war. Thus, if an enemy be driving off booty from a plundered camp, and any woman has strength and courage enough to run after the retiring marauders and call out “O, noble Chief, I beg my nourishment from God and from you! we shall be starved!” and is able to keep up with the troop for any length of time, the Chief is bound in honour to restore her a camel from his own portion. So also, notwithstanding the love of surprise, it would be esteemed an act of very base treachery to attack by night, lest, in the confusion, the women’s apartments should be violated. As little blood as possible is shed in any of the Bedouin encounters, unless it be to avenge the former death of some relative; and to the rigid exaction of this

Thar, as it is called, or Blood-revenge, Burckhardt, in great measure, attributes the escape of the Arab Tribes from mutual extermination. If the family of a man killed kill two of the homicide's family, the latter retaliates by the death of one; if one only, no retaliation is sought for. The blood, however, may be compounded for at a settled price, if such be the pleasure of the injured family; but if they refuse to accept the offer, those exposed to the *Thar* are allowed three days and four hours, during which they may escape to some other camp without fear of pursuit; and families of these exiles (*djelâwys*) have been known to be fugitives from Tribe to Tribe for more than half a century. There is no disgrace attached to the acceptance of the price of blood, provided the overture does not originate with the relatives of the slain: its amount varies in different Tribes; that paid by one Aeneze to compound for the death of another is fifty she-camels, one camel fit for riding, a mare, a black slave, a coat of mail, and a gun.

"The Oulad Aly, a powerful Libyan tribe of Bedouins, inhabiting the Desert between Fayoum and Alexandria, make it a rule never to receive the price of blood, unless the homicide, or one of his nearest kindred, should brave the danger of introducing himself into the tent of the person slain, and then say to the relations, 'Here I am, kill me, or accept the ransom.' The nearest relation may do as he pleases, without incurring any blame; for the stranger has voluntarily renounced the right of *dakheil*, which all the Libyan Bedouins hold as sacred as the Arabian. A man who gives himself up in this manner is called *mestat-heneb*. If the enemy should meet him before he reaches his tent, an attack is almost always the result. If he enter the tent, a ransom is most commonly accepted; but instances to the contrary sometimes happen."—*Notes on the Bedouins*, pp. 181, 182.

The following is a remarkable instance of strict observance of the law of retaliation, even when the offence was blood-letting not with death:—

"In a skirmish between the Maazy Arabs and those of Sinai, in 1813, the former by chance wounded a woman of the latter, who, however, soon recovered. In the year following, the Sinai Arabs made an incursion into the Maazy territory, surprised an encampment near Cosseir, killed eight or ten men, and were going to retire, when one of them recollected the wound that had been inflicted on a female in the preceding year; he therefore turned upon the Maazy women, who were sitting before their tents weeping, and with his sabre wounded one of them, to avenge the blood of his country-woman. His companions, although they applauded what he had done, acknowledged they should not like to imitate his example. This is the only circumstance of such a nature that ever was mentioned to me."—*Ib.* p. 173.

Robbery among the Arabs is considered quite as honourable a

profession as Piracy was among the early Greeks, and the title *harámy*, or Thief, is eagerly sought by an ambitious youth. Friends, neighbours and enemies, provided they are not actually within the sacred bounds of his own tent, are alike the prey of the Bedouin. A Robber taken prisoner, *ἐνάρπυς*, is called a *rabiet*, and the laws concerning his treatment are not a little curious. On his seizure, he is first asked on what business he had come? and this question is usually accompanied by some hard knocks on the head. The common reply is, "I came to rob; God has overthrown me." His hands and feet are then tied, and, under the dread of a repetition of beating, he is compelled to renounce the *dakheil*, or privilege of protection, by which, when one Arab is in actual danger from another, provided he can touch any inanimate thing in contact with a third person, or can hit him by spitting or throwing a stone at him, that third person is obliged to defend him. This renunciation, however, is valid for a single day only, and generally is repeated whenever any person enters the tent. A hole is now dug in the ground about two feet deep, and the length of a man's body; within this the *rabiet* is placed, his hands being still tied, his feet chained to the earth, and his twisted hair, like that of Gulliver when caught sleeping by the Lilliputians, fastened to two stakes, one on each side his head. Tent-poles are then laid across the pit, and sacks and other heavy articles heaped upon these, leaving only a small opening over the prisoner's face through which he may breathe.

"Thus buried alive, the prisoner does not yet resign all hope of escaping; this constantly occupies his mind, while the *rabát* endeavours to extract from him the highest possible ransom. If the former belongs to a rich family, he never tells his real name, but declares himself a poor beggar. If he be recognised, which generally happens, he must pay as a ransom, all his property in horses, camels, sheep, tents, provisions and baggage. His perseverance in pleading poverty, and in concealing his real name, sometimes protracts an imprisonment of this kind for six months; he is then allowed to purchase his liberty on moderate terms, or fortune may enable him to effect his escape. Customs long established among the Bedouins contribute much to that effect. If from the hole, which may be called his grave, he can contrive to spit into the face of a man or child, without the form of renunciation above mentioned, he is supposed to have touched a protector and liberator; or if a child give him a morsel of bread, the *háramy* claims the privilege of having eaten with his liberator; and although this person may be the *rabát's* near relation, his right to freedom is allowed, the thongs which tied his hair are cut with a knife, his fetters are taken off, and he is set at liberty. Sometimes he finds means to disengage himself from his chains, during the *rabát's* absence; in this case he escapes at night, and takes refuge in the nearest tent, declaring himself *dakheil* to the first person he meets, and

thus regains his freedom; but this seldom happens, for the prisoner always receives so very scanty an allowance of food, that his weakness generally prevents him from making any extraordinary effort, but his friends usually liberate him either by open force, or by contrivance in the following manner:—

“A relation of the prisoner, most frequently his own mother or sister, disguised as a beggar, is received in the character of a poor guest by some Arab of the camp in which the *harámy* is confined. Having ascertained the tent of his *rabát*, the disguised relation introduces herself into it at night, with a ball of thread in her hands, approaches the hole in which he lies, and throwing one end of the thread over the prisoner's face contrives to guide it into his mouth, or fastens it to his foot; thus he perceives that help is at hand. The woman retires, winding off the thread until she reaches some neighbouring tent; then awakens the owner of it, and applying the thread to his bosom, addresses him in these words—‘Look on me, by the love thou bearest to God, and thy own self, this is under thy protection.’ As soon as the Arab comprehends the object of this nocturnal visit, he rises, and winding up the thread in his hands, is guided by it to the tent which contains the *harámy*. He then awakens the *rabát*, shows him the thread still held by the captive, and declares that the latter is his *dakheil*. The *harámy* is then released from his fetters, the *rabát* entertains him as a guest newly arrived, and he is suffered to depart in safety. What I relate here is not a romantic or fictitious tale; the facts are literally true, as most of the enterprising robbers among the Arabs could authenticate from their own experience.”—*Notes on the Bedouins*, pp. 93—95.

If an attempt at escape fail, the prisoner at length negotiates his ransom, and he is generally bailed by settlers of his own Tribe who may happen to be resident in the *rabát's* camp. Instances of violation of this bail are extremely rare, for the punishment is most severe. The offender, when denounced as a traitor, is deprived both in Peace and War of all privileges of guestship and *dakheil*, and he may be stripped of all his property even by his host.

“The following anecdote, which I often heard related, shows the manner in which a closely confined rabiet found means to escape. He had been severely beaten by his master in presence of an Arab, who pitied and resolved to liberate him. The Arab broke a date into two parts, ate one, and gave the other to a woman who was employed in grinding corn before the tent, begging her, in a few words, to contrive that it should fall into the prisoner's hands. With much ingenuity and art, she immediately began a song, such as those which serve to amuse the women while they work; and introduced certain words which indirectly alluded to the subject in question. When she had reason to believe that the prisoner understood this mysterious communication, she threw the piece of date unseen, upon the hole in which he lay, his hands at that time being untied. The prisoner swallowed a small portion of the broken date, and when he saw many persons assembled before the

tent, called loudly upon them, demanding to be liberated, as he had eaten with such a one, naming the man who had divided with him the date. His master hastened to the spot, denied the truth of his assertion, and beat him; but the person who had befriended him appeared and confirmed the fact. It was then required that the prisoner should produce a portion of the food in proof of his assertion, when he immediately exhibited the broken date, which he had secreted in a manner of which decency will not allow a more particular mention: he had so concealed it, apprehending a discovery before his deliverer could arrive. Having thus satisfactorily proved that he had eaten of the same date with another Arab of the tribe, his master was obliged to liberate him.”—*Notes on the Bedouins*, pp. 185, 186.

“The *harámys*, while in the act of robbing, sometimes perceive that they are detected, or that day-light is near, which would expose them to danger, or that one of the party is disabled, and cannot follow; in these cases, they abandon the enterprise altogether, and, entering any of the tents, awake the people in it, and declare, ‘We are robbers, and wish to halt.’ ‘You are safe,’ is the reply. A fire is immediately kindled, coffee prepared, and a breakfast placed before the strangers, who are entertained as long as they choose to stay. At their departure provision is given to them sufficient for their journey home. Should they meet on their return a hostile party of the tribe which they had intended to rob, their declaration, ‘We have eaten salt in such or such a tent,’ is a passport that ensures them a safe journey.”—*Ibid.* pp. 97, 98.

From this general propensity to theft, the Arabs of Sinai should be excepted. Robbery is wholly unknown among them. Not many years since an Arab of Sowaleha carried his own son, bound, to the top of a mountain, whence he precipitated him, because he had been detected in stealing corn from a friend.

The hospitality of the Bedouins is proverbial and need not be enlarged upon; one custom, however, of a Tribe in Nedja appears uncomfortable; they welcome a guest by pouring on his head a cup of melted butter. Notwithstanding the high repute of their horses, the Arabs, as jockeys, are inferior to the Osmanlies. On the birth of a colt of noble breed, its pedigree is written down, put into a small piece of leather covered with waxed cloth, and hung round the animal’s neck. Of these hippo-genealogies the following is a specimen:—

“GOD

“ENOCH

“In the name of the most merciful God, the Lord of all creatures; peace and prayers be with our Lord Mohammed, and his family, and his followers, until the day of judgment; and peace be with all those who read this writing, and understand its meaning. The present deed relates to the greyish-brown colt, with four white feet, and a white mark on the forehead, of the true breed of *Sakláwy*, called *Obeyán*, whose skin

is as bright and unsullied as milk, resembling those horses of which the prophet said, 'True riches are a noble and fierce breed of horses;' and of which God said, 'The war-horses, those which rushed on the enemy with full-blowing nostrils; those which plunge into the battle early in the morning.' And God spoke the truth in his incomparable book. This *Saklaway* grey colt was bought by *Khoshrün*, the son of *Emheyt*, of the tribe of *Zebaa*, an Aeneze Arab. The sire of this colt is the excellent bay horse called *Merdján*, of the breed of *Koheylán*: its dam is the famous white *Saklaway* mare, known by the name of *Kjeroua*. According to what we have seen, we attest here upon our hopes of felicity, and upon our girdles, O sheikhs of wisdom, and possessors of horses! that this grey colt above mentioned is more noble even than his sire and dam. And this we attest according to our best knowledge, by this valid and perfect deed. Thanks be to God, the Lord of all creatures!

"Written on the 16th of *Safar*, in the year 1223.

"Witnesses, &c. &c."

"This is faithfully translated from the original Arabic deed, in the handwriting of the Bedouins. The Mohammedan year 1223, in which it is dated, corresponds to the year 1808 of our era."—*Notes*, pp. 116, 117.

These pedigrees, however, are not used in the interior of the Desert, where the descent of every Bedouin horse is known without them, quite as accurately as that of the owner himself. Mares exclusively are ridden; the price of an Arab horse in Syria varies from £10 to £120. A mare can scarcely be obtained for any sum, and a Sheikh himself has been known to give for one more than £500. No mare is ever sold without the reservation of some of her produce. In breeding, little regard is had to the sire, but the mares are not covered till they have completed their fifth year. In all seasons, the horses are kept in the open air; from the moment a colt is first mounted, the saddle is rarely taken off his back, he is never cleaned nor rubbed, but, after exercise, he is walked gently, with great care, till he is cool. Many Bedouins ride without stirrups, all without a bridle, guiding their docile and good-tempered animals solely by a halter. The Egyptian horses, on the other hand, are frequently vicious, and Burckhardt mentions a summary process which he has seen employed to cure a propensity to biting. A leg of mutton just taken from the fire is offered to the offender, and the pain, after a few lessons, effectually corrects his fault. The horsedealers, among the Bedouins, instead of being the veriest of all knaves, as with ourselves, are strictly honest.

"One may take a horse on their word, at first sight or trial, without any risk of being cheated; but few of them know how to ascertain a horse's age by its teeth. I once looked into the mouth of a mare, whose owner and many other Arabs were present; at first it was appre-

hended that I was practising some secret charm; and when the owner heard that by such inspection the mare's age might be ascertained, he seemed astonished, and wished that I should tell his own age by an examination of his teeth.

"The Arabs believe that some horses are predestined to evil accidents; and, like the Osmanlys, they think that the owners of other horses must, sooner or later, experience certain misfortunes, which are indicated by particular marks on the horses' bodies. Thus, if a mare has a star on the right side of the neck, they believe that she is destined to be killed by a lance; if the star be on one of the shank-bones, the owner's wife, they think, will prove unfaithful to her husband, and the orthodoxy of the latter as a Muselmán is liable to suspicion. There are above twenty evil marks of this kind, which have, at all events, the bad effect of depreciating the horse's value by two-thirds or more."—*Notes*, pp. 120, 121.

The Bedouins can neither read nor write; but the Wahábys are commencing education among them, and both Poetry and Oratory are already in great repute. A Sheikh, like an English County-member, is expected to be a speechifier. Their verses, though transmitted orally, are regular and strictly grammatical compositions; and their *makers* are often rewarded with a camel or a sheep after recitation. The following is a very pleasing specimen of intercourse by song, and might be supposed to belong to a People much farther advanced in civilization.

"The songs called *asamer* require a more detailed description. They are heard all over the Desert; but each tribe varies in the performance of them. During my stay in the mountains of Sinai, I had frequent opportunities of hearing those songs, and of witnessing the performance in the dead of the night.

"About two or three hours after sun-set, either the girls and young women, or the young men, assemble upon an open space before or behind the tents, and begin to sing there in choruses until the other party joins them. The girls then place themselves either in a group between the men, who range themselves in a line on both sides, or if the number of the females be but small, they occupy a line opposite to that of the men, at a distance of about thirty paces. One of the men then begins a song (*kászyde*) of which only one verse is sung, repeating it many times, always with the same melody. The whole party of men then join in the chorus of the verse, accompanying it with clapping of hands, and various motions of the body. Standing close together, the whole line inclines sometimes towards one side sometimes towards the other, backwards and forwards, occasionally dropping on one knee, always taking care to keep time by that movement, in measure with the song. While the men do this, two or three of the girls come forth from the group or line of their companions, and slowly advance towards the men. They are completely veiled, and hold a mellaye, or blue cloak, loosely hung over both their outspread arms. They approach with light steps and slight bows, in time to the songs. Soon the motions of the girls become a little more

lively, while they approach within two paces of the men; but still (dancing, as it is called,) continuing to be extremely reserved, strictly decent, and very coy. The men endeavour to animate the girls by loud exclamations, with which they interrupt their song from time to time. They make use for this purpose of exclamations and noises, with which they are accustomed to order their camels to halt, to walk, and trot, to drink, and eat, to stop, and to lie down. They do not address the girl by her name, which would be a breach of politeness, according to Bedouin manners, but style her 'camel,' affecting to suppose that she advances towards them in search of food or water. This fiction is continued during the whole dance. 'Get up, O camel;' 'walk fast;' 'the poor camel is thirsty;' 'come and take your evening food;' these, and similar expressions, are used on the occasion, added to the many guttural sounds in which camel-drivers talk to their beasts. To excite the dancer still more, some of the gay young men spread before them upon the ground their own turbans, or head-kerchiefs, to represent food for the camel. If the dancing girl approach near enough to snatch away any article of dress, she throws it behind her back to her companions; and when the dance is finished, the owner must redeem it by a small fee paid to the girl. I once released a handkerchief by giving to the girl a string of pretty beads made of mother-of-pearl, observing that it was meant as a *halter* for the camel; with this she was much pleased, and hung it round her neck. After the dance has continued five or ten minutes, the girl sits down, and another takes her place, beginning like the former and accelerating her movements according as she herself feels interested in the dance. If she seems animated and advances close to the men's line, the latter evince their approbation by stretching out their arms as if to receive her; this dance, which continues frequently for five or six hours, and till long after midnight, and the pathetic songs which often accompany it, most powerfully work upon the imagination and feelings of the Arabs, and they never speak of the mesamer but with raptures. The feelings of a lover must, on this occasion, be carried to the highest pitch. The veiled form of his mistress advances in the dark, or by moonlight, like a phantom, to his embraces; her graceful, decent steps, her increasing animation, the general applause she receives, and the words of the song, or *kaszyde*, which are always in praise of beauty, must create the liveliest emotions in the bosom of her lover, who has, at least, the satisfaction of being able to give full scope to his feelings by voice and gestures, without exposing himself to any blame.*

"If the girls of the encampment have any cause to be angry with the young men, the latter attend for many nights, but no females appear to sing the mesamer: on the other hand, I have heard the girls sing, although none of the young men came from the tents to join them.

"The mesamer are general throughout the Desert, but almost every tribe differs in the mode of singing them. The song is often composed

* "The decent and romantic nature of this dance places it widely in contrast with the vulgar and licentious motions and contortions of the Egyptian dancing-girls, and is even preferable, in a high degree, to the Egyptian or Syrian ladies' dance."

extempore, and relates to the beauty and qualities of the girl who dances: if the young men are at home in the camp, they continue the like mesamer, for months together, every night. Married men and women sometimes join; young men often walk at night a distance of some hours, and back again, that they may enjoy the mesamer of a neighbouring camp. I may here remark that *mesámer* must not be confounded with *Mezámer*, which in Arabic signifies the Book of Psalms.*—*Notes*, pp. 143—146.

Besides the Sheikh, whose power we have shown to be unsubstantial, every Tribe has a hereditary officer named *Agyd*, who, during war, possesses the most unlimited authority. The Arabs submit, during actual service, to the command of an *Agyd*, known to be deficient both in bravery and judgment, rather than to that of any Sheikh, under whose orders they say an expedition is always unsuccessful; so that if a Sheikh accompanies them, it is only in a subordinate capacity. The person, as well as the office, of the *Agyd* is regarded with veneration. His dreams, visions, or forebodings guide the operations of war, and with him rests the decision of lucky or unlucky days for attack. Against his injunction, no remonstrance is ever offered, but it is implicitly obeyed, even if disapproved by all who have joined the expedition. These high privileges expire on the return of Peace, when the *Agyd* subsides to a level with others of his Tribe, retaining only such influence as in all Societies must belong to superior intellect.

“They believe that even a child of the ancient agyd family may be a proper leader, supposing him to act by a kind of heavenly inspiration. It is related, that in the tribe of Beni Lam, of Nedjd, no males remained in the family of their agyds, but one young orphan, who lived with his elder sister. From want of a proper and genuine agyd, the tribe had been headed, on several occasions of warfare, by the sheikh, and always without success. After many losses, the Arabs agreed in opinion, that without their true agyd they should never be fortunate; and it was therefore resolved, that they should ascertain how far that child, to whom the office hereditarily belonged, was capable of commanding the tribe on a military expedition. They accordingly directed his sister to prepare a camel, and to mount it herself, desiring her brother to take his seat behind her, that so he might join the troops who were then on the eve of commencing their march. Had he consented to mount behind his sister, the Arabs would not have thought him sufficiently old

* “The women of the Aleygat tribe in the Sinai mountains sing their own praises in the following verse:—

“O women of Aleygat! nothing is found to equal us,

Excepting heaven; (but) men are the earth (upon which we tread).’

“I have heard the Maggrebyn Bedouins sing in the mesamer, a verse of which the oddity deserves mention. Addressing a mistress named *Ghalye*, the lover exclaims:—

“‘O Ghalye, if my father were a jack-ass, I would sell him, that I might be able to purchase Ghalye.’”

or manly to assume the command. When his sister desired him to take his place, as had been suggested, the boy endeavoured to strike her, and exclaimed, with indignation, 'Am I a slave? Must I sit behind a woman? No, you must mount behind me.' The Arabs accepted this exclamation as a favourable omen. They followed him in battle, the girl guiding the camel from behind her brother, and the expedition proved successful."—*Notes*, pp. 169, 170.

The resemblance to the Homeric combats in the following description cannot fail to strike the most careless reader.

"When two hostile parties of Bedouin cavalry meet, and perceive from afar that they are equal in point of numbers, they halt opposite to each other out of the reach of musket-shot; and the battle begins by skirmishes between two men. A horseman leaves his party and gallops off towards the enemy, exclaiming, 'O horsemen, O horsemen, let such a one meet me!' If the adversary for whom he calls be present, and not afraid to meet him in combat, he gallops forward; if absent, his friends reply that he is not amongst them. The challenged horseman in his turn exclaims, 'And you upon the grey mare, who are you?' The other answers, 'I am * * * the son of * * *.' Having thus become acquainted with each other, they begin to fight; none of the bystanders join in this combat, to do so would be reckoned a treacherous action; but if one of the combatants should turn back, and fly towards his friends, the latter hasten to his assistance, and drive back the pursuer, who is in turn protected by his friends. After several of these partial combats between the best men of both parties, the whole corps join in promiscuous combat. If an Arab in battle should meet with a personal friend among the enemy's ranks, he turns his mare to a different side, and cries out, 'Keep away! let not thy blood be upon me!'

"Should a horseman not be inclined to accept the challenge of an adversary, but choose to remain among the ranks of his friends, the challenger laughs at him with taunts and reproaches, and makes it known, as a boast, during the rest of his life, that such a one * * would not venture to meet such a one * * in battle."—*Notes*, pp. 174, 175.

Voltaire, in *Zadig*, has attributed to his Hero a sagacity in tracing footsteps, which no doubt has often been considered an idle invention. Such a power, however, appears to be possessed by the Arabs to a degree which deprives even *Zadig* of the marvellous.

"The Arab, who has applied himself diligently to the study of footsteps, can generally ascertain, from inspecting the impression, to what individual of his own, or of some neighbouring tribe, the footstep belongs; and therefore is able to judge whether it was a stranger who passed, or a friend. He likewise knows, from the slighness or depth of the impression, whether the man who made it carried a load or not. From the strength or faintness of the trace he can also tell whether the man passed on the same day, or one day or two days before. From a certain regularity of intervals between the steps, a Bedouin can judge

whether the man whose feet left the impression was fatigued or not; as, after fatigue, the pace becomes more irregular, and the intervals unequal. Hence he can calculate the chance of overtaking the man.

“ Besides all this, every Arab knows the printed footsteps of his own camels, and of those belonging to his immediate neighbours. He knows by the depth or slightness of the impression whether a camel was pasturing, and therefore not carrying any load, or mounted by one person only, or heavily loaded. If the marks of the two fore feet appear to be deeper in the sand than those of the hind feet, he concludes that the camel had a weak breast, and this serves him as a clue to ascertain the owner. In fact, a Bedouin, from the impressions of a camel's or of his driver's footsteps, draws so many conclusions, that he always learns something concerning the beast or its owner; and in some cases this mode of acquiring knowledge appears almost supernatural. The Bedouin sagacity in this respect is wonderful, and becomes particularly useful in the pursuit of fugitives, or in searching after cattle.

“ I have seen a man discover and trace the footsteps of his camel in a sandy valley, where thousands of other footsteps crossed the road in every direction; and this person could tell the name of every one who had passed there in the course of that morning. I myself found it often useful to know the impression made by the feet of my own companions and camels; as from circumstances which inevitably occur in the Desert, travellers sometimes are separated from their friends. In passing through dangerous districts the Bedouin guides will seldom permit a townsman or stranger to walk by the side of his camel. If he wears shoes, every Bedouin who passes will know by the impression that some townsman has travelled that way; and if he walks barefooted, the mark of his step, less full than that of a Bedouin, immediately betrays the foot of a townsman, little accustomed to walk. It is therefore to be apprehended, that the Bedouins, who regard every townsman as a rich man, might suppose him loaded with valuable property, and accordingly set out in pursuit of him. A keen Bedouin guide is constantly and exclusively occupied during his march in examining footsteps, and frequently alights from his camel to acquire certainty respecting their nature. I have known instances of camels being traced by their masters, during a distance of six days' journies, to the dwelling of the man who had stolen them.

“ Many secret transactions are brought to light by this knowledge of the *Athr*, or ‘footsteps;’ and a Bedouin can scarcely hope to escape detection in any clandestine proceeding, as his passage is recorded upon the road in characters that every one of his Arabian neighbours can read.”—*Notes*, pp. 212—214.

It is an erroneous opinion which believes Arabia to be very rich in horses. Many Tribes are wholly unprovided with them, and Burckhardt supposes that there do not exist 50,000 of those animals between the extreme boundaries of the Euphrates and Syria, a much smaller number than the same extent of ground would furnish in any other part of Asia or Europe. The Syrian districts, especially Hauran, produce the best; but, of pure Ara-

bian blood of the choicest breeds, few have ever been exported. If a Bedouin wishes to express his admiration of the speed of another's mare, he blesses the animal copiously, and addressing her master, says, "go and wash your mare's feet and drink up the water." The best Arabian camel, after three whole days abstinence from water, shows manifest signs of great distress; in case of absolute necessity, it might *possibly* go five days without drinking; but this trial can never be required, since there is no route across the Arabian Desert in which wells are farther distant from each other than $3\frac{1}{2}$ days. Burckhardt never heard an instance of a camel being slaughtered for the sake of the water in its stomach. The extremity of thirst, indeed, induces the traveller unable to support the exertion of walking, to cling as a last resource to this serviceable animal; nor does its stomach, unless on the first day's watering, afford by any means a copious supply. The swiftness also of the camel has been greatly exaggerated, 115 miles in eleven hours, during which occurred two passages over the Nile in a ferry-boat, each requiring twenty minutes, is the most extraordinary performance which Burckhardt ever heard authenticated; and this, probably, has been surpassed by an English trotting mare. He thinks, that, if left to its own free will, this animal would have travelled 200 miles in twenty-four hours; twelve miles an hour is the utmost trotting pace of a camel; it may gallop nine miles in half an hour, but it cannot support that pace, which is unnatural to it, for a longer time. Nothing can be easier than its common amble of five and a half miles an hour, and, if properly fed every evening, or in case of emergency once in two days, it will continue this pace uninterruptedly for five or even six days. While the hump continues full, the animal will endure considerable fatigue on a very short allowance; feeding, as the Arabs say, on the fat of its own hump. After a long journey, the hump almost entirely subsides, and it is not until after three or four months' repose, and a considerable time after the rest of the carcass has acquired flesh, that it resumes its natural size of one-fourth of the whole body. The full growth of the camel is attained at twelve years, he lives forty, but, at about or under thirty, his activity declines. In Egypt, camels are kept closely shorn, and are guided by a string attached to a nose-ring. Those of Arabia are seldom perforated in the nose and readily obey the short stick of the rider. The camel-saddle of the Arabian women is gaudily fitted out, and a Lady of Nedja considers it a degradation to mount any other than a black camel, while an Aezenian beauty prefers one which is grey or white. Cautery to the chest or the hump is usually applied when the broken-winded Caravan-Camel is exhausted by fatigue. Towards the

close of a long journey, scarcely an evening passes without this operation, yet the load is replaced, on the following morning, on the part recently burned, and no degree of pain induces the patient animal to refuse or throw it off. If it once sinks, however, overpowered either by hunger or toil, it cannot be compelled to rise again.

The latter part of this volume contains some highly valuable collections, modestly entitled “Materials for a History of the Wahábys:” but upon these, although perhaps the most important part of the Work, we must necessarily be brief, for a subject little known is to be elucidated only by details which would far exceed our limits. The Wahábys are not, as was long imagined, Heretics and assertors of a new Religion in opposition to Mohammedanism, but they are Muselmán Reformers, or rather Puritans, directing their efforts to Political no less than Spiritual amelioration. Their founder was a learned Arabian, Ábd el Waháb, of the Tribe of Teinym, and of the Clan El Wahábe, from whom they derive their name. After much travel, he became convinced of the manifold corruptions by which the Religion of the Prophet had become deformed, especially among the Turks. One of his earliest converts was the principal person of the town of Derayeh, Mohammed Ibn Saoud, commonly known as Abou Showareb, “the Father of Mustachios,” who married his daughter, and died in 1814, at the age of fifty. Ábd el Azyz and Ibn Saoud, the son and grandson of Mohammed, succeeded in propagating the religious tenets of their ancestor and his Father-in-law, and they established a temporal sovereignty conformable with them, throughout the whole of Arabia, till, about the period of Burckhardt’s residence in the Hedjas, it was disputed by Mohammed Ali, the present distinguished Pasha of Egypt.

It is not long since that the numerous analogies which subsist between Mohammedanism and Popery were very ably pointed out by Mr. Forster; and Burckhardt has largely confirmed the existence of these remarkable coincidences. “For those,” says the learned and eloquent Inquirer into Islamism, “who were unable to perform or to repeat this greater ordinance, (the pilgrimage to Mekka) a substitute existed in the Mahomeddan superstition strictly analogous to the alternative provided by the Church of Rome,—devotional visits, namely, to the Tombs of reputed Saints or Martyrs of Mahometanism. The miracles performed at these Tombs are equally the boast of both systems, and are equally authenticated by a body of evidence which it is far less difficult to invent than to believe.”* If Mr. Forster had accompanied

* *Mahometanism Unveiled*, vol. ii. s. 10, p. 132.

Burckhardt in his Travels he could scarcely have described the Turkish hagiology with greater accuracy.

“ In every Turkish town,” is Burckhardt’s statement, “ are many Tombs ; and in almost every village at least one Tomb of some renowned Saint, whose exemplary life (that is great cunning or hypocrisy) and sometimes great learning, had procured for him the reputation of Sanctity. Their countrymen thought it incumbent on them to honour their memory by erecting small buildings with cupolas or vaulted roofs over their Tombs, and in these places particularly to offer up their prayers to the Divinity, in the belief that the Saint would be thus more inclined to second their supplications before the throne of the Almighty. *In fact the Mohammedan Saints are venerated as highly as those of the (Roman) Catholic Church, and are said to perform as many miracles as the latter.*”—Notes, p: 280.

Like the weak, ignorant, and hot-headed of our own Reformers, the Wahábys directed themselves with equally great fury against the innocent accessories of superstition as against superstition itself, and John Knox was not a more determined Iconoclast than Ibn Saoud. Wherever his followers carried their arms, domes and cupolas sank before them. At Mekka, the splendid vaults which covered spots dedicated to the Prophet himself, to his grandsons Hassan and Hosseyn, to his uncle Abou Táleb, and to his wife Khadydge, were alike desecrated and overthrown, and while in the act of despoliation the Wahábys exclaimed, “ God have mercy upon those who destroyed, and none upon those who built them !” The large dome over Mohammed’s Tomb at Medina defied their blind rage ; and it is scarcely a matter of surprise that the devotees who worshipped there should attribute the death of many of the Wahábys, who fell from it in attempts to destroy it, as a special judgment from Heaven.

Dress and Tobacco are two other grievous abominations to these Islamito-catharoi ; and as the Counterblast which they issued against the usage of the latter, became the rallying word of their proselytes, so also has it been more reluctantly submitted to by the Arabs than any other reforming ordinance.

“ On the capture of Mekka, Saoud ordered all the inhabitants to take their Persian pipes (called *shishe* by the Arabs) to a green piece of ground, before the house where he resided : and having formed them into a vast heap, he set them on fire, together with all the tobacco that could be found in the shops. Some time after, one of his retinue informed him in public, that the Mekkans disregarded his orders, and still smoked. ‘ Where did you see them smoke ?’ asked Saoud. ‘ In their own houses,’ answered the informer. ‘ Do you not know,’ replied the chief, ‘ that it is written, “ do not spy out the secrets of the houses of the faithful ?” ’ Having quoted this sentence of the Koran, he ordered

the informer to be bastinadoed, and no further notice was taken of the private smoking."—*Notes*, p. 303.

On entering Medina, a respectable woman, accused of having smoked the Persian pipe, was placed upon a jackass, with the offensive instrument of luxury suspended from her neck, round which was twisted the long flexible tube, and, in this state, she was paraded through the town.

The Waháby Religion prescribes continual war against all who have not adopted the reformed doctrine: nevertheless, except for plunder, no wish seems to have existed in its Chief to extend his dominion beyond the limits of Arabia; nearly the whole of which submitted to Saoud. One fundamental rule is, to kill every enemy found in arms, thus strictly adopting a maxim and a practice of the great Impostor himself: accordingly, horrible to relate, during the four years warfare with Mohammed Ali Pasha, not a single instance is recorded of quarter granted to a Turk. Thirty years had elapsed from the origin of the Wahábys, before they were engaged in hostilities with the Sherif of Mekka, and the war with Gháleb, who held that office, which commenced in 1792, continued, with varied fortune, till 1803, when the Hedjas was entirely conquered, Mekka was starved into capitulation in May of that year, and Gháleb himself surrendered not many months after. The reconquest of the Holy Cities was not undertaken in earnest by the Porte till 1811, when Mohammed Ali dispatched a powerful expedition from Egypt for the purpose, under his second son, Tousoun Bey, a youth of eighteen, of considerable talents and bravery. His chief officer, and the person on whose guidance he was instructed especially to rely, was Ahmed Aga, whose "utter disregard of human life, contempt of all moral principles, and idle boasting, had procured him the surname of *Bonaparte*, which afforded him much delight, and by which he was universally designated in Egypt." No more bitter satire upon the memory of Napoleon could have been suggested by his deadliest enemies! Another of Tousoun's most distinguished Chiefs, strange to relate, was by birth a Briton, by profession a common soldier.

"I must here record an anecdote respecting one of those brave soldiers called Ibrahim Aga, acting as chief of Tousoun's Mammelouks (Anakder Agassy). This was a young man of about twenty years, a native of Edinburgh, named Thomas Keith. Having been taken prisoner at the last English expedition against Egypt, together with many others of his regiment, (the 72d Highlanders,) in which he served as gunsmith, he became a Muselman, and was purchased from the soldier who had made him prisoner, by Ahmed Bonaparte abovementioned. A favourite Sicilian Mammelouk of his master having insulted the young Scotchman,

blows ensued swords were drawn, and the Sicilian fell. Ibrahim Aga escaped from the wrath of Ahmed Bonaparte, and implored the protection of Mohammed Aly's lady, who befriended him, and caused her son, Tousoun Bey, to engage him in his service. Tousoun, in one of those capricious fits of ill-humour to which Turkish despots are so often subject, gave orders that the young Scotchman should be put to death for some trifling neglect of duty; but the brave fellow with his sword defended the entrance of his room for half an hour against several assailants, then threw himself out of the window, and again escaped to his kind protectress, who soon reconciled him with his master. Tousoun Bey at length became sensible of Ibrahim's merit as a courageous soldier, made him chief of his Mammelouks, and, after his valorous conduct at Djedeyde, promoted him to the office of treasurer, the second post in rank at the court of a Pasha. He again fought bravely at Medinah and at Taraba (hereafter mentioned), was appointed governor of Medinah in April, 1815, and two months after, when hastening with 250 horsemen to the assistance of Tousoun Bey (encamped in the province of Kasym), was overtaken by a superior number of Wahábys, and shared the fate of his troops, who were all destroyed. In this last action the gallant Scotchman killed four Wahábys with his own hand: and Abdallah Ibn Saoud confessed, that Tousoun Bey and his faithful treasurer were the two bravest men in the Turkish army."—*Notes*, p. 350, 351.

Tousoun's operations were directed against Medina, of which he did not obtain possession till the close of 1812. He then violated the capitulation which he had granted, and massacred the garrison. Gháleb, who had been restored by the Wahábys to the office of Sherif, and who hitherto had temporised with the new invaders, now opened the gates of Mekka and joined the Turks. Mohammed Ali himself arrived on the scene of action in September, 1813, and, doubtful of the sincerity of Gháleb, soon, notwithstanding his wariness, entrapped him into captivity, and despatched him to Salonika, where he died of the Plague in 1816. The Bedouin Arabs, meantime, headed by a woman regarded as a sorceress, defeated the Turks with great slaughter, and the state of affairs when Burckhardt arrived in the Hedjas in the course of the summer of 1814, was altogether unfavourable to the Pasha. His great object was to re-open a friendly intercourse with the Bedouins, and, in many instances he succeeded, by bribery, in obtaining at least their apparent neutrality, if not their alliance. A whimsical instance of politic self-restraint, not common in a despotic, Oriental Governor, affords some insight into the character of this extraordinary man, who already has strode onward far in advance of his Country and his Generation.

"Those sons of the Desert addressed him in the most blunt and unceremonious manner, calling him merely by his name, Mohammed Aly. One day an Ateybe Bedouin presented himself before the Pasha, kissed

his beard, and exclaimed, ‘ I have abandoned the religion of the Moslims,’ (or ‘ True Believers,’ as the Wahábys style themselves); ‘ I have adopted the religion of the heretics,’ (so the Wahábys entitle all those Mohammedans who are not of their own creed); ‘ I have adopted the religion of Mohammed Aly.’ This unintended blunder caused a general laugh; and the Pasha answered through his interpreter (for he but imperfectly understood Arabic), ‘ I hope you will always be a staunch heretic.’ ”—*Notes*, p. 380.

On the death of Saoud, in 1814, his eldest son, Abdallah, was acknowledged Chief of the Wahábys. Blood still continued to flow copiously in all those channels through which human ferocity is accustomed to drain it, and the Hedjas was wasted by battles, massacres and executions. Of the nature of the resistance offered by the Bedouins, one anecdote may suffice as a specimen. After a signal defeat of the Wahábys, to which Mohammed Aly himself greatly contributed by his personal valour, whole parties of Asyr Arabs were found among the mountains tied together by the legs. On leaving their families, they had bound themselves by their most sacred oath—“ by the divorce”—(namely, that if they violated their engagement they would divorce their wives, however much beloved,) not to fly before the Turks. In order to preserve their fidelity unstained, they adopted the above-named singular expedient when unsuccessful in battle; and, after having been pursued and overtaken, they fought till their ammunition was exhausted, and were then cut to pieces.

The Pasha’s victories were sullied by acts of cruelty known, happily, only to Oriental Conquerors, and the fate of two of his prisoners, Tamy and Bakhroudj, cannot be read without horror.

“ Tamy’s conduct inspired the whole army with respect. The Pasha often conversed with him for amusement, as the tiger plays with his prey before he seizes it in his grasp; but Tamy’s dignified behaviour subdued the ferocity even of this Turk, and he promised to write in his favour, and procure him permission from the Sultan to live in retirement in the mountains of Romelia. Tamy was a man of great natural powers; short in stature, with a long white beard, his eyes darting fire; sarcastic in general, but polite towards the Turkish chief. Bakhroudj, on the contrary, observed a sulky silence, convinced that Mohammed Aly would never forgive him for the letter he had once addressed to him; nor did the Pasha ever desire to see him. Finding his guards asleep one night, Bakhroudj seized a poniard, contrived to loosen his chains, and escaped from the camp, but was overtaken after he had killed two men and wounded another. Next day Mohammed Aly asked him, ‘ by what right he had killed his soldiers.’ ‘ Whenever I am not chained,’ replied Bakhroudj, ‘ I act as I please.’ ‘ I shall act in the same manner,’ said the Pasha; and to entertain his Turks, and at the same time gratify his revenge, he immediately caused the unfortunate prisoner, bound as he

was in chains, to be placed in the midst of his body guards, who were directed to wound him slightly with their sabres, so that his torments might be prolonged. He at last expired without having uttered one complaint: his head was sent to Cairo and Constantinople along with Tamy, who, upon his arrival in the latter city, was instantly beheaded.* —Notes, p. 407.

The state of Egypt, and his own danger from the jealousy of the Porte, induced the Pasha to conclude Peace in 1815, and to return to Cairo. Tousoun died in the following year, during the Autumn of which Mohammed Aly despatched another son, Ibrahim, with instructions to renew the War. He carried in his suite two French officers, one of whom, a *chef d'escadre*, had served with Bonaparte at Rochfort. Beyond this date, the materials collected by Burkhardt do not extend; and the History of the Wahábys, if indeed any authentic History of them has been obtained, is foreign to our present purpose.

Of the *Proverbs*, the remaining volume which we have undertaken to notice, we have little to say, and that little is not favourable. We doubt whether it is judicious to have given them to the World, at least under the form which they now assume, in the pomp and splendour of an ample quarto of more than 280 pages. If they were to be printed at all, they might have appeared, by and by, as an appendix to Burkhardt's *collected Works*—a publication which, no doubt, must speedily be called for. But we object to them on another account. Proverbs, in every Country under the Sun, are the legitimate *peculium* of the common People, the vehicle in which is conveyed the large mass of shrewdness and sagacity which, more or less, is always to be found among the rude and uneducated; they are treasure-houses for mother-wit, and are valuable as containing, both in sentiment and language, a distinct impress of natural character. The sentiment can scarcely be changed in translation, if the translator be competent to his task; but, if from fastidiousness, or any other cause, he takes upon himself to recast the language, he possesses very unhappy facilities for this most destructive process. Vulgarities must be expected in the speech of the Vulgar, and it may become a question whether it is worth while to collect the *disjecta membra* of this speech, whether Literature has been much benefited by the *Slang Glossary* of Captain Grose, or the *Dictionnaire Comique* of Le Roux? but we do not think a doubt can be admitted that if such compilations are made at all, they should be made without fear of undisguisedly exhibiting open nakedness, for thus only will they display the Truth.

* "In violation of the solemn promise made by Mohammed Aly, Tamy, when he arrived at Cairo, was loaded with an immense chain about his neck, placed upon a camel, and then paraded through the streets with the head of Bakhroudj in a bag suspended from his shoulders."

Much, therefore, as we respect the principle which has induced the Editor of Burckhardt's collection to veil, soften, and even obliterate the manifold dirtinesses and some few impudicities which have been committed to him, we cannot but at the same time feel that, by the substitution of the tone of St. James's for that of St. Giles's, all the spirit and the vigour, the liveliness and the humour, has escaped, and left behind nothing more than a *caput mortuum*. Such a volume manifestly does not admit a Review, and we shall content ourselves, therefore, by transcribing a few of the Proverbs which are identical with, or bear strong resemblance to some forms of speech familiar to ourselves.

No. 3. A thousand cranes in the air are not worth one sparrow in the fist.

24. If the wind blows it enters at every crevice.

57. I best know the sun of my own Country.

92. The walls have ears.

129. The one-eyed person is a beauty in the Country of the blind.

133. Custom is a fifth nature.

148. She went to sleep hungry although her husband is a baker.

151. A well from which thou drinkest, throw not a stone into it.

170. The crown of a good disposition is humility.

172. The ox that ploughs is not to be muzzled.

179. The fool has his answer on the edge of his tongue.

182. The lamb came to teach its father how to feed.

209. A storm in the shop of a glass-dealer.

233. A vinegar-seller does not like another vinegar-seller.

247. With gentleness the fracture is repaired.

258. Take me by the hand to-day, I will take thee by the foot to-morrow.

286. A fly is nothing, yet it creates loathsomeness.

298. The provision for to-morrow belongs to to-morrow.

411. In proportion to the length of the garment stretch out thy legs.

435. The kettle reproached the kitchen-spoon. "Thou blackee," he said; "thou idle babbler!"

455. The lions withdrew; the hyænas then played.

475. One single word only is sufficient for the wise.

493. Upon every misfortune another misfortune.

557. Every thing forbidden is sweet.

564. Be of good memory if you become a liar.

606. The misfortunes of some people are advantages to others.

612. He alone knows the heat of the bath who has entered it.

616. Every thing crooked-necked is not a camel.

654. He who cannot reach to the bunch of grapes, says of it "it is sour."

687. The fire of reeds is of rapid extinction.

A few of the above adages, it will be seen, may be traced to Scripture: the remainder exhibit a proof of that great fundamen-

tal Truth which we encounter at every turning, namely, that however variously human Nature may be modified by conventional habits, it is not possible to disjoin the numerous subtle links which connect the Civilized with the Savage, and vouch that both are but one MAN.

ART. V.—*Sermons intended to show a Sober Application of Scriptural Principles to the Realities of Life, With a Preface Addressed to the Clergy.* By John Miller, M.A. late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. Oxford, Parker. London, Rivington. 1830. 8vo. pp. 475.

THERE is something exceedingly melancholy in the Preface to this volume. Not that the author is given to the ancient and venerable practice of extolling the things that are past away, complaining that there is “no virtue extant,” and teaching men to accuse their stars for consigning them to a period of universal decay and degeneracy. On the contrary, he has, in this collection, a very excellent sermon on Eccles. vii. 10, the express object of which is to condemn all such silly eruptions of folly and discontent, and to recommend a thankful use of whatever advantages our own times may supply towards our personal advancement in righteousness and holiness. But notwithstanding the healthfulness of his moral temperament in this respect, the author, like a watchful pilot, has his attention fixed on the *face of the sky*; and, in certain quarters, he discerns it to be somewhat *red and lowering*; and he looks on these prognostics, not indeed with an eye of terror and despondency, but with a solemnity of feeling which eminently becomes his sacred profession. It would be positively criminal in those who are the appointed guardians of morality and religion, if the *signs of the times* were to find them lost in apathy and dulness. Such indications may, at the least, be reasonably regarded as calls to vigilance and to exertion: and it is of all *signs*, perhaps, the very worst, when there is neither an ear to hear them, nor an eye to see them, nor a heart to understand them.

The general apprehensions of the author are stated in the opening paragraph of his preface.

“An opinion, I suppose, may be expressed without offence, that there must be very many earnest and reflecting Christians at this time little satisfied with the complexion and appearances of religion in this kingdom. There must be many who, after all allowance made for favourable points of view and for particular exceptions, can draw but little comfortable hope or augury, upon the broad scale, either from the sum of positive experience in their own respective neighbourhoods, or from the

language and proceedings, generally, of what is either called, or may demand to be included in the title of *the religious world*. I do not speak of their *abiding* consolation derived from the Redeemer's promise to his Church for ever, since that belongs to a much higher and different department of the subject. But looking for the present only to the things we see around us, it must be sure that there are great numbers of persons who are at the least *desirous* to love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, whose souls must weep in secret places, because the Lord's flock (as it seems to them) is carried away captive by almost every spirit of delusion or excess."—*Pref.* pp. xiii. xiv.

The author then proceeds to describe the classes of persons whose hearts, he imagines, may be deeply disquieted within them by the present state and aspect of religion in this empire. Foremost in the number he places those who may be supposed to shrink from the effects of that spirit of *unrest*, that tossing feverishness of speculation in divine things, which, if unchecked and unassuaged, may end in a wild delirium, of morbid strength enough to rend asunder all visible and outward bonds of unity among us. Then follow those that are sorely disturbed by the sight of those "flaws and weaknesses" which they cannot fail to discover even in that "pillar and ground of the truth," the Church of England; and by "the almost equally erroneous pertinacity with which these frailties are respectively defended and assailed." Next to these we have the pangs and the terrors inflicted by the obvious fact, that in the province of religion, almost every sect and party is doing (as it were) its adversary's work; that Calvinism, for instance, by a natural and violent reaction, is driving men back into the ranks of the Arian or Socinian perversion; that spirits, wearied by wild adventure in the realms of unaccomplished prophecy, or returning desolate and bewildered from voyages of discovery among the frozen regions of *rational* religion, have sought a settled anchorage of faith and hope in the land-locked bay of Romish infallibility or Puritanical assurance. Another class of fearful speculators are they, who look with consternation on the pernicious stratagems of that "juggling fiend," the spirit of liberalism, which at this moment is going to and fro in the earth, and walking up and down therein, labouring in his vocation to seduce religion into a perilous league with vain philosophy. Still more distressing is the agitation of those who dread to see the paramount supremacy of Scripture, and the just authority of Catholic consent, brought into hostile collision with each other, instead of amicably combining to give steadfastness to our faith, and perfection to our knowledge; a conflict tending, in the author's apprehension, "to no less a consequence than a convulsion of the whole civilized and Christian world; a conflict,

too, the more appalling and calamitous, because it is driven on "to the utterance" by speculations rashly and urgently put forth by certain distinguished members of our own communion. The mournful procession is closed by that portion of our conscientious ministers, who perceive, with sorrow, all certain bond of union between themselves and their congregations in danger of dissolution: who feel that there is a growing disposition among the people to dictate Divine truth to the priest, rather than to "seek the law at his mouth;" and who lament that they must either speak just what their audience may choose to hear, or else behold the house of *prayer* deserted, and find themselves the objects of contempt and reproach among those, with whose spiritual welfare they are solemnly charged.

"Meanwhile," adds Mr. Miller, "what is it that the anxious minister often sees with his own eyes, and hears with his own ears, or with the eyes and ears of those around him? I would not willingly transgress the bounds of charity; but I should think there must be instances, and not a few, in which a single-hearted, sober-minded clergyman, must feel as much as this—that many of those who claim to be the most religious, after the more modern fashion, are *not* the *neighbours* whom he can either *trust*, or most *love*: that many who lay the greatest stress on their own depravity, are yet in their own eyes the most *impeccable*; and they who are foremost in professing their own ignorance, are nevertheless the most *infallible*."—*Pref.* p. xxvi.

In the midst of the difficulties presented by this strange uniformity of strife and opinion, the author has sought for something like solace and relief in the consideration of this question—what is the manner of religious teaching most consonant with the tone and spirit of the Scriptures themselves? and by consequence, what may be thought the likeliest and safest mode of establishing the influence of true religion? Our readers will instantly perceive that this is a question of immense importance and extent. A right solution of it, and a steady adherence to the result, would obviously do wonders towards correcting the formidable train of evils which the author has described as invading the peace of thoughtful Christians, and of faithful ministers. If we could once clearly ascertain, and universally follow that mode of setting forth Divine truth, which is most in harmony with the spirit and tenor of the oracles which she hath spoken to mankind, where would be the fever of licentious speculation? where the uncharitable contention about things of comparatively subordinate importance? where the eventually self-destructive vehemence of religious dogmatism? where the serpentine craft of false liberality? where the collision between authority of Scripture, and that of tradition? and where the supply of preachers who should consent to indulge the itching

ears, and the vain hearts, and the capricious imaginations, of the people, whom it is their sole business to make wise unto salvation? To approximate to perfection in the communication of religious knowledge, would be, in effect, to make considerable approaches towards that blessedness and unity which are in the hearts of all who serve the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, but which, it is to be feared, will never be realized till things are rapidly advancing to their final consummation.

The task of discussing, in its full extent, the mode of teaching which may best harmonize with the genuine spirit of the Scriptures, is modestly declined by Mr. Miller. But though he abstains from the office of describing completely what *is* the perfection of preaching, he does not scruple to tell us very plainly what *it is not*. It is *not* by "cold, constrained, authoritative form and language, on the one hand,—or by exaggerated statements, and unwarranted excitements, on the other,"—that man can be fairly exhibited to himself, in his own "form and pressure," after the manner of Scripture. *Reality*, he considers as one conspicuous feature in the Scripture method of instruction. We rise from the perusal of the Bible with a profound conviction that the writers were actually dealing with the spirits of men for grand and important purposes. They speak as if they had *great points to carry*. There is nothing in the Apostolic writings, for instance, which reminds us of the formality of a stated task or exercise; nothing which leads us to suspect, for a moment, that the authors were thinking of any thing but the work of Evangelists. It is irresistibly obvious that they felt themselves grappling with human beings, who were to be enlightened, and reformed, accomplished to every good work, and prepared for eternal life: and, with this object constantly before them, they no more thought of the artifices of composition, than a man engaged in plucking a perishing brother from the water or the flames would think of throwing himself into imposing attitudes and postures. Now with us, at this day, the case is unhappily very different. A clergyman, too often, sits down to the composition of a sermon just as he would to that of a theme, or an essay, or a declamation, or a lecture. He may be ardently desirous to make his labours useful. He may strain every nerve to recommend the truth by rightness of division, by energy of language, and by richness and variety of illustration; and yet, after all, there may be a want of what Mr. M. calls *reality* in his performance. The hearer may depart like one who has heard a *very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument*; and the result may be that he will *hear the words and do them not*.* He may experience a

* Ezek. xxxiii. 32.

deep and powerful excitement, and yet it may not be that sort of excitement which is produced by thoughts of *righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come*, when such thoughts are brought into close conflict with his own personal failings and corruptions. He may retire with certain vague and undefined impressions of the grandeur of revelation, of the mysterious heights and depths of the Divine counsels, of the fearful abyss of man's depravity, and of the wondrous energies that have been put forth for his deliverance. But, still, he may have been left without any potent inducements to arrest these awful visions, and to become *obedient* to them, and to seek in them the guiding principles of his daily thoughts and habits. He may have seen the whole armour of God exhibited in all its glorious brightness; but yet he may have beheld it without feeling impelled instantly to gird it on, and to commence the conflict against the adversaries of his soul.

Another mode of deviating from *naturalness* in preaching, (to use Mr. M.'s own phrase,) is the exhibition of Christianity in the form of what are called *doctrinal* discourses. In our humble judgment, there can be nothing much more fatal to all hopes of permanent usefulness than this process of congelation. We know not well whereunto to liken it, but to the exploits of the sages of Chemistry, who can produce from the mixture of certain ingredients a degree of artificial cold, which shall reduce quicksilver to a solid mass. Is it possible to imagine a more unhappy combination of the celestial elements of our faith than that which is attended with an expulsion of all vital heat, and the result of which is to display the truth of God in the form of a cold speculation, lifeless and motionless? What is the triumph of such a method but to produce a fabric of ice; a structure, which, for a time, fixes the eye with its austere symmetry, and freezing splendour, but which repels the spectator from all thought of taking up his abode within it? We ardently hope that the time will come when we shall see no more of these "beauteous works of frost." There is in the *doctrines* of Christianity a latent power, which, under proper management and *manipulation*, can impart a heavenly warmth and vividness to the whole body of morality, and breathe into the image of virtue a *living soul*. What, then, must be the perverseness of that skill, which can contrive a combination of them that actually banishes all perception or recollection of the fire, wherewith the immortal spirits of men should be baptized. We have above adverted to that method of exhibiting the Gospel, which, in some sort, resembles the splendour of a pyrotechnical performance; and we have agreed with Mr. Miller in denouncing it as a departure from *naturalness and reality*. We cannot, however, help considering the very inanimate and

ungenial style of discourse which we have last contemplated, as a still more fatal abandonment of those essential qualities.

Another grand secret of genuine scriptural teaching is, (to use once more an expression of Mr. Miller's,) *affectionateness*. By *affectionateness* neither Mr. Miller, nor ourselves, intend that perpetual affectation of sensibility, which vents itself in phrases of endearment, and "syllables of dolour;" and which exhausts the patience and disturbs the bowels of every sensible hearer, by one eternal and wearisome *falsetto*. If we would comprehend what is meant by an affectionate manner, we have only to figure to ourselves the urgency with which a man would address a friend or a brother, who was to him as his own soul, and whom he saw running headlong into ruin. We have only to think of the language and the tone in which an intelligent and virtuous father would labour to reclaim the child of his prayers from vicious and ungodly courses. These are the models of the affectionate style. This was the manner in which the Apostles addressed the children they had begotten in the Gospel: and this is *the excellent way* by which the ministers of truth are to *persuade men*, at the present hour. The eloquence of affectionate interest rushes almost unbidden to the lips, and gives animation and energy to every department of religious instruction. If this truly fraternal principle were to run through all religious ministrations, we should perhaps witness, on the one hand, fewer prodigies of splendid and fiery rhetoric; and, on the other, fewer instances of a system, in which, it may be said, that

Pale suns unfelt at distance roll away,
And on th' impassive ice the lightnings play.

An element would then descend upon us, which, like the genial warmth of Heaven, would pervade the whole region of ministerial duty, and ripen the golden fruits of the Tree of Life.

Alas! alas! it is, in truth, melancholy to think upon these things, and then to look upon the ponderous accumulation of our printed homiletic divinity; which has increased, is increasing, and which, (in our more desponding moments we are apt to cry,) ought to be diminished! This latter part of the exclamation, however, in our brighter moods, we are always willing to recall. We firmly believe that there is *scattered* through those vast stores, almost every variety of excellence, though mixed up with much of an inferior quality; and we would willingly hope that the incessant exercise, of which they are the produce, is operating as a course of education to the mind and spirit of the clergy, which may, with the blessing of God, terminate in placing nearly all the best qualities of a preacher within the attainment of a greater

number of individuals than ever heretofore. In the mean time it is our duty to accept with thankfulness the suggestions and meditations of every conscientious minister who may have devoted his thoughts to the cultivation of this most important field of clerical labour. All such contributors to the improvement of the sacred profession may be considered as engaged in the task of accelerating that period, when *reality* and *affectionateness* shall, almost universally, give the fullest scriptural effect to the labours and accomplishments of our pastoral divines.

Before we proceed to notice the attempts of Mr. Miller to exemplify his own views, we cannot forbear to express the satisfaction which it gives us to find that he "cordially sympathizes with the feelings" expressed by us in a former Number* of this Journal, relative to the "prevailing practice, among Christian preachers, of separating their hearers, in their discourses, into two broad classes, which can only be described, virtually, as the Christians of the flock, and the unchristianized."—(Preface, p. xli.) It is gratifying to know that our views on this matter coincide with those entertained by a powerful and independent thinker, who has given so much deep and anxious attention to the subject. It is the opinion of Mr. Miller, that "we should listen with very great jealousy and caution to such a manner of instruction;" and he adds, "no method can present itself to my mind as less scriptural, or less deducible from any pattern set by the Apostles, look to which of their Epistles we will." The more we think on this unhappy mode of address, the more profoundly are we convinced of its pernicious operation. It is true that every congregation consists of persons, of whom some will eventually be placed on the right hand of their Saviour, and the others on the left. It is equally true that, of every set of young persons, under education for their various duties in this world, some will turn out well, and others will turn out ill. But what should we think of an instructor of youth who, on all occasions, should address his pupils as if, at the moment of his speaking to them, they were separated into two sets, in one of which were to be placed those who were profiting by their course of discipline, while the other was occupied by incorrigible young varlets, who seemed to be lost to all sense of duty, and whose future characters and fortunes appeared to be well nigh desperate? Could a method be imagined more admirably adapted to harden the idle and abandoned in their evil habits, to deprive them of all respect for themselves, and to engender in them a feeling of bitter alienation against all their steadier and more worthy companions? Would it be possible,

* No. XIV. p. 266—8.

by any means, more effectually to sow the seeds of ungenerous dissension and mutual suspicion? And if so, why should a similar process be applied to human beings who are under education for eternity? Why should persons who are attending on the means of grace be encouraged to occupy themselves in drawing a line which is to part off those who are within the saving influences of Divine mercy, from those who are still without that hallowed boundary? Is it not obvious that such a representation is neither more or less than an invitation to the censorious to speculate on the spiritual condition of their next neighbours, and to riot, like the Pharisee, in the wantonness of cold-hearted and self-righteous pride? Can it be conceived that a preacher should dwell upon such an imaginary division among his people, without giving rise among them to a sort of secret process of reciprocal excommunication, with all its abominable consequences,—jealousy, uncharitableness, and mutual alienation of heart? Only let us consider the indefinite variety of character and condition exemplified, at any given time, in any given collection of individuals. Let us remember that in all congregations there are some ripe in Christian grace; others whose hearts are, to all appearance, untouched by the powers of the world to come; and that, between these two classes, there may be gradations, which language can scarcely describe, or imagination give shape to. On the one side, then, what false confidence, and elation of spirit,—and, on the other, what confusion, what dismay, what despondency, may be produced by a potent preacher, who declares that the classification of these varieties is but twofold,—that there stand before him either men who are Christians, or men who are not,—that the shadow of death is hanging over one part of his hearers, while the rest are walking in the marvellous light of God! We are no advocates for those treacherous or careless ministers who prophesy smooth things, and say peace, peace, when there is no peace. At their peril, the ruin which hovers over impenitent transgression must be broadly and faithfully revealed. But this statement once made, the application of it should be left to the conscience of each individual in the multitude. The preacher may, indeed, exhibit his knowledge of the human heart by so framing his statements that they shall come home to every individual conscience, and not suffer one of his hearers to escape in the crowd. But there can be neither skill, nor humanity, in the coarse expedient, which pampers the spiritual pride of one portion—sometimes, perhaps, the least worthy portion—of their audience, while it consigns the remainder to terror and dejection, or, peradventure, hardens them in rebellion and impenitence. To preachers, who are in the habit of thus *unchristianizing* a por-

tion of their congregations, we heartily recommend the following sentences of Baxter, the fruits of his mellowed age, and more mature experience. "I am not too narrow in my principles of Church communion, as I once was. I more plainly perceive the difference between the Church as congregate and visible, and as regenerate and mystical; and between sincerity and profession; and that a credible profession is proof sufficient of a man's title to Church admission; and that the profession is credible, *in foro Ecclesiæ*, which is not disproved. I am not for narrowing the Church more than Christ himself alloweth us; nor for robbing him of any of his flock."* We hold that the spirit of this passage, if not the exact letter, would be a powerful corrective of that *ex-communicating* temper, which dictates to some preachers the virtual separation of their people into two sorts, those who do, and those who do not, belong to the flock of Christ. "A credible profession," and an attendance on the means of grace, entitle all the members of a congregation to be addressed as Christians; and the only *separation* that should ever be alluded to is, the separation between those *Christians* who may be walking worthily of their vocation, and those who may not.

The objects which Mr. Miller has chiefly proposed to himself in this present attempt are, first, to provide the general reader with a sober and consistent outline of scriptural principles, adapted to the circumstances of the times, and such as may guard him against being *frightened*, by the portentous extravagancies of the age, out of a meek and practical religion; and, secondly, to exhibit those principles in their application to the daily *realities* of life. In his endeavour to accomplish this purpose his attention has been fixed, not so much on the Epistles addressed to whole churches, as those to Timothy and Titus, who had the superintendence of congregations. And the question he proposes to himself is, how would Timothy or Titus,—if they derived their *tone* from the instructions of St. Paul,—preach at this day among ourselves? "Can any thing," he asks, "be less exaggerated than those instructions, or more *real*, or more *natural*? Can any sort of teaching describe more to the life the evils which, *in substance*, still encompass us, or more directly tend to do us good, than that which seems to be enjoined there—a doctrine showing *uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned*? Why may not we be well content, if it may only be permitted to us, in our just proportion, to teach as the Apostles taught?"

With regard to the execution of these Sermons, it is highly creditable to the understanding and the feelings of the writer;

* Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. p. 576.

though we are not quite certain that, without the aid of his title-page and preface, we should have discovered that they were composed with any specific view, widely distinct from that with which Discourses are frequently addressed to plain congregations. The style is remarkably simple and unambitious; but it strikes us, as rather wanting in freedom, and as, sometimes, positively approaching to awkwardness. It is likewise, perhaps, somewhat deficient in that energy and *keenness*, without which, if Baxter be right, no sermon or book does much good to common and ignorant people. By *keenness*, however, we do not mean caustic severity, or unfeeling violence, which may rather provoke resistance than subdue it; but that spirit and vigour of statement, with which popular writers or speakers frequently awaken and sustain the attention; and which, we apprehend, if moderately and seasonably introduced, is by no means incompatible with *gravity, sincerity, and sound speech that cannot be condemned*. There is, however, throughout these Discourses an unaffected and primitive earnestness; an incessant anxiety to make Divine truth intelligible to every capacity; and to bring it to bear directly and powerfully on the daily duties, and current engagements, of the great mass of human society. It is impossible to peruse any portion of the volume without perceiving that the whole faculties of the author are devoted to the one great purpose of being useful to the souls of men, and of addressing them in the true spirit of Apostolic sobriety and love. We, accordingly, apprehend that these Sermons might be used in private families with most signal advantage.

We despair of being able to communicate to our readers any satisfactory conception of the value of these Discourses except by more copious extracts than we have space to insert. Some specimens, however, we shall proceed to lay before them. We shall begin with Sermon VI., which contains a very sensible and useful exposition of a somewhat unpopular and almost obsolete portion of our Liturgy, the solemn office of the commination, or "the denouncing of God's wrath against sinners." The text he chooses for this purpose is Prov. iii. 33, *The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked*. Now there are a multitude of persons who exceedingly dislike to be told of the curse of God. It is a thing which, according to them, "no Christian ears can endure to hear." It might be very well, they think, to speak to the Jews of the curse, for they lived under the Law. But Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us. He has saved us from the punishment denounced against sin, by having undergone the accursed death of the cross. To talk to us, therefore, of the terrors and menaces of the Law, is to thrust us back into that state of bondage from which the Gospel has made

us free! It is truly deplorable to reflect that there should be individuals capable of thus wresting the Scriptures to their own confusion and destruction. Wherever such persons may be found, let them listen to the sound and sober words of Mr. Miller. These will teach them, that the curse of the Lord is still in the house of the wicked—that it hovers about their path and about their bed—that it shall canker their unrighteous wealth, and lay up its rust as a witness against them, which shall devour them and their posterity like fire; that, like an avenging power it shall treasure up their unholy words, and deeds, and thoughts, and tempers, against that day of wrath which is still in the heart of Jehovah. All this shall it do, unless it be disarmed by timely repentance, and by the production of fruits which are meet for repentance. For, to whom but to the penitent are the promises of redemption held forth? In favour of whom is the curse revoked, but of those who forsake and hate the sins against which the curse was originally pronounced? And how shall the Christian hope to plead the reversal of this doom, if he lives and dies,—as too many seem to live and die,—in a state, which many a respectable Jew or Pagan might think of almost with abhorrence. But let us hear Mr. Miller.

“It is most true, (and God be praised for it for ever!) we *are not* ‘under the law, but under grace;’ we trust not to be saved through any doings or deservings of our own, but only for the sake of Jesus Christ. ‘HE *has* redeemed us from the curse of the law,’ considered as the covenant by which we should be tried in judgment, and as our way and method of salvation. I mean, so judged, and on such terms, as that the person who, throughout a whole life, had ‘continued in all the things which are written in the book of the law to do them,’ might stand upright in the judgment, but all besides be left accursed, or condemned. Most surely our Redeemer has delivered us from that destroying, overwhelming *strength*, which thus *the law* would give to *sin*, against the very best of us; so much, that no flesh could be saved. That Christ hath surely saved us from *this* curse, or condemnation, is not only true, but on a true belief that he has done so rests our only hope of heaven.

“But what then? All this supposes that we have, for sake of his great love, received and followed him with all our hearts; renouncing all those evil deeds forbidden by the law, to which the curse belongs, and proving our own selves to be indeed among the persons who ‘are in Christ Jesus, and to whom there is no longer any condemnation,’ by ‘walking not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.’

“Now *this* is quite another matter. There is no curse remaining for the believing and the penitent. But still there *is* a curse retained *on record*; and it must be as surely kept for *some* beneath the Gospel, as it ever was aforetime. A single text will show us this too certainly, and it proceeds from the Redeemer’s own lips. Attend to what he tells us that the Son of man will say, in the great day of trial, to them whom he

shall be compelled to place upon his left hand: 'Depart from me, *ye cursed*, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.' We cannot doubt that Jesus Christ is speaking here of such as shall have been professed Christians, but who shall, notwithstanding, then be held as 'cursed.' And we collect from the same place of Scripture who these are;—at least, of one sort. One class of them will be the cold and selfish, who had no root of Christian tenderness, nor any spirit of believing love; who took no pity on the poor, the stranger, or the naked. Now if thus merely to *neglect* these helpless parties and just objects of compassion, be judged deserving of a curse, how much more must it fall beneath the like sad sentence, to have *done positive wrong* to any of them; to have (as it is said) *perverted the judgment* of the stranger, the fatherless, or the widow!

"Who else may still be looked upon as liable to the same judgment, must be discovered by comparing what our Saviour says elsewhere, when speaking in effect of the same final reckoning. Such other places may be seen, in the seventh chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and in the thirteenth of St. Luke's; and there our Saviour speaks of the condemned in general terms, as being '*all the workers of iniquity*.' For 'every one that names the name of Christ,' in hope of being saved, 'must depart from iniquity.'

"There is a *possibility* of curse then yet remaining beneath the covenant of grace; and it shall fall on them who '*work iniquity*.' And where are we to look for certain and unerring truth, in this respect of what must be considered as '*iniquity*,' but to those earlier portions of the book of life, where God has more abundantly displayed his mind respecting points of *moral* good or evil, and (doubtless, once for all) more fully specified the things which he abhorreth? This is the use which we should make of the detailed commands of earlier Scripture—to view them as *an index to the thoughts* of the *Divine mind*; and where we find the things themselves commanded or forbidden to be of an abiding and perpetual *nature*, we should at once consider the Divine pleasure as concerning them to be *a thing known*. This simple rule (and is it not a safe one?) *might* set at rest for ever, and instruct us to avoid, '*foolish questions, and contentions and strivings about the law, as unprofitable and vain*;' the more the pity, that so few appear disposed to welcome thoroughly *this* place of rest unto their souls!"—pp. 119—123.

After this, we have one or two striking applications of this doctrine to the common *realities* of life.

"Who," says Mr. Miller, "would have looked to find a *special utterance* of God's displeasure against what may appear so slight a sin as the removing of a neighbour's land-mark?—'Cursed is he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark.'

"Yet, when we look at this offence with a regard to all its consequences, it will not only show itself to be no trifling wrong, and one deserving of severe punishment; but we may come to understand from God's forbidding it expressly, how *very* much it is his will and care, that men should live in peace and love one with another; in just possession

of their several rights and properties; and how *his* law is, from the first unto the last, in lesser and in greater things alike, the wisest, the best, and truest safeguard of all well-being in society, and man's best friend as well in reference to his present interests, as to his future happiness.

"For, the more literal offence here charged, supposing it to be committed only in the least and lowest form, and merely from a love of mischief or a spirit of wantonness, may prove a very serious evil. It may be parent to a great variety of most unhappy consequences; mistrust of those who were before friends—the separating of good neighbours—suspicion—jealousy—contention—with all the losses and discomforts following on suits of law. But how much worse if it arise from positive fraud! whether from the wish to rob outright a neighbour of his property, on a presumption of the difficulty of detection; or merely that a man might perfect and complete his own, by some slight change, or morsel added, which, with an eye like that of Ahab cast on Naboth's vineyard, he had perceived, and fancied for himself, until he came to *covet* it!

"It may be thought, that *these* are cases *not* of real life among ourselves, for that the difficulties of committing such a wrong are now so great, as that but very few, or none, could compass the commission of it. I would this could be proved true! Yet, even were the *strict and literal* offence unknown among us, (which very much I fear it is not,) the Christian must extend his views of every moral precept to the *spirit* of the prohibition. And here he will not think that stones or boundaries alone are all the land-marks which secure a person's rights or property. Our "land-marks" much more commonly are found in deeds and writings, and in securities of that description. To these it is that, commonly, appeals are made in questions that concern rights or ownership among ourselves. What then shall be thought of all such arts and practices as those of forging, altering, suppressing, or destroying *these*, to any brother's wrong?

"If we know any thing at all about the practices and dealings of the world, we cannot doubt that *these* are forms of evil daily shown. And they cause trouble, sorrow, ruin, and all the misery that may be apt to follow on injustice or oppression. What therefore, let me ask again, is to be thought of these! Should it not be at least our wish to know, if there be means of knowing past all doubt, what the Divine mind is respecting such offences? And if we seek accordingly to ascertain this mind, what is the sure conclusion we must come to? Unquestionably this; that let men think of such deeds as they please, and let them make what boast they will of their own cunning craftiness in such particulars, and many kindred ones, there is one, mightier and wiser than themselves, who sees them in a very different light; from whose eyes they are not, and cannot, be hid; and who, in his unerring word of truth and justice, has pronounced such doings *cursed*."

Again—

"Let us look, in a like manner, at one other of these solemn prohibitions; 'Cursed is he that maketh the blind to go out of his way.'

"Now this again is worthy of our best attention. 'Among a cata-

logue of gross and heinous crimes, such as idolatry, contempt of parents, murders, rapine, and the like, is mentioned this of *making the blind to go out of their way*; a wickedness of a singular nature, and which one would not look to find in *such* a list of vicious actions. It is a crime probably seldom committed; there are few opportunities for it; there is little temptation to it; it is doing mischief for mischief's sake.' Such are the observations of a well-known writer, on this place of Scripture.

"And when we come to think about the crime marked out, we shall at least in greater part consent to them. 'To make the blind,' the objects of our tenderest compassion, 'go out of the way!'—what can be more inhuman, more detestable, more thoroughly unlike the mind of Jesus Christ! Yet God, who knows the hearts of men and the devices of their restless spiritual enemy, and how entirely foolishness is bound up in some of those hearts, too surely knows that even this, the literal offence here charged, may be committed, like the former, and that it is committed; and we ourselves must be too certain of the same. So that if this alone were all the force and fullness of the prohibition, and if such cruelty were practised ever so rarely; yet, even then, how truly might we trace the very path of knowledge and of tender mercy in the mind that gave it!

"But not to follow up this thought, (of which however let it be remarked, that it might lead us on to an instructive contrast between the tenderness of God and the hard-heartedness of man; and again, between the mind that often *is* left unrestrained in children, and that which *ought* to be engrafted in them, if they were early led to cultivate the mind which was in Jesus Christ;) this is *not all* that should be looked upon, and understood, as meant to be forbidden here.

"Blindness (continues the same writer noticed before) in all languages is put for error and ignorance; and in the language of the Scriptures, ways and paths, walking and going astray, with all the like, denote the actions and behaviour of men.' Every body knows as much as this, it may be hoped, of the similar way of speaking in the Bible. 'And this plain observation leads us straight to the *enlarged*, the spiritual and moral, sense of this Divine threatening:—Cursed is he who imposeth upon the simple, the credulous, the unwary, the ignorant, or the helpless; and either wilfully deceives, misleads, corrupts, or plunders, any of these,' for selfish or unworthy purpose of his own. All such as do *these* things have need to ponder carefully within themselves the *power* of this curse, and their own danger of incurring it.

"Think what we may then of the *literal* offence, of misdirecting the unhappy blind; whether we can bring ourselves to a belief that *such* a wickedness is ever done within a Christian land, or not; we must assuredly perceive ourselves to be upon the ground of *real life*, when thus we reach the spiritual intent and power of the Divine sentence.

"Who can be ignorant, that many exercise (and that in many instances) a lawful and an honourable calling in an unchristian manner? Now there are whole professions, which the necessities of men have led them to establish for the general good, and which in their becoming use take station in the very foremost rank of usefulness and honour, the too

ready *abuse* of which makes it their *very business* to beguile, entangle, and deceive the simple, by false encouragements or treacherous promises. God knows that even *religious* teaching *may* be so abused, and often has been ! But we shall better seek our present proof in other instances.

“ How many (for example) are led on by subtle and by wrong advice into destructive processes of law !—how many, in another branch, have been beguiled till they have ‘ spent their all ’ upon deceitful hopes of restoration to their bodily health, and at the last ‘ been nothing bettered, but rather growing worse ! ’ And yet we see it day by day proved true, that, in despite of all experience, people still will fall unto such as thus delude them ; ‘ and thereout suck they (the deluders) no small advantage. ’ They heap up riches to themselves in many cases ; and seem not to fear but ‘ their houses shall continue for ever ! ’ Yet, is not this (I mean, where any such deceit is really intentional) ‘ to trust in wrong and robbery ? ’ Are these the riches, let them increase ever so much, which any Christian man should dare to take unto himself ? ‘ Are not these things noted in the Lord’s book ? ’ Why, but for such things has the word been spoken as *an everlasting record*, that ‘ cursed is he that maketh the blind to wander out of the way ? ’

“ I pray you then to *think* upon the *power* of that Book ; to learn, and feel within your hearts, its knowledge of the ways of life ; and, seeing how its knowledge is indeed ‘ too wonderful and excellent ’ for man to have put forth, to own and reverence its true Author, and to secure yourselves a place, by faith and observation of its lessons, within the shelter of *his* blessing.”

But then there are people who, after all, are quite unable to say *Amen* to this awful formulary. “ *Amen* sticks in their throat,” because, truly, it calls down a curse on themselves, or on their neighbours !

“ Now,” asks Mr. Miller, “ what is it we *do* say ? The minister declares these curses simply to be written in the word of God. ‘ Cursed *is* he,’ that doeth so or so. It is not said, ‘ Cursed *be* he : ’ to *that* there might, and would, be just objection ; but it is not a *wish* that is expressed, but only a simple *declaration*. The word ‘ *Amen*, ’ accordingly, is not here uttered as a *prayer*. It does not mean, ‘ So be it, Lord ! yea, curse thou those who do these things ! ’ It is no more than an expression of assent, that verily such curses *are* recorded in the word of God. What we mean here by answering *Amen*, is this : ‘ In truth, it *is* so written in the Scriptures, and we cannot reverse it ! God most assuredly hath so spoken ; and it must needs be sure, that he whom God blesseth is blessed ; and he whom God curseth is cursed ! ’

“ And what is there in this, which any heart of faith should shrink from, either as respects ourselves or others ? or what can be more plain, more safe, or more directly tending to instruction in righteousness, than that which is the *just* inference, which every one should draw within his own heart secretly ? ‘ Then let me, *for myself*, take care, that I commit none of these offences ; that I may never suffer as an evil-doer, or as a thief, or as a murderer ; for verily I see the justice and the necessity of

God's threatenings! And if I do not speedily repent and turn to him, my portion may be found at last like that of the unhappy Esau; who, when too late he would have fain inherited the blessing, was rejected; and found no place to change *his* father's mind, although he sought it carefully with tears!

"I do not think more need be added, either to vindicate the reasonableness and propriety of this particular office, or to demonstrate that it *may* be used to our exceeding profit. And if what has been said may only lead us, through Divine blessing, to think more wisely and more worthily of the Divine law, *as once declared, and that for ever, in respect of things essentially good and evil*, we shall have gained a step to bring us nearer, and in a better and more tractable spirit, unto the wisdom and the *principles* which are in Christ Jesus."

All this is very sensible, and very admirable. It is well fitted to awaken those who apply the Gospel, as a sort of anodyne, to assuage the anguish of those wounds which their own sinful habits and practices are constantly inflicting upon their conscience. It may teach them that the Law of God will arise, at last, in aggravated terror, against those who have neglected or abused his grace and mercy.

There is a very valuable Discourse (Sermon X.) on "Vain Ostentation of Religion," from Luke xviii. 9, the object of which is to exhibit the Pharisaical spirit in several of its *phases*. We cannot forbear to solicit the reader's attention to the following portion of it, a deep consideration of which may reasonably be deemed to be highly "necessary for these times." Having, first, faithfully exposed the worthlessness of mere formality in religion, he proceeds to the dissection of another variety of self-deceit, in many instances equally dangerous and pernicious.

"But we should greatly err, in thinking that the power of our Saviour's words began and ended with a condemnation of this *formal* pattern of religion. Punctuality in outward forms is not the *only* way in which we practically find that people think themselves religious, and despise others. There are great numbers who deceive themselves in quite another manner, which it shall be attempted to describe.

"There is a numerous class of persons, more or less *inclined* to be religious, who, being weary of, or else disliking or despising outward forms, and seeing the entire vanity of making boast in these without substantial fruits of holiness, at once take up the word of condemnation or reproach against them, without scruple or forbearance. But many tempers of this kind are equally impatient of the burthen of a persevering, dutiful obedience. Hence they are apt—perhaps unwittingly, but still by very natural degrees—to fall into, and grow contented with, that sort and fashion of religion, which shows itself in much use of religious *talking*, and by a certain tone of spiritual pretension and great *profession* of regard for *spiritual things*. Such Christians can perceive too plainly the utter and the grievous wrong of that *profaneness*, which

shows itself in their more sensual and careless neighbours. It is most probable, their *feelings* have been really touched, on some occasion or other, with a conviction of *sin*. They are not, therefore, without just impressions of some portion of the truth. They have found once at least an inward understanding, that the world's ordinary views are low and insufficient. Their hearts, alarmed by some strong call, have told them that it cannot possibly be safe to live on as the careless many live, without religious hope or fear at all; to run a round of constant business, or of reckless pleasure, leaving all thoughts of God and of the soul *out of the question*. This, they have seen, can never serve a *Christian's* turn, at any rate: there must be *something better than this*. And it is hardly to be doubted, that for a while, under their first conviction, all persons who receive this good impression are sincere. It seems no more than just so to believe.

"Accordingly, when, on the change perceived in their own thoughts, they set themselves in earnest thus 'to call upon the name of the Lord,' and to contend for *his* honour, no doubt they feel persuaded in themselves that their good purposes shall never fail. The goodness and the grace of God, they are assured, *cannot* fail: unhappily they often add the notion, that they themselves can never fall from grace. Perhaps, they satisfy themselves the more of this by really abandoning some sins which cost them least; especially by learning to refrain their tongues from the offence of *swearing*. Still more, it may be, they will think themselves secure, by reason that they now are shocked at hearing others guilty of that most wilful and most foolish of all sins, or grieved to see the prevalence of any other sin, no matter what, which they themselves may happen to have cast aside. And so far, let it be allowed, they see the real truth of things, and are, or have been, in the right way.

"But then—'the end is not yet.' And a consistent *life* of holiness and duty is a difficult work; and thus, with many of an eager and impatient mind and stronger passions, their first impressions will grow weaker, and temptations stronger; and Satan has his baits for every disposition, and of course for theirs among the rest. Then it is that early purposes of good begin to falter, and compromise with conscience to be made. Meanwhile, such persons rarely *lose* those first broad notions of religious duty which they *did* gain. And among these, they were effectually convinced that it is right to think and speak of GOD as man's first object of regard and reverence; to recognise his love in JESUS CHRIST; to own their need of help from THE DIVINE SPIRIT; in brief, habitually to confess the value and the necessity of *godliness*. Their *talk* is therefore still of these things. They have deceived themselves, under an error far too common, to think that their own first *conviction* was *conversion*; in other words, that their once being forced to see and to confess the sinfulness of sin, and the necessity of fearing God, is in effect the same thing with being *daily* led, and with a willing mind, to follow after righteousness. And still, because (to use a Scriptural illustration) they are quite sure that they were once *darkness*, but have since in a certain measure seen better, they will remain persuaded of themselves that they are now *light in the*

Lord. They still will think themselves enlightened, converted, justified. And for the reason that they thus discern so palpable an error of so many of their brethren—I mean the great and grievous error of *profaneness*—and that such brethren do not seem to catch the light of truth in just the same way with themselves, they still consider *them*, and speak of them, as *unconverted* and *in darkness*.

“ There is no small proportion of professing Christians who *thus* are led to ‘ trust in themselves that they are righteous, and to despise others.’ And let us give them credit (as already said) for a beginning in sincere conviction. With some however, by and by, it is this very thing—this first foundation laid in strong conviction—which *should* be for their souls’ health throughout, that *does* become even an occasion of falling. The consciousness of sin and a depraved nature is by degrees perverted into an excuse for sinning; that is to say, for *sinning in that branch of evil to which they are themselves inclined*. They will, as has been said, give up *some* sins; and they will praise religion, and make free with holy names, as if none other were in all their thoughts but God, and his word were their only rule. But is their heart sound in his statutes? Too many things, with which *this* outside of religion may be found united, declare unhappily that it is not so *always*.

“ This form of vain profession both may be found, and is, in frequent fellowship with many most unchristian courses. It is most strongly apt to be united with almost every form of disingenuousness, and far too commonly with positive dishonesty; it will admit of much most blameable, and even criminal, idleness; it is compatible with pride, with vanity; it may be found in partnership with lying, malice, and uncharitableness; it will consent to gross forgetfulness of all domestic duties; it is not safe from lust. In truth, a certain stage once passed, its *business* often is, much less to crucify at home the flesh with its affections and lusts, than to detect and to condemn the sins of others.

“ Not that (if we come at any time to close examination) the sort of Christian here described will then, expressly and in words, make any boast that shall declare a trust within himself that he is righteous. So far from that, he might seem rather (if we should take our judgment from his speech alone) to have his confidence in that he was a sinner; not, however, in the spirit of the lowly publican, but as a thing of course. He will be always ready to profess the doctrinal truth, that he and all are sinners, and that ‘ there is none righteous, no not one.’ But, notwithstanding, he is satisfied that he himself has found a better way than others, merely for the making such confessions. He will disclaim, as well he may, all confidence in his own righteousness; but he will probably be found puffed up with some vain notion, derived from wrong interpretation of the Scriptures, about the righteousness of Jesus Christ *imputed* to him. While therefore he must *know* himself to be unholy, wilfully unholy, he will persist that he is safe. He grasps the *promise*, and forgets the *covenant*. Nor will he only think himself secure, but he is probably persuaded with respect to others, that *they* have yet ‘ a veil upon their hearts,’ while *he* himself sees all things clearly, and little doubts that he, by consequence, is clothed with a wedding garment, while they are yet in condemnation, lying in their sins.”

We had intended to provide the reader with one or two more specimens of the labours of Mr. Miller. But we have left ourselves without room for further extracts, and must therefore conclude with an earnest recommendation to the public that they will consult the volume for themselves.

Mr. Miller will, doubtless, thank us for pointing out what appears to be a slight inadvertency in Sermon XV. Speaking of baptism, he says, that "if any do not choose to enter in thereby *in infancy*, the *choice*, with all its consequences, is *their own*." It can hardly be said of any infant, that he is left unbaptized by his own *choice*, though the choice made for him by others may be afterwards confirmed by his own judgment, when he is of an age to choose. We hope that a second edition of the volume will give Mr. Miller an opportunity of correcting this accidental oversight.

ART. VI.—*Introductions to the Study of the Greek Classic Poets, designed principally for the use of Young Persons at School and College.* By Henry Nelson Coleridge, Esq. M.A. late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Part I. containing—I. General Introduction.—II. Homer. London. Murray. 1830. 8vo. pp. 239. 6s. 6d.

WE have, on more than one account, been highly pleased with this little volume. It is manifestly the production of a young and ardent mind, well acquainted with the choicest models of Poetry, deeply imbued with their spirit, and passionately enamoured of their beauties. Without disparaging the modern propensity for *handicraft* Education, or undervaluing the level Democracy of Universal Science which has established itself above the dethroned Oligarchy of the ancient Seven, we do not hesitate to confess, that we still retain very strong prejudices in favour of that which once was Learning, and that we are sufficiently rusty to prefer the lessons which we received from our Fathers to those which we are now expected to teach our Children. Of the hazard of so unusual a confession we are not unaware: we feel that it will array against us a formidable phalanx of liberalized Professors—that every velocipede System of the day, from the Perryian to the Pestalozzian—every free-trading University, from Gottingen to Gower Street—every misolexicographical Linguist, from Mr. Hamilton to Mr. Hyam Isaacs, will denounce our hardihood, and declaim against our blindness to improvement. As an answer, we will take Mr. Coleridge's volume in our hand, and bid the Neologist learn from its pages what is the value and the use of

those studies which have nourished our boyhood, which we trust will solace our old age, and to which we dare from experience apply, without the diminution of a single letter, the remainder of the great Orator's heartfelt, well-deserved, and highly-finished panegyric.*

Mr. Coleridge, with great modesty, has addressed his remarks to Boys, but they are no less worthy of attention from the Teacher than from the Student. His object is to awaken the youthful mind to general Principles, to lead it on from words to things, to extend its views from the mere knowledge of Language to an acquaintance with Literature, to exhibit the universality of the Canons of Criticism, and to break down that barrier which is too often permitted to establish itself between the great inter-joining fields upon which ancient and modern Genius have respectively displayed their powers. To this task, he has brought with him a familiar acquaintance with Classical studies, much enthusiasm in their pursuit, much good taste in their analyzation. Sometimes, perhaps, in the warmth of his expressions, he is betrayed into a style a little exceeding the limits of sobriety; and we think that we detect a few flowers of Teutonic origin, which may flourish in the heated and gaseous atmosphere of a German Conservatory; but whose gay, gaudy, and garish tints are not well adapted to the open air of our English climate. This *adolescent* writing, however, 'although it has occasionally startled us, by no means diminishes our strong impression of the general value of this Work, which supplies a want we have often painfully felt, and affords a manual which we should gladly see placed in the hands of every embryo Under-graduate, who, in dreams of Academic imagination, may be anticipating the tremulous motion of "Bacon's Study" as he crosses the threshold of one *Alma Mater*, or on his approach to the other, is fired with "the contagion of the gown," by a recollection that it has nurtured a Bentley and a Porson.

Mr. Coleridge has drawn a very sound distinction between the *use* of Translations *after* a Boy has laboured through difficulties of construction, and the *abuse* of them as *Cribs*, in order to spare himself this salutary trouble.

"Another point of some importance to young scholars in facilitating the acquirement of a full and lively knowledge of the classic writers, is the use of translations. It is generally discountenanced at public schools. There are Latin versions indeed printed at the end of some of the Greek authors, but a recourse to these is always clandestine. Now with a view

* Mr. Coleridge has expressed himself in somewhat similar language (p. 173.) It is unnecessary to remark that Cicero's palmary judgment must occur to every one's remembrance when treating on the subject to which it relates.

of teaching the languages grammatically, and indeed of teaching universal grammar once for all, this is quite right, and could not be abandoned without running a chance of destroying the very character of our schools; but the question is, whether there may not be cases in which a tutor will act discreetly in recommending the use of translations under certain conditions. I know nothing that can justify the having recourse to a Latin translation of a Greek writer. Greek, as a language, should be learnt by Lexicon, Grammar and Exercises; but the force, and fullness, and peculiarities of any given author may not unfrequently be more strongly and more familiarly seized by an ultimate collation with some approved translation. But no Latin translation can be adequate to any Greek original. It serves sometimes to prompt the *English* of a word, or to show the order of construction, two points for which translations ought not to be used at all; but it never conveys the colour and feeling, or familiarizes us with the character of the author, for which alone the student ought to be permitted to refer to it. Upon this principle all *prose* translations whatever of the *Classic Poets* ought to be prohibited; for they *can* teach nothing but what ought to be learnt in another way; but I am sure it would be very profitable to a boy, if, after having construed an Oration of Demosthenes, or a Book of Tacitus, he were to read the first fluently and at once in the English of Francis, and the second in that of Murphy; or, still better, where it is possible, in the Italian of Davanzati.”—pp. 15—17.

A short paragraph, contrasting the Greek and Latin Languages, opens with a few sentences redolent of that which we may venture to call the *Sublime and Mystical*, and which we, therefore, pass by; but the latter moiety, descriptive of the Roman Tongue, appears to us to be very distinctly conceived, and very powerfully expressed.

“And Latin—the voice of empire and of war, of law and of the state; inferior to its half-parent and rival in the embodying of passion and in the distinguishing of thought, but equal to it in sustaining the measured march of history, and superior to it in the indignant declamation of moral satire;* stamped with the mark of an imperial and despotizing republic; rigid in its construction, parsimonious in its synonymes; reluctantly yielding to the flowery yoke of Horace, although opening glimpses of Greek-like splendour in the occasional inspirations of Lucretius; proved, indeed, to the uttermost by Cicero, and by *him* found wanting; yet majestic in its bareness, impressive in its conciseness; the true language of History, instinct with the spirit of nations, and not with the passions of individuals; breathing the maxims of the world and not the tenets of the schools; one and uniform in its air and spirit, whether touched by the stern and haughty Sallust, by the open and discursive Livy, by the reserved and thoughtful Tacitus.”—pp. 34, 35.

* I do not think any Greek could have understood, or sympathized with, Juvenal. Is it possible to put into Greek such lines as these?

“Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.”—VIII. 83-4.

Mr. Coleridge, we are certain, does not belong to that Heretical School which is content to reckon Juvenal not as a Poet, but solely as a Declaimer. Hard, indeed, must be that heart which fails to be soothed by the great Satirist's occasional passages of tenderness and repose, and chilly and phlegmatic that Spirit which is not warmed by the generous glow of his more frequent indignation, the impassioned energy and fervid eloquence of his loftily-attempered morality. What else is Poetry if these elements fail to produce it?

After his General Introduction, Mr. Coleridge has, for the present, confined himself to a review of the several Poems attributed to Homer, with a promise, that "under favourable circumstances" he will continue his examinations through the whole body of Greek Classical Poetry. That the reception of his volume *will* be such as to encourage him to proceed, is more than we dare venture to predict, for it is no easy matter to apply a scale to the caprice of purchasers; that it *ought* to be such, we affirm with full confidence, and we shall most deeply regret any occurrence which may render it otherwise.

The sketch of the origin and preservation of the Iliad is drawn up with much perspicuity, and the conflicting arguments respecting the existence, the identity, and the unity of Homer, are stated with justness and precision. We wish Mr. Coleridge had appended to them his own opinion, for the judgment of one who has so well mastered the various theories of his predecessors, is worth numbering even with those of Wolfe, Bentley, Heyne, and Parr. It is a point upon which, if we are deceived, we should, nevertheless, willingly close our eyes against conviction; the error, if it be one, is harmless, and the opposite Truth, if admitted, would dissipate many a pleasing dream.

μη φρένων γλυκεῖαν μ' οὐ φέλης
ἀπάτην, ὅταν γὰρ καὶ δόλος χάριν φέρει
ἔξεσθ' ἀμαρτεῖν, κ' εὖ δόλος κεκλήσεται.

"Surely," says Mr. Coleridge, "except so far as the deep impression of early association may render even a critical Scepticism painful to the mind, it must be a matter of perfect indifference to us how or by whom the supposed Works of Homer were really composed." We doubt this Principle: *all* Scepticism is injurious to the mind, and even if it were not so, what surrender can be demanded from us, which we shall concede with more shrinking reluctance of spirit, than that of an innocent and glowing prepossession deeply rooted in youth? We earnestly deprecate all those over-nice and subtle investigations, which uproot received opinions, without being able to establish other edifices

upon their ruin; which envelope in mist and darkness some of the most brilliant, if not the most substantial Images upon which Fancy has delighted to linger; and which, without a possibility of discovering Truth, are content to excite our suspicions, or perhaps compel our rejection of a very agreeable Probability.

Mr. Coleridge has stated in a note a little onwards, that "Joshua Barnes wrote a *Book* to prove that King Solomon was the author of the *Iliad*." If the story may be at all trusted, and it rests on authority to which implicit credence is not always to be accorded, namely, that of George Steevens, it was not quite so seriously, that the excellent and egregious ὄνος πρὸς λύραν, the Hellenoraptic* Joshua supported his hypothesis. He wrote not that great evil, a great *Book*, but a sportive Copy of Verses to amuse his wife, and to endeavour to wring from the purse, of which she was the holder, some money, which might assist in defraying the expense of his Edition of the *Iliad*. Whether this version of the tale be correct, in every part, or not, we may at all events deny the *Book*, for of such a production no traces are to be found; and, on the other hand, we believe the *Verses* still exist in the Library of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

On the difficult question of the conception entertained by Homer of the attributes of his Jupiter, Mr. Coleridge has expressed himself with more decision than, for ourselves, perhaps, we could venture to employ.

"In the Mythology also of the *Iliad*, purely pagan as it is, we discover one important truth unconsciously involved, which was almost entirely lost from view amidst the nearly equal scepticism and credulity of subsequent ages. Zeus or Jupiter is omnipotent. No distinct empire is assigned to Fate or Fortune; the Will of the Father of Gods and Men is absolute and uncontrollable. This is the true character of the Homeric Deity, and it is very necessary that the student of Greek literature should bear it constantly in mind. The glimpses of preceding dynasties on Olympus, and the intimations of a coming destruction to that of Jupiter, both of which are given in Æschylus, as also that dark and vindictive Destiny which in various degrees overshadows the plots of the three Tragic Poets, form no part of, though the first is not unknown to, the popular system of mythology to be found in the *Iliad*. The word Τύχη or Fortune, does not occur once in the whole poem, and in those passages in which the phrases μοῖρα κραταίῃ—ὑπὲρ νόρον—πεπρωμένον αἶσῃ, &c. are found, these mean no more than the fate or issue decreed by Jupiter to individuals and things, and have no reference, as the application of the same terms in after ages by Greeks and Romans would lead us to suppose at first, to a Predestination independent of his Will. A strong instance to illustrate this position is the

* Bentley used to say that Joshua Barnes knew as much Greek as an Athenian cobbler.

passage where Jupiter laments to Juno the approaching death of Sarpedon. 'Alas me!' says he, 'since it is fated (*Μοῖρα*) that Sarpedon, dearest to me of men, should be slain by Patroclus the son of Menœteus! Indeed my heart is divided within me while I ruminate it in my mind, whether having snatched him up from out of the lamentable battle, I shall not at once place him alive in the fertile land of his own Lycia, or whether I shall now destroy him by the hands of the son of Menœteus!' To which Juno answers—'Dost thou mean to rescue from death a mortal man, *long since destined by fate* (*πάλαι πεπρωμένον αἴση*)? *You may do it*—but we the rest of the Gods do not sanction it.' Here it is clear from both speakers, that although Sarpedon is said to be fated to die, Jupiter might still, if he pleased, save him, and place him entirely out of the reach of any such event, and further, in the alternative, that Jupiter *himself* would destroy him by the hands of another—

Ἦ δὲ ὑπὸ χειρὶ Μενoitιάδαο ΔΑΜΑΣΣΩ.*

Thus all is referred to the will and power of Jupiter; and in like manner the oracular response which Eustathius quotes from Ælian expressly identifies *Μοῖρα* with the *Διὸς βουλή* or will of Jupiter;—

Μοῖραν μὲν θνητοῖσιν ἀμήχανον ἐξαλέασθαι,
Ἦν ἐπιγεινομένοισι πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε.

No mortal man can shun that fate on earth
Which Father Jove assigned him at his birth.

"Yet it must be observed, that although the supremacy of the Jupiter of the *Iliad* is unincumbered by any over-riding Fate, it comes far short of the true conception of almighty power. It is intimated by Achilles, that Jupiter upon one occasion had owed his liberty to the assistance of Briareus, although the Deity himself asserts his own omnipotence with sufficient confidence, and defies all opposition, even if strengthened by the force of the then subdued and exiled Titans. There is in short, as might be expected, much imperfection in this representation of Jupiter; but the characteristic point to be remembered is, that he is the active and ruling Power of the popular mythology, and though liable to opposition and even to violence, essentially autocratic and independent of any recognized and permanent superior."—pp. 74—77.

Now putting aside the conflicting propositions of Jupiter being "Omnipotent," and yet coming "far short of the true conception of Almighty power," we think that in the case of Sarpedon, as stated above, which certainly, at first sight, militates in Mr. Coleridge's favour, there is, in truth, a most marked contradiction to the Cloud-compeller's omnipotence even as it respects his fellow Deities, exclusive of Fate; a contradiction which arises solely from his false investiture with the power of resisting a de-

* An exactly similar scene, in almost the same words, occurs on the occasion of Hector's death, x'. xxii. 168.

cree πεπρωμένον αἰσῇ, and which, moreover, is removed so soon as we restore Fate to independence. Four lines beyond the close of Mr. Coleridge's citation, Juno distinctly tells her Lord that the consequence of any violation of the ordinances of Fate by *him*, will be a similar violation of them by other inhabitants of Olympus also :

Φράζεο μήτις ἔπειτα θεῶν ἐθέλῃσι καὶ ἄλλος
Πέμπειν ὃν φίλον ὑὸν ἀπὸ κρατερῆς ὑσμίνης.

that is, in other words, she holds out a menace that the Θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος, the supreme and Sovereign Deity, who Θεοῖσι καὶ Ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει, (for such he may be, and yet not be omnipotent,) shall be frustrated in the execution of his decreed and predetermined will by his celestial vassals and subject Godlings. But we do not understand Jove's doubt concerning Sarpedon exactly in the manner in which Mr. Coleridge has expounded it, and we think a different rendering of it will remove the difficulty which we have stated above. We need not point out to a scholar so well-read as Mr. Coleridge every where evinces himself to be, that Cicero has referred to this passage in Homer as a proof that *nihil fit extra Fatum*.* Cicero, indeed, has been accused of mistaking or forgetting the passage to which he alludes, when he says that Jupiter complains of the impossibility of rescuing his son from Fate; but, in our minds, Cicero both correctly remembered and rightly explained Homer's meaning. Jupiter first admits that it is fated that Sarpedon should die by the hand of Patroclus; and we contend farther, that the possibility of escaping or controlling this inevitable destiny never was contemplated by the Thunderer, who was better acquainted than some of his commentators with the boundaries of his own prerogative. If it were otherwise, and if he really possessed the means of resistance, how misplaced and impertinent would be his lamentations! how causeless and unmeaning the ὦ μοι ἐγὼν, for a calamity which he was at once able to prevent altogether by a little locomotion! His Eagle was not wholly unused to abduction—the Clouds had served as a flying chariot for Psyche—Pegasus was yet stabled in the golden manger of Olympus—the King of Gods and Men could never want a level road nor a fleet conveyance from Phrygia to Lycia; and no more, according to the hypothesis of his command over Fate, was requisite for the preservation of his son. But was this in truth the matter concerning which he doubted, and felt his spirit rent in twain? We think by no means so; his hesitation rather concerned the propriety of exercising a power, which we willingly concede to him, namely, that of *postponing* the evil, and

* *De Divinatione*, 19, 10.

suspending his grief, not at all of *eventually* averting the fixed, steady, and immutable progress of Necessity. "Shall I place Sarpedon still alive in his native plains, or shall I now destroy him, (or suffer him to be destroyed, we need not stop upon the common enthymeme, by which the one expression is constantly employed for the other,) by the hand of Patroclus?" The whole force of the passage depends upon the single word ἩΔΗ. Jove might grant a respite—arrest the deadly blow for a season—bid the sunbeam retrace a certain number of degrees on the dial—but, after Μοῖρα had once claimed his son, that which was already registered could not but be some day executed, Sarpedon might revel a while on the plains of Lycia in repose and tranquillity; nevertheless in spite of Jupiter, as Jupiter himself both knew and acknowledged by his regret, he *must* die, and Patroclus *must* be his slayer. If we receive Homer's words in this sense, the grief of the Immortal Father ceases to be absurd; and the inferior Deities also may be allowed a similar power of temporary retardation of Fate, without impugning either the general Omnipotence of that mysterious agency, or the *ascendency* (for it is no more) of Jupiter over themselves.

But it is not to be denied that in picturing the degree of subjection under which Jupiter is confined by Fate, Homer is far from being every where consistent with himself. What Heathen, indeed, ever was so on matters connected with the invisible World? It is obvious that we cannot here examine the various passages in which the great Poet has approached this mysterious subject, and we shall therefore content ourselves with one only, which strikingly supports the view which we have just taken. The well-known lines in which Homer represents Jupiter weighing the respective lots of the Greeks and Trojans,* a conceit with which he is sufficiently pleased to repeat it once more, *mutatis mutandis*, of Hector and Achilles,† are, we think, quite conclusive as to the God's want of prescience, and therefore as to his want of power over Fate. Strange to say, that passage—which affords but a mean idea of the Supreme Deity, and which, unhappily, suggests to Imagination the figs and raisins, the dirty counter and the tarnished scales of some small Grocer's shop, rather than the sublime attributes of the judgment-throne of Divinity—has been imitated both by Virgil and by Milton. In the latter Poet the image is more defensible than in the type from which he drew, for it is in accordance with the phraseology of Scripture; and, although we cannot express ourselves of it with those feelings of admiration which it has elicited from Bishop Newton, we readily admit that it is free from much of the Bathos which we con-

* ©. 69.

† x. 209.

demn in Homer. We notice it principally for the sake of introducing Newton's acute remark, in which the difference between the Christian belief in God's absolute omnipotence is well distinguished from the Pagan doctrine of the tyranny of Fate over Jove. "In Homer and Virgil," says the learned annotator, "the Fates are weighed *to satisfy Jupiter himself*; in Milton it is done to satisfy one of the contending parties—for Satan to read his own destiny." These lines, and the decision regarding Sarpedon, are doubtless the two main passages in the *Iliad* which treat on Jupiter's connection with Fate, and upon either of them we might be content to rest the opinions which we have advanced.

Mr. Coleridge's observation, that the Goddess Τύχη is never once mentioned in the *Iliad*, may be carried still farther. Macrobius* has already noticed the omission, remarking at the same time that Homer *solī Deo quam Μοῖραν vocat omnia regenda committit*. Macrobius, therefore, believed in the Homeric omnipotence of Fate. Homer's avoidance or ignorance of the attributes which the Mythology of others has annexed to Τύχη, is corroborated by Pausanias, who discovers the name in a lost Hymn to Ceres, and adds, that so far as he knew, Homer was the first Poet by whom that name was mentioned. Nothing more, however, is stated by the ancient Bard respecting a Goddess who afterwards, especially in Roman worship, claimed so distinguished a rank, than that she was one of the Oceanides disporting with Proserpine when she was ravished from the plains of Enna.†

We agree entirely with Mr. Coleridge in rejecting the forced and laboured hypothesis which would establish a continuous, artificial, and systematic arrangement, and a singleness of theme throughout the *Iliad*—a regularity of plan which is most alien both from the rudeness of the Poet's times, and still more so from the peculiar character of that Poem. Equally, perhaps more intensely, do we feel with Mr. Coleridge, that the spirit of the *Iliad* is weakened and destroyed by the tame and frigid allegories which some have discovered in it. Alas! that Apollo should be debased to a *coup de soleil*, and his divine sister to a Tertian ague! *Comme vous etes Philosophe!* says Madame de Sevigné, addressing herself to the dull, dense and discreet, who extract hidden mysteries and profound reasonings from every wantoning of Imagination—*Comme vous etes Philosophe! vous savez les raisons de tous ces effets: pour moi, je les sens*; and much the happier and much the wiser was she of the two. The true wisdom both of those who write and those who feel as Poets is better expressed than we can state it by Mr. Coleridge below.

"The greatest poets that have ever lived have, without exception,

* *Saturnalia*, v. 16.

† Pausanias, iv. 30.

been among the wisest men of their times. I say wisest, because the word learned is often misunderstood; the wisdom of the poet may include more or less of book learning, as it may happen; in the present age it must include some certainly; but the knowledge of the Mind and its powers, of the Passions and their springs, the love and study of the beautiful forms of the visible creation—this it is which can alone teach a man to think in sympathy with the great body of his fellow-creatures, and enable him to draw back the veil which different manners and various costume have spread over the unchangeable essence of humanity. In this sense it is most true that Homer and Dante and Milton were learned in an extraordinary degree; but, more than all, that Shakspeare was the most learned man that ever lived and was not directly inspired by Heaven.

On the tip of his subduing tongue
All kinds of arguments and question deep,
All replication prompt, and reason strong
For his advantage still did wake and sleep,
To make the weeper laugh, the laughter weep;
He had the dialect and different skill,
Catching all passions in his craft of will,
That he doth in the general bosom reign
Of young, of old.”—pp. 112, 113.

Mr. Coleridge wages war with the Homeric particles, and thinks that, by a judicious application of the Digamma, abundance of them which are useless may be removed. It is a point upon which we never yet have arrived at a fixed conclusion: are *they* useless, or are *we* ignorant of their uses?

“These particles have puzzled scrupulous scholars sadly. A former head-master of Eton, now no more, is said to have invariably distinguished between *σοι*—‘Sir, to you,’ and *τοι*—‘at your service;’ while *the Dean*, as Dr. Cyril Jackson is always called by Christchurch men, rendered *Τρῳῆς ῥα* by—‘the Trojans—God help them.’”—p. 122, note.

Cyril Jackson was, indeed, most reluctant to surrender one letter of the received text; he would contend for “each *particular* hair.” Many of our readers, it is probable, will recollect his favourite distribution of some of those particles—“*Τροίηθεν*—‘*Ἰλιόνδε*—here the *θεν* and the *δε* are *Postpositions*.” “With all submission, Mr. Dean,” was the reply which once extorted a smile, even during the stern dignity of Christ Church Collections, “I should not call the *δε* in ‘*Ἰλιόνδε*’ a *Postposition*, but rather a *Post-ilion*.”

We should willingly extract the nicely discriminating remarks which Mr. Coleridge has offered on the *Characters* introduced in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and the skill by which Homer has separated from each other, by fine, but distinctly pencilled shades, even those which belong to the same class; how each of his many warriors is endowed with individuality; how the personal bearing

even of a Chief so little prominent as Idomeneus is vividly depicted to us by a single word, *μεσαιπόλιος*, half grey-haired; how "Phoenix differs from Nestor as an old man in private life is different from a veteran Statesman;" how Telemachus, though affording rich promise of future heroism, is always kept in due subordination to his Father, the principal figure on the canvass; how Eumæus is represented as a genuine Country Gentleman of his time—a fact which we strenuously recommend those young Gentlemen and their Tutors to bear in mind, who are in the habit of construing, or admitting to be construed, *συβωτῆς* a swineherd: as well might we term Prince Esterhazy a licensed vintner, or Lord Durham a cinder-sifter. But our limits will not permit us to dwell upon these minor details and at the same time to present, as we are most anxious to do, Mr. Coleridge's masterly criticism on the general Poem. We must preface the following extract by replying to a complaint which he makes, that the *Odyssey* is very little read in Schools and Universities, that it *was*, and still *is*, *very much* read in one of our greatest Schools, Westminster; and that in the golden days in which the loved and revered Dean Vincent (*ὁ πᾶν καὶ ὁ μακαρίτης*) presided over that distinguished Foundation, the Senior Boys frequently went *twice* through it in the course of their private studies.

"Never was there a Tale in verse or prose told with such consummate art; yet the hand of the Artist is invisible. The conduct of the story seems, and is, simple and single; but it is the simplicity and singleness of Nature, which co-exists with, indeed is the wondrous effect of, an endless complexity of parts;—

———— ‘*sudet multum, frustra que laboret
Ausus idem.*’

No where is this charm so strongly felt as in that delightful part of the poem in which Ulysses is lodged in the house of the faithful Eumæus; there is that singular grace in the description of the rustic occupations and the rustic mansion—that dignity in the Swineherd—that native tone of command in Telemachus—and that sportive humility varying with a mysterious majesty in Ulysses, which seem quite beyond the reach of the most poetic invention or the most ingenious imitation. The air of reality around the whole scene is such, that it is scarcely possible to doubt that the poet wrote under the controul of actual life, and that the picture itself is in this respect a mere stamp or reflection of contemporary society. In the *Æneid* and in every other heroic poem, composed in an age long subsequent to that in which the action of the story is supposed to have taken place, the greatest difficulty in the poet's way may be said to lie in a consistent adaptation and a natural propriety of Manners; not the moral qualities—the Passions and the Sentiments; for *they* are in substance the same in every age and place, and differ only occasionally in their stimulants and objects; but the habits, the courtesies,

sies, the domestic relations, the tone between husband and wife, master and servant, stranger and friend,—these are the peculiarities of particular times and countries; and when a system of manners in this sense is to be *adapted* to a story of a *former* age and perhaps *foreign* nation, the utmost that can be done seems to be to avoid any glaring anachronisms or absurd improbabilities, whilst the ease, the life, the force, which can alone be given where the poet paints his own manners and the habits of his own contemporaries, may be pronounced to be absolutely beyond the power of the liveliest ingenuity. I know no heroic poems except the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey* and the *Poem of the Cid*, in which the manners are the genuine manners of the poet's own years of the world; in all others they are mere conventional fictions, fitting all stories equally, like state robes, because exactly fitting none, and under the cumbrous folds of which all grace and nature, and spirit of human action, are stifled altogether, or allowed to breathe out but at intervals. This facility and freedom from constraint, the effect of actual contemporary existence, is more singularly conspicuous to us in the *Odyssey* than in the *Iliad*; because in the former poem we are presented with a complete picture of rural and domestic life in connection with the heroic events of the story, and this picture for various reasons has not been copied with that remorseless iteration, with which the battles and speeches and warlike habits of the *Iliad* have, with more or less success, been redrawn and recoloured in almost every epic composition for the last 2000 years. The adventure with Nausicaa, the various scenes in the house of Eumæus, the walk to the town, the banqueting, the watching by night, and many other passages of what may be called the private life of the Homeric age, have scarcely in any instance suited the plans of more recent poets, and consequently remain in all their original freshness to us even at this day. Indeed the *Odyssey*, as a poem, is absolutely unique; for, although Virgil certainly, and perhaps even Tasso, have borrowed particular passages from it more largely than from the *Iliad*, (a fact not commonly noticed,) the character and scope of their great poems are utterly dissimilar to those of the *Odyssey*, which consist in raising an interest about, and in detailing the changing fortunes of, a single man, not as a General warring with armies against a city, but as an Exile compassing by his own courage, and skill and patience, the return to, and repossession of, his own home. It is in the rare combination or intermingling of all

————— ‘hair-breadth ’scapes
And moving accidents by flood or field’

with the high moral purpose of Ulysses—in the contrast of the one determined and still triumphant will of the man with the transient and vain bafflings of winds or waves, of gods or monsters—the whole action lightened by the gladsome face of Nature, and yet rendered awful by the known approaching execution of a heavenly decree, and by the mysterious tokens, and the dangerous odds, and the terrible vengeance attending on the last and crowning achievement of the Hero, that the secret of the character of the *Odyssey*, and the spring of its universal charm, lie concealed;—a secret which deserves the study of the philosopher—a charm which the hearts of all men feel, and over which Time and Place have no dominion.”—pp. 144—147.

The review of the *Necyomanteia* is among Mr. Coleridge's best passages.

"But the most remarkable passage in the whole *Odyssey*, for the aspect which it presents of its Mythology, is that magnificent episode of the *Necyomanteia*, or intercourse of Ulysses with the Shades of the Dead. It is very easy to call the whole or any part of this singular description spurious, and certainly the passage, as a whole, is so conceived, as to admit of parts being inserted or expunged without injury to its general consistency or entireness; but surely those who remember the history of the collection of the Homeric poems, the custom and manner of recitation by the Rhapsodists, the different copies concurrently existing in various parts of ancient Greece, and the boundless license apparently exercised by Aristarchus and the Alexandrian critics in compiling the last and now received text, will think it very idle to pretend to put out a few lines here and there, which may seem to bear marks of modern invention. The *Necyomanteia*, as a whole, appears to have just as good a right to be called Homeric as any other part of the *Odyssey*, and it is the conception of it, as a whole, to which I would call the attention of the Student. The entire narration is wrapped up in such a mist—it is so undefined and absolutely undefinable in place, time and manner—that it should almost seem as if the uncertainty of the Poet's own knowledge of the state and locality of the Dead were meant to be indicated by the indistinctness of his description. Ulysses sails all day from the dwelling of Circe with a north wind; at sunset he comes to the boundary of the Ocean, where the Cimmerians dwell in cloud and darkness and perpetual night; here he goes ashore, and proceeds to a spot described by Circe, digs a trench, pours certain libations, and sacrifices sheep in it, calls upon the Dead to appear, draws his sword and awaits the event. Immediately the Manes, or Shades, assemble around the trench, each thirsting for the sacrificial blood, from which they are repelled by the sword's point, till Tiresias has appeared and drunk his fill. It is difficult to determine the real nature of this grand and solemn scene, and to say whether Ulysses is supposed himself to descend to Hades or only to evoke the Spirits, as the Woman of Endor is generally understood to have evoked Samuel. Æneas, we know, actually descends and ascends; and Lucian, in a piece founded entirely on this *Necyomanteia*, evidently takes the hero to have visited the infernal regions in person. In many passages it seems necessary so to understand it; Ulysses *sees* Minos administering justice amongst the Dead; he *sees* Orion hunting, Tityus tormented by vultures, Tantalus standing in the lake, and Sisyphus up-heaving his stone; he *sees* the asphodel meadow, and Achilles asks how he has dared to *descend* to Hades *where* the Shades of Men dwell. Yet upon a careful consideration of the beginning and conclusion of the passage, it will, I think, appear plain that no actual descent, such as that of Æneas in the *Æneid*, was in the contemplation of the original poet; but that the whole ground-plan is that of an act of Asiatic Evocation only; and Lucian, who in his piece combines the Homeric rites of Evocation with an actual Descent, makes the Evocator a Babylonian and disciple of Zoroaster, and lays the scene

somewhere on the banks of the Euphrates. The whole of this Necyomanteia is indeed of a character quite unique in Greek poetry; and is, amongst other things, remarkable for the dreary and even terrible revelation which it makes of the condition of the Future Life. All is cold and dark; hunger and thirst and discontent prevail; we hear nothing of Elysian fields for piety, or wisdom, or valour; and there is something quite deadening in the answer of the Shade of Achilles to the consolations of Ulysses:—

‘Μὴ δὴ μοι θάνατόν γε παράδῃ, φαίδιμ’ Ὀδυσσεῦ
βουλοίμην κ’ ἐπάρουρος ἔων θητενέμεν ἄλλῳ
ἀνδρὶ παρ’ ἀκλήρω, ᾧ μὴ βίοςτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καπαφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.’

‘Talk not of ruling in this dolorous gloom,
Nor think vain words (he cried) can ease my doom.
Rather I choose laboriously to bear
A weight of woes, and breathe the vital air,
A slave to some poor hind that toils for bread,
Than reign the scepter’d monarch of the dead.’—*Pope*.

This is one of the passages which called down the censure of Plato; and indeed how cheering a contrast to this gloomy picture is presented by the gentle and pious imagination of Pindar! A curious particular in this scene, not unknown in other superstitions, should be observed—that most of the Ghosts, fleshless and boneless though they be, cannot recognise or speak to Ulysses until they have drunk of the blood in the trench. Even his mother does not know him before she has slaked her thirst.”—pp. 137—141.

Little need be said as to the lesser Poems. In the review of the *Batrachomyomachia*, we wish that Mr. Coleridge, for the sake of alliteration, had rendered Psycharpax, Crumb-catcher rather than Crumb-snatcher; and we are pleased with a note in unison with the abhorrence which we have before expressed of that staid and solemn stupidity which discovers “reason in the roasting of eggs.” “Philip Melancthon,” we are told, “wrote a Commentary on the *Battles of the Frogs and Mice*, and conceived the scope of the Poet to have been to excite a hatred of tumult and sedition in the minds of the readers; and Pierre la Seine thought the object was to recommend to young men temperance in eating and drinking;—*Why*, I do not find written.”

It is too true, we fear, that the slender and elegant fish known to the Moderns as the Dolphin, must not be identified with the Δελφὶν of the Ancients. The Dolphin of the present day never could have supported the burden of Arion. We know not what else to substitute for it, but we entreat Mr. Coleridge, (whatever he may do with the Bacchic Pirates,) if it be but out of respect for the breathing Image of the quivered God, pursuing with keen and steady eye the distant flight of his unerring shaft, not to liken Apollo, when he is described, in the *Hymn* to him, as leaping

upon the deck of the Cretan Merchant Vessel *Δελφῖνι ἐοικώς*, to that piscatory abomination, that portent of Ichthyology, the plump, paunchy, huge, heavy-rolling, orbicular and oleaginous Porpoise! Of our favourite *Hymn to Mercury*, Mr. Coleridge, if we may judge from the unction with which he has paraphrased it in small, forms as high an estimate as we ourselves do. It is truly, as he says, "pre-eminently humorous in the best sense of the word, and therefore essentially different from the wit and comic license of Aristophanes"—as far removed, we may add, from the bald grossness of that obscene buffoon, as are Wilkie's faithful, but delicate portraitures of humble life, from the dirty and disgusting indecency of too many of the Flemish school. It would be unjust to pass in silence two very spirited passages of an Imitation of this Hymn; which Mr. Coleridge has cited from the mistaken and unhappy Shelley. The first is the Baby Thief's excuse to Apollo after he has stolen his cattle; the second his defence at the throne of Jupiter himself.

" Son

Of great Latona, what a speech is this!
 Why come you here to ask me what is done
 With the wild oxen which it seems you miss?
 I have not seen them, nor from any one
 Have heard a word of the whole business;
 If you should promise an immense reward,
 I could not tell more than you now have heard.

An ox-stealer should be both tall and strong,
 And I am but a little new-born thing,
 Who, yet at least, can think of nothing wrong;—
 My business is to suck, and sleep, and fling
 The cradle clothes about me all day long,
 Or half asleep, hear my sweet mother sing,
 And to be washed in water clear and warm,
 And hushed and kissed and kept secure from harm.

O! let not e'er this quarrel be averred!
 Th' astounded gods would laugh at you, if e'er
 You should allege a story so absurd,
 As that a new-born infant forth could fare
 Out of his house after a savage herd!

I was born yesterday; my small feet are
 Too tender for the roads so hard and rough;—
 And if you think that this is not enough,
 I swear a great oath, by my Father's head,
 That I stole not your cows, and that I know
 Of no one else who might, or could, or did;
 Whatever things cows are I do not know,
 For I have only heard the name."—pp. 204, 205.

"Great Father! you know clearly before hand
 That all which I shall say to you is soothe;
 I am a most veracious person, and
 Totally unacquainted with untruth.
 At sun-rise Phœbus came, but with no band
 Of Gods to bear him witness, in great ruth,
 To my abode, seeking his heifers there,
 And saying, I must show him where they are,—
 Or he would hurl me down the dark abyss!
 I know that every Apollonian limb
 Is clothed with speed and might and manliness,
 As a green bank with flowers; but unlike him,
 I was born yesterday, and you may guess
 He well knew this when he indulg'd the whim
 Of bullying a poor little new-born thing
 That slept, and never thought of cow-driving.
 Am I like a strong fellow that steals kine?
 Believe me, dearest Father! (such you are!)
 This driving of the herds is none of mine;
 Across my threshold did I wander ne'er,
 So may I thrive! I reverence the divine
 Sun and the Gods, and I love you, and care
 Even for this hard accuser, who must know
 I am as innocent as they or you!
 I swear by these most gloriously-wrought portals—
 (It is, you will allow, an oath of might!)
 Through which the multitude of the Immortals
 Pass and repass for ever, day and night,
 Devising schemes for the affairs of worlds—
 That I am guiltless; and I will requite,
 Although my enemy be great and strong,
 His cruel threat! Do thou defend the young!"—p. 206.

The beauty of the *Hymn to Venus*, and the matchless skill with which its author has treated a subject requiring no small portion of refinement and dexterity of touch; its mixture of dignity and tenderness, of passion and of delicacy, render it, as it is described by Mr. Coleridge, among the most attractive remains of antiquity. For the *Epigrams* we have little respect; they partake not at all of that graceful ἀφέλεια which is the characteristic of many of the exquisite pieces preserved in the Anthologies; and their authenticity is much more than suspicious. Mr. Coleridge remarks that, in general, the Songs in Shakspeare, Ben Jonson and Waller give a better notion of the Greek Epigrams than any other species of modern composition. He might have added, as respects Ben Jonson, that several of his *minora* are in reality nothing else but translations or adaptations of some of these Epigrams. To the above Poets, Mr. Coleridge annexes our contem-

porary Mr. Moore, "where he writes with simplicity." Rich and gorgeous as is the greater part of Mr. Moore's imagery—glowing as is fancy—touching as are some of his impassioned passages—when, it may be asked, did he ever so far exercise self-restraint as to strip himself of meretricious glitter, to write with "simplicity" throughout one entire stanza?

Mr. Coleridge will forgive us if we have ventured to point out that which we consider the single blemish of his volume—a blemish of which the notice of Mr. Moore's embroidered style has here again reminded us. We had marked, for our justification, a little handful of the passages to which we most object, and which it is but right to add, extend to no more than a few sentences. But the introduction of such purple patches would be invidious, unless we could at the same time exhibit the whole of the sound and well-wrought texture from which they may at any time be shaken off; and we should not willingly diminish any effect which may be produced by the expression of our very high opinion of the general excellence of its fabric. We look forward to the next portion of this Work with very eager and impatient expectation.

ART. VII.—1. *Remains of the late Right Reverend Daniel Sandford, D. D. Oxon, Bishop of Edinburgh in the Scottish Episcopal Church; including Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence, and a Selection from his unpublished Sermons. With a Memoir by the Rev. John Sandford, Vicar of Chillingham.* 2 vols. 8vo. Waugh and Innes, Edinburgh. Rivingtons, London. 1830. 21s.

2. *The Book of Scotland.* By William Chambers. Buchanan, Edinburgh. Longman, London.

It is seldom that a posthumous work adds much to the reputation of professional men, and more especially if they have been previously known to the world as authors. The selection of manuscripts is usually entrusted to individuals, who, if they happen to be masters of the subjects on which they are called to exercise their judgment, are too often disqualified for the task by feelings of personal friendship, or by the still more seducing emotions of domestic attachment. But it behoves us to add that these remarks have not been exclusively suggested by the publication now before us; for although it contains some things which might have been very judiciously omitted, and many more in which the general reader cannot be expected to feel any interest, the book, upon the whole, does much honour to the learning and talents, as well as to the private and official character of the late Bishop of Edinburgh.

As a father, more particularly, he appears to great advantage;

for he is not only the teacher and monitor of his children, he is also their friend and companion in all circumstances, and at every stage of their progress. His letters to his sons, accordingly, are models of that species of composition both in matter and manner. They are full of affection, wisdom, and good humour. Those, more especially, which were addressed to the present Greek Professor in the College of Glasgow, when resident at Oxford as an under-graduate, give us the highest opinion of the bishop's head and heart, and are well deserving of the deepest attention by every young person who enters either university with professional views. In other parts of his correspondence too, such as the letters to his daughters, we perceive the same good spirit of piety, parental love, and unceasing care for their best interests, mixed with an amiable playfulness which could not fail to render his communications quite delightful; and our obligations to the learned editors for printing this portion of their father's "remains" would have been altogether complete, had they withheld certain passages which to us appear too sacred, confidential and delicate for the public eye. Perhaps, too, the operation of expungement might have been extended to certain laudatory paragraphs which respect the good qualities of the learned gentlemen themselves, whose office it was to cull the materials and superintend the press. But as this is altogether a matter of taste, and does not properly fall within the jurisdiction of mere critics, we rest satisfied with having thrown out the hint.

The "Memoir," furnished by the Vicar of Chillingham, having obviously been written under the influence of those agitating feelings which arise from the loss of a revered and affectionate parent, has of course assumed the form of a eulogy rather than of a strictly biographical narrative. The "character" of the bishop, with which it concludes, coming as it does from the hand of a devoted and admiring son, presents, as might be expected, the most flattering delineation of principle and conduct, set off, too, in the highest and most favourable colours. Of the official life of his father, the Reverend John Sandford, it is probable, was not the most competent judge; but as we have no reason to imagine that the facts are uncandidly stated, we shall make use of them, first, for the purpose of giving an outline of the bishop's life, and secondly, for founding on them a brief history of the Apostolical Church, to which, during nearly thirty years, he devoted his best services.

Dr. Sandford was the son of a clergyman who possessed a hereditary property in the county of Salop, but who had accepted preferment in the Church of Ireland. The future bishop was accordingly born at Delville, near Dublin, in the house of Dean Delany. As the Irish rector died in early life, the charge of his

family devolved upon his young widow, who being herself "qualified to shine in the republic of letters," was disposed to cultivate in her children an intellectual taste. She removed to Bath, where she found a refined society suited to her literary habits, and among others the Bowdlers, whose name is familiar to every one in the least degree acquainted with the history of pious and elegant learning. It seems doubtful, however, whether Mrs. Sandford's love of letters suggested to her the best possible method for conveying the same inclination to her children, for it appears that "she used to incarcerate her boys a certain number of hours every day," during which they were condemned to make out their lessons, without the aid of teachers. On the same principle she never allowed to her son Daniel the advantage of a writing-master, and yet, we are informed, he contrived to write a very beautiful hand. He used to say himself, and quote Lord Chesterfield in support of his assertion, that any man with the use of his eyes and fingers might write what hand he pleases.

"Whatever may have been the merit of this domestic system of education, to his intercourse with the Bowdler family, and to his early introduction into polished and intellectual circles, Mr. Sandford owed much of his literary taste, as well as of his elegance of mind and manners. Admitted when still a boy to the drawing-room of the Duchess of Portland and of the celebrated Mrs. Delany, and accustomed to the society of the most intellectual persons, he saw and heard every thing that could interest and instruct. Such society must have been very profitable and delightful, and he loved to revert to it in after years, though he always spoke of it with a sigh, as what he should never see again. Not that he was insensible to the intelligence and improvement of modern days, but he thought there was a closer affinity between high breeding and elevated sentiment than many men imagine—that ruffles and brocade were useful fences of society—and that what the present age has gained in ease it has lost in refinement. He sometimes regretted that the days were gone when birth and breeding were preferred to wealth—when the gradations of society were definitively marked—when the gentleman might be known by his address, and the mistress distinguished from her maid."

In the year 1784, after having been sometime under the care of the Rev. Mr. Watson, Rector of Rothbury, he entered as a commoner at Christ Church, then under the superintendence of Dr. Cyril Jackson. Through the influence of the Duchess of Portland he was soon afterwards appointed to a studentship, and thus "a path was opened up to any office to which the kindness of the dean and his own good conduct might introduce him." In 1787 he won the Christ Church prize for Latin composition; in connection with which, we are told, he used to mention a singular psychological fact which occurred to himself while engaged on his Essay. Having been much occupied before he retired to rest,

with some refractory sentiment which he was unable to reduce to words, he dreamed that a form appeared to him, and like Order in the fairy tale, adjusted his entangled thoughts, and clothed them in elegant latinity. On awaking he availed himself of the suggestion, and the passage was afterwards pointed out to him by the dean as the happiest in the Essay.

“ It has been observed that the present generation will probably revert to academic life with more of pride but less of kindly feeling than the former did. A few years ago too much time was given to society: with the better order of young men at the universities reading is now, perhaps, too exclusively the object. The only desire with these seems to be to cram, with or without digestion, as much knowledge as possible, with a view to a dazzling appearance in the schools. A few succeed; many more, and those often not the least meritorious, fail of the distinction they aspire to; and some, through ill health or nervousness, draw back when at the very goal, and retire from the scene of their exertions the victims of disappointment and chagrin. Authority has done every thing to regulate this passion, to secure sound learning as well as brilliancy in the candidates for honours; but as long as the distinction is so dazzling, youth will consider it as the first object of ambition, and covet more the laurel than the knowledge it implies. But in Mr. Sandford's time study was less often carried to excess; those who read did so rather from literary taste than from desire of distinction, and the result, if less splendid, was in most cases more satisfactory. He was a thorough Christ Church man, and he never discoursed more delightfully than when he spoke of its august walk and classic meadow; of its wits in his own day, the elegant Spencer and the classic Canning; of its awful censorship and its venerable dean.”

In the house of Mrs. Delany it was the good fortune of Mr. Sandford to meet on several occasions the king and queen, who, it is well known, were in the practice of honouring that lady with familiar and unexpected visits. Her majesty was so much pleased with the student of Christ Church as to employ him to translate a favourite author from the French,—a condescension which naturally encouraged the hope of professional advancement so soon as he should be qualified to accept it. But all such prospects were defeated by that common occurrence which spoils so many a hopeful academician—the entanglement of matrimony. The lady being a native of Scotland, and having connections of some influence in that part of the kingdom, induced her husband, who had been previously ordained by the Bishop of Chester, to try his fortune in the city of Edinburgh as the minister of a chapel.

A few years after he was settled in the northern capital, a packet one morning reached him from Bath, which on being opened was found to contain a caricature and some other squibs, and was accordingly returned to the post-office. On the succeeding day arrived a letter bearing the same post-mark, and pur-

porting to come from a lady whose name was unknown to any of the family, with information that a solicitor had been inquiring after the family of Sandford, and in particular for himself, at the request of an old gentleman of the same name, possessed of riches, who wished to present him with a valuable living, and from whom he might cherish farther expectations. Livings, says the Vicar of Chillingham, seldom go a begging, and heirs are not often to be sought for, when rich old men are in question; and the second letter was therefore naturally considered as a repetition of the witticism of the preceding day, and destined to the same fate. A friend, however, (the Rev. Sidney Smith,) to whom the circumstance was mentioned, knew by name the old gentleman alluded to, and by his advice an answer was returned, intimating that Mr. Sandford was the man for whom inquiry was made. In reply the name and address of the solicitor was given, with an episode on the immense riches of the heirless old gentleman. He was very wealthy, very old, very ill, and very anxious for an heir. This was followed by a letter from the solicitor, dictated by his employer, confirming the previous statement, and making inquiry as to the names and number of Mr. Sandford's children. A second, written in the same way, enclosed a draft for £100, as a testimony of regard, and as a proof that the inquiry was not suggested by idle curiosity. Animated by hopes apparently so well founded, the young priest, after transmitting a volume of sermons which he had just published, made haste to pay a personal visit to his opulent namesake. The octogenarian was pleased with this attention, and expressed himself delighted with the discourses; while the agent who was directed to conduct the stranger over the estate, and to point out the living attached to it, assured him of the extent and certainty of his prospects. But it would appear that more had been expected than the old man meant to perform, or that he had not been so completely charmed with the merits of his visitor as he ought to have been; for, after a short space, he grew worse, made his will, died, and, instead of his splendid fortune, left to Dr. Sandford a legacy of £700.

Nor was this the only instance, it seems, in the bishop's history which might be adduced to prove that "wealth was not in his horoscope." In early life, it is narrated, he had been urged by a family friend, with fortune and without children, to make choice of a secular profession; and his pious preference of the Church in this instance lost him a bequest of £70,000. We must take the liberty to remark, however, that in respect to worldly matters, there is ascribed to him an indifference which he probably did not feel. He knew not, for example, that his choice of the clerical profession was to entail the sacrifice of such a legacy; for it is acknowledged by his biographer to have only "afterwards ap-

peared" that such was the result. Again, in reference to the "heirless old man" near Bath, we think that Dr. Sandford did every thing to secure the succession which prudence would have suggested even to a worldly person. He corresponded, and he performed a long journey at an inclement season of the year, in order to have a personal conference with his benefactor; and what more any gentleman could undertake in such circumstances, we have yet to learn. We cannot, therefore, approve of the canting language used on this occasion by the Vicar of Chillingham, who describes his father as "one who was never of the world," and views the "incident as one of the most striking instances of the methods by which God weaned him from the world, and instructed him to seek his treasure in heaven." "It is delightful," he adds, "to observe the composure with which he writes his most secret thoughts on a subject which would have agitated most men." Now to us it appears that the good bishop expresses himself with sufficient confidence and ardour in a case which was necessarily very doubtful. "Unless something very untoward happens I shall be a —shire laird: from what L—— tells me, I am sure of this fine property, in the most lovely county you ever saw." It was with similar feelings that we read the following paragraph, the allegations contained in which are by no means substantiated by the narrative of which it makes a part.

"Few men enter life with better professional prospects than Mr. Sandford did, and few men in passing through it have enjoyed likelier opportunities of fortune; yet it would appear as if God in a special manner meant to teach him to walk not by sight, but by faith, for not one of his most promising prospects was realised, and much of his prosperity came from quarters whence he least expected it."

Alluding to his election by the clergy of Edinburgh to be their Ordinary, the author of the *Memoir* further observes—

"The effect of this appointment on his own prospects was at least very questionable, and it was therefore only natural that many of his friends should dissuade him from accepting it. Especially did the Dean of Christ Church, with his wonted sagacity, represent to him the prejudice that might possibly accrue from such a position to his advancement in England. And as this remonstrance came from one who may be almost said to have held the keys of clerical preferment at that period; who had in his own person more than once refused the episcopal dignity, and had as often named a bishop, it was calculated to have considerable weight."

Now, if we form our judgment on this head by an examination of the facts which the biographer himself supplies, we shall not be able to perceive the full extent of the disinterestedness and self-denial with which he attempts to adorn the memory of his father. Mr. Sandford had been two years a curate before he

came to the resolution of taking up his abode in Edinburgh, where he engaged to perform religious service to a few "English families" resident in that capital, and to receive into his house a limited number of pupils. What then were the professional prospects with which he entered life? He continued to do the duties of a small chapel and to instruct a few young men, at least twelve years after he retired to Scotland, during which time no preferment in his native church appears to have been offered to him. He had been sixteen years in orders before the Caledonian mitre was placed within his reach—a sufficient period to have allowed his friends here to exert themselves, and his professional prospects to advance towards fulfilment. But his patrons wanted either the power or the inclination to provide for him at home; and hence we are still at a loss to understand the Memorialist when he asserts that few young men have ever entered life with better professional prospects; or when he insinuates that his venerable parent made a heavy sacrifice in accepting the Scottish episcopate.

It is, indeed, intimated, that Queen Charlotte intended to testify her approbation of the talents and clerical labours of the person whom she had formerly honoured with her commands, and that a valuable living in the vicinity of Windsor was destined for him after he became Bishop of Edinburgh. It is added, too, that he was indebted for his disappointment to the Bishop of Bangor, who represented to her Majesty that the dignity of the new place held by Dr. Sandford was incompatible with the duties and emolument of the charge which she wished to bestow upon him. But the information in regard to the occurrence now stated, did not reach the biographer through the natural and most direct channel, for his father had "too much tenderness to communicate it even to those who were most entitled to his confidence: it was through another channel that his own family were informed of it."

But we have no doubt that the motives which influenced the decision of Bishop Sandford in taking the important step just mentioned, were sanctified with the pious and exalted views which appear to have regulated the whole of his professional conduct. This conclusion is confirmed by the judgment of one who knew him well, and whose opinion of his character is recorded in the Memoir now under review. Mr. Alison, in a sermon preached on the Sunday immediately after his Ordinary's interment, expresses himself in the following words:—

"With the clergy of his own church no accession of dignity ever raised Bishop Sandford above the brotherhood of the Gospel, or induced him to employ his authority but for the obvious purposes of truth and order. With respect to the clergy of the Established Church, on the other hand, and of the various religious persuasions with which he was

surrounded, no differences either in doctrine or discipline, ever prevented him from uniting with them in every work or labour of Christian love, or from combining with them, whenever the good of man could be consulted, or the glory of God be displayed. In assuming the Episcopal office, indeed, he seemed to assume nothing of it but its duties. The sole spirit which he cherished and for which he prayed, was that spirit of charity which thinketh no evil, but which, in the cause of heaven and of the salvation of man, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. It was by this humble magnanimity, by this spirit of gentleness and moderation, that he conciliated the esteem and affection of the wise and good of every persuasion; so that numbers whom political apprehensions had separated, now again openly united themselves with the church of their fathers, and that all conscientious members of the Church of England willingly joined themselves to those congregations where they found the doctrines of their own Church and the celebration of their own ceremonies. If, therefore, my brethren, we now rejoice in the prosperity of our communion; if it is grateful to us to see those prejudices dispelled which once marred all our usefulness and respectability; if the Established Church of the country receives us as fellow-servants of the same Lord, and fellow-workmen in the same mighty cause; if we can behold with gratitude the towers of our churches rising amid the splendid improvements of this city, and testifying the liberality as well as the piety of the country, let it never be forgotten to whom we owe them. Let it be remembered that it is, under God, to the piety, to the wisdom, and to the charity of Bishop Sandford, that the success of that great measure of the unity of our Churches is justly to be ascribed; and in the calendar of that United Church, let his name from henceforth be first and foremost enrolled!"

The *union* here commemorated by Mr. Alison, as having been effected by the good offices and example of Bishop Sandford, suggests to us the second part of our undertaking, which is to give a brief historical outline of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In taking a retrospective view of that Communion, we cannot revert to an earlier period than the year 1610, when a certain number of clergymen were consecrated at London as bishops of the Scottish establishment. Prior to the epoch now mentioned, the troubled reign of Mary and the feeble government of her son, prevented the ecclesiastical polity of that country from assuming a regular form. The superintendents of Knox, although invested with some degree of episcopal power, did not possess the spiritual authority which distinguishes that order; and, accordingly, however little inclined the stern reformer of the North might be to establish the system of parity which afterwards prevailed, the actual administration of affairs bore no slight resemblance to the Presbyterian model. The sacred flame, which was rekindled at Lambeth, was once more extinguished during the darkness and commotion of the civil war; and hence it became necessary, in the year 1662, to renew the Episcopal succession by conse-

crating six bishops who were sent hither for that purpose. The Scottish church being once more constituted on apostolical grounds, continued to enjoy the protection and emoluments of an establishment till the era of the Revolution; when, chiefly because the bishops would not transfer their allegiance from James to William and Mary, the Presbyterians obtained the sanction of law and the possession of the ecclesiastical revenues.

We have said, it was chiefly because the Scottish bishops could not conscientiously support the new government, that the Episcopal church was put down north of the Tweed. This is proved by a letter addressed to the Honourable Archibald Campbell by Dr. Rose, who was Bishop of Edinburgh at the period in question, and who had an interview with King William at Whitehall. Compton, the Bishop of London, who acted as mediator between his Majesty and the Scottish Episcopalians, recommended to his brethren in the north to follow the example of the Anglican church, to close with the king and save their establishment. The following quotation from Rose's letter will unfold the issue to which matters were then brought.

"Then the bishop directing his discourse to me, said, my lord, you see that the king having thrown himself upon the water must keep himself a-swimming with one hand; the Presbyterians have joined closely, and offer to support him; and therefore he cannot cast them off unless he could see how otherwise he can be served; and the king bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland; for while there he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for episcopacy, and it only is the trading and inferior sort that are for Presbytery; wherefore, he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and Order, and throw off the Presbyterians. My answer to this was, my lord, I cannot but humbly thank the prince for this frankness and offer; but withal, I must tell your lordship, that when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended any such revolution as I have now seen in England; and therefore I neither was nor could be instructed by them what answer to make to the prince's offer; and therefore what I say is not in their name but only my private opinion, which is, that I truly think they will not serve the prince so as he is served in England, that is (as I take it) to make him their king, or give their suffrage for his being king. And though, as to this matter, I can say nothing in their name, and as from them, yet for myself I must say that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have or may expect in Britain. Upon this the bishop commended my openness and ingenuity, and said he believed it was so; for, says he, all the time you have been here, neither have you waited on the king, nor have any of your brethren the Scots bishops made any addresses to him. So the king must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians. Imme-

diately upon this, the prince going somewhere abroad, came through our room; and Sir George Mackenzie takes leave of him in very few words. I applied to the bishop and said, my lord, there is now no farther place for application in our church matters, and this opportunity of taking leave of the prince is lost; wherefore I beg your lordship would introduce me for that effect, if you can, next day, about ten or eleven in the forenoon; which his lordship both promised and performed. And upon my being admitted to the prince's presence, he came three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me by saying, my lord, are you going for Scotland? My reply was, yes, Sir, if you have any commands for me. Then he said, I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England. Wherefore, being somewhat diffculted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer without entangling myself, I readily replied, Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me. How this answer pleased I cannot well tell, but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable, for instantly the prince, without saying any thing more, turned away from me and went back to his company.

"Whether what the Bishop of London delivered to us from the prince was so or not, I cannot certainly say, but I think his lordship's word was good enough for that; or whether the prince would have stood by his promise of casting off the Presbyterians and protecting us, in case we had come into his interest, I will not determine, though this seems the most probable unto me, and that for these reasons: he had the Presbyterians sure on his side, both from inclination and interest, many of them having come over with him, and the rest of them having appeared so warmly that with no good grace imaginable could they return to King James's interest; next by gaining, as he might presume to gain, the Episcopal nobility and gentry, which he saw was a great party, and consequently that King James would be deprived of his principal support; then he saw what a hardship it would be upon the Church of England, and of what bad consequence to see Episcopacy ruined in Scotland, who no doubt would have vigorously interposed for us, if we, by our carriage, could have been brought to justify their measures. And I am the more confirmed in this, that after my downcoming here, my Lord St. Andrews and I, taking occasion to wait upon Duke Hamilton, his grace told us a day or two before the sitting down of the Convention, that he had it in special charge from King William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy in Scotland, in case the bishops could be brought to befriend his interest, and prayed us, most pathetically, for our own sakes, to follow the example of the Church of England."—*Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 65; second edition.

There can be little doubt but that King William was sincere in his professions of support to the Episcopal Church, for he found that a large proportion of the nobility and gentry preferred the ancient model of ecclesiastical government to the new scheme which had gained the affections of the "trading and inferior sort." But the reply of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, which expressed the unanimous determination of his brethren, put an end to all

negotiation with the Prince of Orange and the Revolution Settlement. He declared that "both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, they were engaged in King James's interest; and that they would by God's grace stand by it, in the face of all dangers and to the greatest losses."

It has become common in these days to describe the Scottish bishops who were deposed at the Revolution as narrow-minded and illiberal persons, who sacrificed their church to groundless and contemptible scruples. But before this charge be admitted, all the circumstances of the case ought to be taken into consideration. The oath of *allegiance* at that period was very different from the one which is exacted in our days. The present oath is, "I do solemnly promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King William." Before the Revolution it ran thus, "I do promise to be true and faithful to the king and *his heirs*, and truth and faith to bear, of life and limb and terrene honour; and not to *know or hear of any ill or damage intended him*, without defending him therefrom." The oath, therefore, which all subjects in office had sworn to King James, bound them to be faithful not to him only but also to his *heirs*; and though the Scotch Convention voted that King James by his mal-administration and abuse of power had forfeited all title to the crown, the bishops might, without absurdity or narrow-mindedness, consider themselves as still bound by their oaths to be faithful to his infant son, who could have done nothing to forfeit his titles.

The establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk necessarily led to the deprivation of the Episcopal clergy. But as the majority of the people in all the counties north of the river Tay were attached to the old communion, many years passed before the ministers of the new model were received into the parish churches or even permitted to exercise their function. The duty was done as formerly by the Episcopal incumbent, who usually continued to occupy the manse, and in some instances to enjoy the parochial revenue. To put an end to this state of things, an act of parliament was passed on the 22d of July, 1690, prohibiting every deprived minister from preaching or exercising any part of his ministerial function, either in vacant churches or *elsewhere*, under *any pretext whatever*, until first he present himself before the Privy Council (the Star-chamber of Scotland), and there take, swear, and subscribe the oath of allegiance, and also engage himself, under his hand, to pray for King William and Queen Mary, as king and queen of this realm; certifying such ministers as shall do in the contrary, that they shall be proceeded against as persons disaffected, and enemies to their majesties' government.

Many of the ejected clergy took this oath, proceeding on the distinction between the duty which they owed to the actual rulers of the country, and an acknowledgment of the lawfulness by which William and Mary swayed the sceptre of Great Britain. In fact, they interpreted the form of words in which they swore allegiance, as binding them to nothing more than to submit quietly to the government of the king and queen, and to discharge the duties of their office like peaceable subjects. The Presbyterian leaders, therefore, got another act passed, compelling all in public employment, and among others the clergy, to make and subscribe the following declaration :—

“ I do in the sincerity of my heart assert, acknowledge, and declare, that their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, are the *only lawful and undoubted* sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, as well *de jure* as *de facto*; and therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise and engage that I will, with heart and hand, life and goods, maintain and defend their majesties' title and government against the *late King James and his adherents*, and all other enemies who, either by open or secret attempts, shall disturb or disquiet their majesties in the exercise thereof.”

At this period, so far was the title of King William and Queen Mary to the throne of Scotland from being according to law *undoubted*, that many of the established ministers refused to take the oath, and would in all probability have raised a rebellion, had not the government wisely dispensed with the administration of it in their behalf. But no forbearance was shown to the Episcopal clergy. On the contrary, the act was enforced with indiscriminate severity; and as it affected the very principles on which their political creed was founded, many of them, rather than abjure the older branch of the royal family, chose to refrain from the exercise of their sacred ministry in public as well as in private. Sometime afterwards, however, finding that the oath was rejected by many within the bosom of the Establishment, who in this respect were *Nonjurors* as well as themselves, they ventured to have Divine worship in their own houses every Lord's Day, leaving their doors open, that whoever was inclined might unite in prayer and praise to God with them and their families. This conduct was considered a heinous offence; and a list of the principal culprits was transmitted to the Privy Council, who pronounced sentence against several of them. To inhibit, therefore, the deprived Episcopalians to the last degree, an act was passed by Parliament in the year 1695, discharging every outed minister from *baptizing any children*, or solemnizing marriage betwixt *any parties* in all time coming, under pain of imprisonment, aye and until he find caution to go out of the kingdom, and never to return thereto. This was the severest blow that had been hitherto aimed at the

Nonjuring clergy; and it was directly aimed, not at their politics, but at their religion.

In this way the government of William the Third avenged his cause on the Episcopal clergy of Scotland, because they could not conscientiously transfer to him that allegiance which they had sworn to his father-in-law. But still the greater part of the nobility and landholders of ancient families continued strongly attached to their communion; and hence the laws, although unmercifully severe, did not produce the effect that might have been apprehended, being in many instances reduced in their operation to a dead letter.

The accession of Anne, too, held out the promise of better things to the persecuted remnant of churchmen beyond the border. She wrote indeed to the Scottish privy council, assuring them that she would maintain the constitution both in church and state; but at the same time exhorted the Presbyterians to live at peace with such of the Episcopal clergy as, having qualified themselves according to law, were still in the possession of their churches. She also promised to the Nonjurors her protection on condition of their living at peace and brotherly love with the Establishment; adding, that she would do what she could to relieve their necessities. Encouraged by the favourable sentiments of the queen, the deprived ministers began to collect congregations openly, and to have public worship in chapels and churches. The penal laws, indeed, had not been repealed, nor was any legal toleration granted. Nothing more was yielded than a simple connivance, and the spirit of the times would not allow any thing further. The Earl of Strathmore proposed in parliament an Act for the toleration of all Protestants in the exercise of their religious worship, evidently with the view of obtaining relief and security to the Church of which he was himself a member; but against this measure the General Assembly presented so violent a remonstrance that the promoters of the bill were compelled to abandon it. It was at this period that the use of our Book of Common Prayer began to be very general in Scotland. Whether it was the dignity and solemnity of these offices that reconciled the people at large to the Liturgical worship, or whether the harmony which now prevailed among them on this subject arose from the fact that all, both clergy and laity, who had been hostile to the introduction of a Liturgy into their Church, had gone over to the Presbyterians, we know not; but it is certain, that only a very small number of old people had now any objection to the English Book, of which great numbers were, by some pious and benevolent persons in this part of the kingdom, sent *gratis* to their less fortunate brethren in the North.

The only cloud which darkened the horizon to the Scottish Episcopalians during the reign of Queen Anne, arose from the jealousies entertained by the Presbyterians in regard to the effect of the proposed union of the two kingdoms on the stability of their Church. It was imagined, and not altogether without some show of reason, that the British parliament, the great majority of whom must necessarily be members of the English Establishment, would show less zeal than a Scottish legislature for the permanence of the new model of ecclesiastical discipline and worship. To quiet their fears an order was issued from Court to execute the laws against the Episcopalians, and to shut up all their chapels in town and country. But as the object in this case was policy and not persecution, the restriction was not long continued; and to compensate for the apparent severity to which circumstances had compelled the Government to have recourse, a legislative measure was soon afterwards adopted which conferred upon the deprived clergy and their congregations the valuable blessing of religious toleration. On the 3d of March, in the year 1712, an Act was passed to prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal Communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of England; and for repealing an act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, intituled, An Act against Irregular Baptisms and Marriages; declaring it to be lawful for all of the Episcopal Communion to assemble for Divine worship in any place except in parish churches, to be performed after their own manner, by pastors ordained by a Protestant bishop. This Act, though it subjected to severe penalties such of the clergy as should not take the oaths required by law, and likewise pray for the Queen by name, secured even the Nonjurors against being disturbed during Divine service; imposing a fine of 100*l.* sterling upon all who should raise such disturbances, and repeating the penalty for every offence.

But these happy days were not of long duration. The changes which took place on the accession of George I. are well known. The Whig ministry issued a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against all Papists, Nonjurors and disaffected persons; which violent measures, as they seemed to indicate that the royal favour was to be thenceforth withheld from at least one half of the nation, excited very general apprehension and disgust. The insurrection which followed, oppressed the Episcopalians in Scotland with a heavier load of persecution than they had ever before experienced. In April, 1719, an act was passed, for making more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for the security of the Government to be taken by the ministers of churches and meeting-houses

in Scotland. By this statute, every Episcopal minister performing Divine service in any meeting-house in that kingdom, without having taken the oaths required by Queen Anne's toleration, and praying for King George and the Royal Family by name, was to suffer six months imprisonment, during which period his meeting-house was to be shut up; and every house where *nine* or more persons, besides the family, should be present at Divine service, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the Act.

This law was, no doubt, severe upon the Episcopal clergy; but it does not seem to have been very rigorously enforced, and at all events, it did not affect the political rights or condition of the nobility and gentry who still adhered to their communion. On the contrary, from this period down to the year 1746, the Episcopal Church enjoyed a considerable share of prosperity. Her clergy were numerous, and many of them learned, whilst her chapels were frequented by all orders of the people, from the highest peer to the lowest peasant, including even judges and magistrates. Although the king was not prayed for by *name*, and although by far the greater number of the clergy were attached to the exiled prince, political opinions respecting the rights of the sovereign were at no period made terms of her communion; and the reigning monarch accordingly might be as devoutly prayed for in her chapels as in that of St. James's, where there was, perhaps, as little unanimity as to the *jus divinum*, and the claim of succession. Of this the several functionaries to whom was entrusted the execution of the laws were fully sensible; and therefore they very seldom enforced against the devoted Episcopalians the penal part of the act of Queen Anne.

But on the defeat of Charles Edward, at Culloden, in April, 1746, the conduct of the magistrates was entirely changed. As if none save Scottish Episcopalians had joined his standard, the fury of the soldiers and even of the mob was let loose against them, and against them alone. Their chapels were everywhere burnt to the ground or otherwise destroyed, while the parts of the country where their property lay were subjected to military execution. No sooner was the civil administration resumed than an act of parliament was set forth, providing, that from and after the first day of September, 1746, every person exercising the function of a pastor or minister in every Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his Letters of Orders, and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George and the Royal Family by name, shall, for the first offence, suffer six months' imprisonment, and for the second, be *transported to one of his Majesty's plantations for life*. Every house

in which five or more persons, besides the family, or five persons if the house were not inhabited, should meet for public worship, performed by a pastor or minister of the Episcopal communion, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the Act. And it was added, that no letters of orders, except such as had been given by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland, should be received for registration from and after the 1st of September in the year already specified.

The injury done to the Episcopal Church of Scotland would not probably have been great or of very long duration had it not extended likewise to the more influential classes of the laity. But the act farther declared that, if after the 1st of September any person should resort to an illegal Episcopal meeting-house, and not give information within five days of such illegal meeting to some proper magistrate, he should be subjected to fine or imprisonment. It declared further, that no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the sixteen peers of parliament, or of voting at such election : and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of parliament for any shire or borough, or of voting at such election, who, after the 1st of September, should within the compass of a year have been twice present at Divine service in any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, not held according to law.

In this state of things, some of those clergymen who, though steady and zealous Episcopalians, had always professed that they were not Jacobites, feeling it their duty to render their chapels *legal* meeting-houses, repaired to the proper magistrates, took the oaths to government required by the Act, and got their letters of orders registered before the 1st of September. But this compliance availed them nothing. In May, 1748, the former statute was amended, when it was enacted, that no letters of orders not granted by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland should, from and after the 29th of September, 1748, be sufficient to qualify any pastor or minister of any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same had been registered before or since the 1st of September, 1746, and that every such registration, whether made before or since, should, after the said 29th of September, be null and void.

This act was directly levelled against the *religion* of the Scottish Episcopalians, for it precluded them from the privilege of political repentance. As such it was felt by our bishops ; not one of whom, not even Hoadley himself, ventured to support the bill ; while some of them, and especially Sherlock, Secker, and Mad-dox, spoke strenuously against it, as a flagrant attack on the leading principles of Christian liberty. But the *amendment*, as it was called, passed in the Commons with little opposition :

whereas, in the House of Peers, owing to the exertions of the Episcopal Bench, the majority was not more than thirty-seven against thirty-two.

“The complying clergymen were thus subjected to the same persecution with their non-complying brethren; and one of them, certainly the most respectable for genius and learning of the whole body, and at the same time the most consistent in his conduct and principles, was actually imprisoned six months, although for two years he had prayed for the king by name, according to the letter of the law, in a Scottish Episcopal meeting-house. Other clergymen suffered similar punishments, who did not pray for the king by name; and some were glad to take refuge in England, and even in the American colonies, from the penalties with which they were now every where menaced.”—*Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 512, 2d edition.

In reference to this subject, we were struck with the justness of the remarks made by Mr. Chambers in the work which stands second at the head of this Article. Alluding to the legislative expedients adopted by the government in 1746, he observes:—“this was the best contrived act which had yet been promulgated for the extermination of the Episcopal Church, because it was calculated to dissolve the connexion which had hitherto existed between the clergy and the laity. It was, nevertheless, an act which was drawn up without a due knowledge of the character of the clergy against whom it was directed, and fell far short of the ends which it was expected to accomplish.”

It will here be remarked by readers conversant in Scottish history, that at this precise period there was a strong resemblance between the fate of the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Kirk, or Covenanters, shortly after the Restoration. The Presbyterian ministers, in 1661, were offered a continuance in their benefices and mode of worship, if they would acknowledge Episcopal superiors, and submit to the the government of Charles the Second. The Episcopal ministers, in 1746, were offered the liberty of keeping dissenting chapels, if they would acknowledge the divine right of the government of George the Second. There is hardly the least difference between the two cases. But here the parallel ceases: and if there be any applause due to those who suffered the greatest degree of needless oppression, it is to be given to the Episcopal Church. In the midst of obscurity and the severest privations, it is pleasing to remark, that this persecuted body of Christians never abandoned those temperate feelings which had been their constant attendants through every vicissitude. They suffered in patience and meekness, and in no case vilified the arm which had struck them to the earth. Drawing their comfort from the mild doctrines of Christianity, they did not consider themselves entitled to enlist the passions of their

lay members in their behalf, or to stand in physical opposition to the civil government. Resembling the apostles and primitive fathers, whose successors they deemed themselves to be, they travelled about doing good, and carefully watching over the spiritual welfare of "those few sheep" which had been committed to their charge. It is this mildness of behaviour which so much distinguished the Episcopal from the Covenanting Clergy, while both were under similar circumstances; and the only reason why military execution was not directed against the one as well as the other was, that the former conscientiously refrained from breaking out into that open resistance which the others thought fit to do. By this means the Episcopal Church cannot show the cloud of "martyrs" which its neighbour possesses, but this does not invalidate its claims, if it thought it creditable to put them forth.

The severity of persecution, however, did not last long, and indeed it may be said to have ceased entirely upon the accession of George III. Peers and lay gentlemen, it is true, who frequented Scottish Episcopal meeting-houses, continued to be deprived of some of their most valuable political privileges; but no encouragement was now given by the Court to officious information against the clergy, and some of the chapels which had been shut up were ordered to be re-opened. In fact, there is great reason to believe that, if the oath of abjuration had been abolished, as the good king had wished it to be at the commencement of his reign, there would not have been found in Scotland, except among very old men, who had acted a conspicuous part in their youth, one Jacobite in the course of six years. That oath, however, and others which militated against the Episcopalians, continued to be exacted of all who held offices in the state; and the zeal of many for Episcopacy having waxed cold during the years of persecution, the chapels became fewer in number and less respectably attended. Clergymen, ordained in England or Ireland, opened meeting-houses in all the considerable towns and even villages in Scotland; and such laymen as preferred their political privileges to their religious principles, frequented those places; but every man who knew any thing of the constitution and history of the Christian Church, was perfectly aware, that to call chapels which were under the superintendence of no bishop, *Episcopal* chapels, was at least a gross solecism in language.

This anomalous state of things, however, continued many years; and Mr. Sandford, when he first opened a chapel in Edinburgh, was one of those independent clergymen who officiated in Scotland without acknowledging the authority of the indigenous prelates, and who, by their local position in a Presbyterian country, were removed from the communion of their native church.

Hence arose the distinction between *English* Episcopal chapels, and *Scottish* Episcopal chapels; the ministers of the former being qualified by taking all the oaths required by law, while the pastors of the latter, generally speaking, still refused to *abjure* the lineal descendants of James the Second. Laymen could attend the *qualified* clergy without incurring any forfeiture of their political rights, whereas, if they were twice seen in a Nonjuring chapel during Divine service, they became liable to all the penalties imposed by the statutes of 1746 and 1748.

Meanwhile the Scottish bishops and their clergy discharged the duties of their respective offices in the least obtrusive manner possible; supplying the spiritual wants of their different congregations, and taking care to provide for the continuance of their church by Episcopal consecrations, from time to time, as the exigencies of the case required. But, in the year 1784, an event occurred which brought them out of that obscurity in which by the operation of the penal laws they had long been plunged. On the acknowledged independence of the thirteen United States of America, all political connexion between the Episcopal Churches in those states and our Establishment was necessarily done away. But as an Episcopal communion could not exist without bishops, the clergy of Connecticut sent over one of their own number, Dr. Samuel Seabury, to be consecrated in England. This gentlemen had some years before obtained from the University of Oxford the honorary degree of doctor of divinity, for defending the principles and constitution of our Church against a violent attack made upon them in America, and as he brought the highest testimonials as to the respectability of his character, the archbishop and other of our prelates were very desirous to comply with the request of the Transatlantic clergy. But without an act of parliament they could not, in the consecration of a bishop, omit the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and these oaths, it was very obvious, could not be taken by a subject of the United States. The statute necessary could not be immediately obtained; and it would have been extremely inconvenient for Dr. Seabury to remain in England till the following session of parliament. He was, therefore, advised to apply to the Scottish bishops for consecration; but in the state in which they were placed by the penal laws, they felt that it would be imprudent in them to consecrate any person who had first addressed himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, without previously ascertaining whether, by doing so, they should give offence to the Church of England. Their inquiries on this head were conveyed to Archbishop Moore by means of Dr. Berkeley, one of the prebendaries of Canterbury, and son to the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, and through the same channel

the Scottish prelates were assured, that by consecrating Dr. Seabury, they would not only give no offence but would excite a more favourable opinion of their principles than was generally entertained in the South. Dr. Seabury, accordingly, went down to Aberdeen, where, on the 14th of November, 1784, he was consecrated by Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner.

This consecration was the means of recalling to the recollection of the English bishops, that a depressed branch of the Church of Christ, having the same orders, liturgy, and government with their own, continued to exist in Scotland; and as the penal laws were known to operate with great force in opposing her influence and prosperity, various plans were taken into consideration for procuring their repeal. But the Jacobitical predilections of some of the old clergy, presented an obstacle to the fulfilment of this desirable object. Charles Edward was still alive; and the same views of duty and obligation which had prevented them from abjuring his two immediate ancestors, forbade them to transfer their entire allegiance to any other branch of his family. The death of that prince, however, in 1788, placed all the Episcopal ministers north of the Tweed, in a position where they felt themselves not only at liberty to pray for his majesty King George the Third, but bound to perform that solemn duty with alacrity and fervour. They entered upon it, therefore, spontaneously, and without making any previous stipulations with their sovereign. On the 25th May, 1788, his majesty was publicly prayed for in the terms of our liturgy, in all the Episcopal chapels in Scotland, with the exception of three; the ministers of which, required a longer period for deliberation on a matter in which religion, truth, and political honesty seemed so deeply engaged.

Every obstacle being now cleared away which had formerly impeded the path towards the removal of those disqualifications which pressed so heavily on the Scottish Episcopalians, measures were almost immediately adopted for obtaining an abrogation of the laws by which they had been imposed. It was not, however, till 1792, a distance of four years, that the legislature was induced to grant the relief which was prayed for; the chief men in power having had to combat difficulties which did not in reality belong to the question, and to conciliate parties who at first sight appeared to have no interest in its decision. The conditions of the toleration which was thereby extended to the Scottish Episcopalians were, that they should continue to use the Book of Common Prayer, that their clergy should subscribe the Thirty-Nine Articles of our Church, and consent to be excluded from holding livings or even officiating publicly in England. This last instalment of the price with which they were compelled to purchase

permission to worship God without molestation or political forfeiture, continues to be regarded by them as the most ungenerous and severe ; because, while Roman Catholics and Presbyterians find a ready entrance into our church, there is an insuperable bar placed in the way of men who agree with us in every point of discipline, doctrine, and liturgical practice, and who were not previously disqualified for ministering in our parishes. Even while they were under the ban of the penal laws in their own land, and were not permitted to do duty in the presence of more than five individuals besides their own families, they were received in this country as brethren, and, upon taking the usual oaths, were eligible to any clerical appointment for which their learning or character might have fitted them.

The details now given, were suggested to us by an observation made by Bishop Sandford, in his Diary, in the following words. " Nothing is more striking, than the ignorance of many persons in England, concerning the history of a church which was once as much an established church as their own. They know no more of our poor Scottish Episcopal Church, than they do of a church in Mesopotamia. We must pray that by the goodness of Divine Providence, the Church of England may never be reduced to " first principles," as the Episcopal Church in Scotland has been. In the dispensation of affliction wherewith it pleased God to visit the Scottish Church, good, however, has been brought out of evil ; and the steadiness of attachment to the genuine principles of Apostolic regimen has been the result of much trial—persecution at one time, and neglect now."

It is obvious, that as soon as the penal laws were abrogated, the time was come for a union between the two classes of Episcopalians in Scotland, the English, namely, and those of native ordination. The only step necessary for this desirable consummation was the acknowledgement, by the whole of the indigenous church, of the Thirty-Nine Articles, as the confession of their faith. Prior to the date at which we have now arrived, the only symbol of theological belief recognised among churchmen in the North, was the form drawn up under the auspices of Knox and ratified by the Scottish Parliament in the year 1567. In 1804 a general synod of the Episcopal clergy was held in the county of Kincardine, when the Thirty-Nine Articles were formally adopted by the two chambers of bishops and presbyters as the standard of their faith and doctrine, and signed by all present. The union from that moment advanced successfully ; and now, we are happy to find, that it embraces every congregation in Scotland with the exception of three, whose ministers, for reasons which at this

distance we cannot possibly comprehend, consent to remain in a state of the most glaring schism.

The conduct of Dr. Sandford, on the occasion just described, was highly meritorious. He set the example of union to the English and Irish clergy, who, like himself, held independent chapels in Edinburgh; recommending the measure at once by sound argument, and by an appeal to the apostolical principles of church government. In one of the volumes now before us, there are inserted, "Reasons for Uniting with the Scottish Episcopal Communion," which do great honour to his memory. As an Episcopal clergyman officiating in that country, he declared he could see no objection to the union of the two bodies—to the submission of the English clergy there, to the spiritual authority of the Scottish bishops. "Nay," he adds, "I think it my duty, under these circumstances, to make this submission, in order that the congregation attending my ministry may enjoy the advantages and the regularity arising from the superintendence of a bishop, of which we have been hitherto deprived;—we are Episcopalians depending on no ecclesiastical superior; which is almost a contradiction in terms; for the prelates of the Church of England can exercise no authority in Scotland. These circumstances have, for a considerable period, given pain to many serious and reflecting persons; and indeed no faithful member of the Church of England can look upon them as things indifferent. Every well-informed Christian knows how indispensable it is to our comfort and edification, as an Episcopal society, that these deficiencies should be supplied, and that these irregularities should be corrected. The submission of the English clergy to the spiritual superintendence of the Scottish bishops is the easy and obvious remedy of the anomalies of our situation. This remedy is now placed within our reach, and that we shall act piously and wisely by embracing it, will be evident to every one who considers that the Scottish bishops are true bishops of the Church of Christ, and their Apostolical succession is the same with that of the bishops of the Church of England; for the present governors of the Scottish Episcopal Church derive their authority in a direct succession from those Scottish bishops who were consecrated by the prelates of the Church of England, at Westminster, 15th December, 1661. The political perplexities which in former times occasioned the introduction of the English clergy into this country, and the separation of our chapels from the Episcopal Church of Scotland, have long been at an end, and the objections to our union, which might have been urged on that score, are entirely taken away. The continuance of our separation is therefore wholly *causeless*, considered in every point of view. But *causeless separation from a pure church* is the

sin of *schism*, an offence of which it is impossible that any pious and enlightened Christian can think lightly. By this junction of our communion with the venerable church, which was once the established church of the land, every thing will be amended in our situation which was irregular, and nothing altered but what was wrong. Let it be considered that by the submission of our clergy to the Scottish bishops, we strengthen instead of weakening our connection with the Church of England; for the Church of England, as a pure branch of the universal Church of Christ is in communion with the Episcopal church of Scotland, also a pure branch of the universal church; and every English clergyman who would be faithful to the principles which he professed at his ordination, *must, therefore necessarily* acknowledge the authority of the Scottish bishops while he resides within the jurisdiction of their communion."

There is another tract on the same subject in the second volume of these Remains, entitled, "The Spiritual character and claims of the bishops of the Episcopal church in Scotland, briefly stated in a letter to a friend." In this little Essay he informs us, that an objection has been sometimes made in the case of his church that "bishops must be appointed by the king, and that a church cannot exist independent of the state." This objection, originating in deplorable ignorance, is best answered by a simple question, namely, "How were bishops appointed, and how did the Christian Church exist for the first 300 years, when the religion of Jesus Christ was persecuted by the state? Constantine the Great, the first Christian Roman Emperor, came to the throne in the year 306. The first great Christian Council assembled under his authority, was at Nice, in Bithynia, in the year 325. At that period therefore, Christianity was the *established* religion of the Roman empire. But before Constantine there was no connection between the church and state; therefore, if the church cannot exist independently of the state, *there was no church for the first three centuries.*" He farther tells us that "when the question of the union of the English-ordained clergy and their congregations was much agitated some years ago, I had frequent occasion to know the opinion of many of the English bishops upon the subject; and all, to whom I had access, uniformly recommended the measure as the *duty* of the clergy and their people; and two of them (one of whom had unquestionably no superior in learning on the bench,) declared to me, without hesitation, that they considered the Episcopal clergy and their congregations, who continued independent of the Scottish bishops, to be guilty of schism."

In reviewing the history of the Scottish Episcopal Church, both as an establishment, and as a religious body merely tolerated, we

have encountered a variety of facts which may be held as matter of warning and instruction at the present moment in both divisions of the island. We have observed in the first place, that the overthrow of the northern church at the revolution was accomplished by a minority, who had rendered themselves formidable by their factious spirit and unwearied activity. It was represented to King William, when in Holland, that the Scottish people were almost entirely presbyterians, and were desirous to have the ecclesiastical constitution of their country reduced to the pattern of Geneva; nor was it until he had been some time in London and had the means of receiving more correct information, that he discovered the deceit which had been practised upon him. He then found out the real truth, namely, that the feeling in favour of the Calvinistic model which had been described to him as nearly universal, was confined to the "meaner and trading sort of people," and that the nobility and gentry were, with few exceptions, more inclined to support Episcopacy. In fact, in the whole country beyond the River Tay, there were not more than five presbyterian places of worship, when the form of the national religion was changed. The disaffection and cry for reform was limited to a few fanatical counties in the south-western parts of Scotland, where the ministers were in general very ignorant, and the inhabitants excessively narrow-minded. In Edinburgh, on the other hand, almost all the better instructed class were pleased with the hierarchy, and preferred the liturgical mode of worship; and as a proof of this, we may mention that, even after the full operation of the severe laws enacted by the government of William and Mary, for suppressing the non-juring cause among the Scots, there were in the northern capital, the population of which did not then amount to one-third of what it is at present, no fewer than sixteen chapels or meeting-houses. But the minority were incessant in their complaints and loud in their demands. The higher orders who are not easily moved by a popular impulse, and too much disposed to undervalue the opinions of the multitude, remained unconcerned spectators of certain striking events which preceded the Revolution, and which clearly indicated to every discerning eye the course that affairs did eventually take.

Hence, we may see that, in order to realize the most important changes in the ecclesiastical or even the civil constitution of a kingdom, it is not necessary that the majority of the people should desire the innovation, and far less, that the wealth and learning of the country should pave the way for its introduction. A church may be destroyed by a mob who have no other object but plunder and the love of mischief, or by the machinations of a few demagogues who have nothing to lose, and to whom almost any

change must be for the better. The state of the public mind in Scotland, between the era of the Restoration and that of the Revolution, was unsettled in a very high degree. The distracted condition of the country during the grand rebellion, the habits of war and pillage to which a large portion of the people were inured, the want of employment, and the secret incitement which, it is suspected, was practised by many in the higher ranks, who dreaded the restoration of the church to the full enjoyment of the wealth and privileges which had formerly belonged to her, might perhaps be regarded as the probable causes of that seditious humour which was ever and anon bursting forth among the inhabitants of the western counties. At all events it cannot be denied that a large body among the labouring class had become at once seditious and miserable in the extreme. Mr. Fletcher, a political writer of that period, calculated that there were no fewer than 200,000 sturdy beggars, threatening the property and disturbing the peace of the kingdom; and recommended that this enormous evil should be forthwith remedied by the general adoption of domestic slavery. Religion, it may be presumed, was, in many cases, the pretext rather than the cause of those armed tumults which repeatedly called for the severity of the government, and which in the end proved fatal to the establishment of the Episcopal Church. We need not apply these remarks to the condition of England at the present day—he may read that runneth.

Another circumstance which militated against Episcopacy in Scotland, was the undue subserviency of some of the bishops to the civil government of the period, as well as the share which they took in those inauspicious measures which rendered the names of Charles the Second and his brother so extremely unpopular among the peasantry of that kingdom. Lauderdale, a licentious and brutal character, was at the same time a violent presbyterian, and entertained, of course, no friendly sentiments towards the hierarchy. To accomplish his objects in regard to the turbulent covenanters, as also against the Established Church, he adopted, from time to time, the most sanguinary resolutions, in which he prevailed upon his right reverend colleagues in the privy council to concur. Hence, the legal murders and military executions which disgraced the reigns of the last Stuarts north of the Tweed, were ascribed to the Archbishops and their brethren on the Episcopal bench, who, for the security of their own order, were supposed to stimulate the zeal of the royal commissioners. From these facts it has resulted, that Episcopacy in Scotland has ever had to struggle with recollections which, though they are connected with occurrences altogether foreign to its principles as a system of church government, have had a powerful effect in swaying the sentiments of the people, and in thereby disqualifying

them for a candid examination of the grounds on which it has recommended itself to the greater part of the Christian world. Had the Scottish prelates confined themselves to the duties of their sacred office, and left the torturing, hanging, and dragooning of the fanatical covenanters to Lauderdale, Rothes, and their debauched associates, they would have escaped participation in many scenes which tended greatly to weaken their professional influence, as well as to cloud the annals of the Episcopal establishment with the most unfavourable remembrances. Nothing so much alienates the hearts of the people from the church, as the suspicion that her dignitaries are leagued with the civil power in carrying forward unpopular measures. At no period, indeed, is a political prelate a useful ally to religion; but there are times when the exertions of such a person, however wise and patriotic, have no other effect than to bring calumny upon himself, and to hasten the downfall of his order. Had Archbishop Sharpe eschewed the Council-board at Edinburgh, and devoted all his time and activity of mind to the business of his diocese, it is more than probable, that the bloody scene of Magus-moor would never have taken place, and that a moderate Episcopacy would have continued to be the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland.

A third reflection which has suggested itself to us while tracing the history of the Scottish hierarchy, whether established or tolerated, is of a more comfortable nature than those already stated. We see how difficult, nay how impossible it is, to destroy a communion founded on the apostolical principles which support an Episcopal church. Never was a persecution against a religious body more determined and systematic, or better calculated to effect its object, than that which was inflicted during the greater part of a century on our brethren in Scotland. The clergy were denounced, deprived, and in some cases outlawed. Their chapels were burnt, or shut up, while they themselves were subject to imprisonment and even transportation for life, should they presume to perform a religious service to a member of their own communion, or conduct the worship of God to more than five persons besides their families. Mr. Chambers tells us that when the statute of 1748 was enforced, "many of the Episcopal clergy fled to America for refuge; but the bulk of them remained in Scotland, still determined to bear up against the great evil in the best way they could. Everywhere all semblance of public worship was avoided, and the old system was recommenced of visiting families in private; when a few faithful followers met to celebrate the rites of the church in secrecy and darkness, they were very careful of avoiding all outward appearance of congregating together. Sometimes during the dark age of Episcopacy which followed, they had little chapels, if such they can be called,

in the recesses of narrow closes or alleys in the towns and cities, where a few individuals met with caution and by stealth. Frequently these secluded places of worship were in the lofts of ruined stables and cow-houses, and were only approachable by movable ladders and trap-doors placed under the charge of some judicious and careful member. At no time, for many years, did they dare to let such places of retirement be known but to those on whom the strongest reliance could be placed. At the present day in Scotland, in the same way that the caves and places of retreat of the heroes of the Covenant are shown, so in many of the towns north of Edinburgh are still exhibited the rude garrets and antiquated apartments in which, at one period, there met a few lonely worshippers belonging to the Episcopal church." "Considering the privations endured by the Scottish Episcopal church, with very little intermission down to the beginning of this century, it is matter of surprise that it should have survived the stormy period of its history; yet, like the Vaudois or Waldenses, it seems to have possessed a lofty conservative principle which it was impossible to quench amid a thousand dangers and difficulties."

The value of this "conservative principle," peculiar, it would seem, to an Episcopal church, will appear in a more vivid light where we compare the Syrian Christians in India, the Waldenses, and the Scottish Episcopalians to every other order of men who have had to strive and suffer for the sake of religion. The Puritans, for example, are not; or if they exist at all, it is in the form of Unitarians and Deists. The Covenanters, too, in the North have disappeared; or if there be any where a few small remains of them, they present nothing in their doctrine or mode of worship to distinguish them from the great body of Presbyterians among whom they have melted down. So it is with almost every other sect which has had to encounter the resistance of the civil power or of a dominant establishment. In two or three generations, they either expire or comply. But the foundations of Episcopacy stand sure in the storm not less than in the sunshine. Though it may be condemned for a time to lie among the pots, it comes forth at length with its feathers like gold, without change or taint. The dawn, however long delayed, finds it the same as when the cloud of night fell and enveloped it in darkness. In regard to the Scottish Episcopal church in its actual circumstances, Mr. Chambers remarks, that "it pursues a serene and temperate course, disturbing the complacency of no one, and fulfilling the idea of a simple yet efficient ecclesiastical institution. It seems to have prayed with success to be delivered from all false doctrine, heresy and schism; for few communities of Christians trouble society so little with their internal or external arrangements. Within its

sacred pale no jars or heresies are ever known to fester or break out. By the constant use of an orthodox liturgy and creeds, and the daily reading of those parts of Scripture comprehending the plain principles of true religion, no new dogma of belief can be started; and its members would lay no stress on the declamations of pulpit orators if at variance with the doctrines therein set forth and fixed. There is a completeness about this communion which must strike every one who examines it. Its constitution and forms require little or no amendment. Its creed is one and unchangeable. It does not consider Christianity as a science susceptible of improvement every generation. By reason of this continuity of principle, this steadfastness of belief, the Episcopal Church of Scotland is perhaps destined to stand as an impregnable bulwark of orthodoxy in the land; and should it be the fate of the Kirk and its dissenting bodies to be frittered away by the conceits of erring and short-sighted men, this poor, this oft-contemned, but unchanging communion may be the means of keeping alive and handing down unimpaired to the latest posterity, that pure and beneficent faith once delivered to the Saints."

From these details we find that a legal establishment by the government of any country is perhaps less essential to the existence of an Episcopal Church than of any other form of ecclesiastical polity. In America, where the State refuses to patronize any particular denomination of Christians, there are already ten Bishops and about seven hundred congregations. Still we are not inclined to undervalue the numerous advantages which result from the countenance of the civil power and the appropriation of a settled revenue; and do therefore most ardently hope that Divine Providence will long avert the day when indifference to religion in one portion of our rulers, and a spurious liberality in others, may lead to the dissolution of that salutary union between Church and State, which has, in more than one occasion, preserved to this great empire the blessings of freedom, and of an unrivalled constitution. The spiritual authority of our prelates does not, indeed, depend upon the sanction of the crown, and the validity of the ministrations which belong to the inferior clergy is altogether independent of legislative enactments. So far the perpetuity of the Church is founded on a rock, against which even the gates of Hell cannot prevail. But we are nevertheless convinced that the prosperity and happiness of Great Britain are bound up in one bundle with the preservation of our Establishment, and that they must be kept or lost together. Even the stability of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland hangs upon the welfare of the Church of England so closely, that the former could not survive ten years the political death of her elder sister.

When on this subject we may remark, that the interests of Episcopacy, viewed in reference to the United Kingdom at large, are under no small obligation to our brethren in Scotland. The intercourse between the different parts of the island is infinitely greater now than it was in the days of William and Mary, when the Episcopal church was put down in that country; and many English families repair to North Britain every year for education, in the pursuits of business, or to fill public offices under the crown. It is of no small importance to such persons individually as well as to their native Church, to be assured that they can join a body whose creed, liturgy, doctrines, sacraments, and orders are the same as their own,—who are in fact, as far as spiritual matters are concerned, the same communion, in the strict apostolical meaning of the phrase.

In other circumstances, the members of the English establishment resident in Scotland would be subjected to much inconvenience, and might be tempted to become either wandering latitudinarians, or regardless of all public worship. Like too many of the present age who have no higher notion of a church than that it is a form of religion countenanced by the laws, they might conceive that presbyterianism was as much entitled to their veneration as the more ancient model which they had been accustomed to respect on the southern side of the border. But, as matters actually stand, our countrymen find in the North not only the means of worshipping God after the manner of their fathers, but a regularly formed church, the clergy of which are tenacious of all the principles which distinguish Episcopalians, and devoted in their hearts to that more powerful and much honoured Establishment from which they have twice derived the apostolical succession.

For these reasons we are not insensible to the importance of the Scottish Episcopal Church; and should therefore, be happy to find that some expedient could be devised by the legislature for relieving her ministers from those professional disabilities, as applicable to this part of the kingdom, which did not attach to them when they were persecuted as non-jurors, and denounced by the government as not fit to be tolerated.

ART. VIII.—*Principles of Geology; being an Attempt to Explain the former Changes of the Earth's Surface by reference to Causes now in operation.* By Charles Lyell, Esq. F. R. S. For. Sec. to the Geol. Soc., &c. In 2 vols. Vol. I. with Wood Cuts, Plans, &c. 15s. Murray. 1830.

WE write for the present as geologists; a character not inconsistent, we trust, with our more usual function of theological critics. In that capacity we rejoiced most sincerely at the appearance of Mr. Lyell's book. Much as the science to which it refers has been talked of in modern times, it has been difficult or impossible for mere popular readers to acquire any distinct or connected acquaintance with what has lately been done in this department of knowledge. The situation of geology has, in this respect, been for some time peculiar and anomalous. Its cultivators in this country have, during several years, resembled more one of the schools of philosophers of the ancient world, where conversation and action were the means of communicating knowledge, than a sect of these modern times, in which the press is supposed to be the source of all information, and popular circulation the criterion of all progress. The English school of geology has long consisted of a body of active, inquiring men, eager suitors of truth, forming their opinions principally by the use of their own eyes, feet, and hands; by the intercourse of conversation; and by a diligent perusal of each other's writings, which, from various causes, were little studied and not generally known beyond their own circle. Their disciples have been taught, their converts and teachers formed, with the hammer in their hands, with the knapsack at their backs, or at their saddle-bow, in long and laborious journeys, amid privation and difficulty; with a perpetual personal exercise, both of the most minute discrimination of differences, and of the widest sweep of combination. By the long-continued application of such efforts on the part of a number of men of vigorous minds and bodies, a mass of knowledge has been collected, most remarkable both in its quantity and its kind. We do not speak so much of the wide range of country which has been, in one manner or other, observed;—though this, reaching from the plains of the Mississippi to the coasts of New Holland, may well strike a common reader;—but the accumulated facts of geology have characters far more curious than the extent of country from which they are gathered. The possibility having been practically ascertained, of discriminating successive strata by their organic contents and by their position, this process has been followed out in England with a sagacity, perseverance, and success, which must make it hereafter

appear one of the most remarkable passages in the history of science. The consequence has been, that a large portion of the English strata, subdivided and characterised in the most delicate detail, has become the rule and model to which the corresponding rocks of other parts of Europe are referred. The names by which Mr. Smith taught us to describe our formations, though often of most uncouth form, have obtained a European currency; and are manifestly become part of the permanent phraseology of the scientific world. We hear of coral-rag and cornbrash from French, of Kimmeridge clay and Lias from German geologists. And these inquirers, thus acknowledging the standard to which they refer, take the best and only method of learning rightly to apply this adopted language. The most active and eminent of the rising geological students of France and Germany have visited our soil, not only to make the acquaintance of our geologists, to learn their speculative views and doctrines; but, far more, to learn by the use of their own senses the elements of the British geological alphabet; to inspect the collections where characteristic specimens are preserved; and more especially to question, with a very robust note of interrogation, the rocks in which our countrymen had found the materials of their classification; to spend days and weeks in incessant manual toil in the most desolate parts of our island; esteeming themselves most fortunate if they could obtain, to guide and inform their labour, the personal assistance and direction of some English hammerer, already acquainted with the faces and names of our petrological family. In this manner England has been, and is, in a great measure, the type and normal scheme, by reference to which the nature of a large division of the strata in other countries is expressed. The excellent geological maps of the North of Europe by Hoffman, and of Germany by Von Buch, are full of recognitions of the authority of the English arrangements and views; and the map of France, which MM. Brochant, De Beaumont, and Dufresnoy, are now constructing in a truly scientific manner, was undertaken by the government in express imitation of the geological map of England.

It is difficult not to observe, in passing, that while this is notoriously the position of our geological school, it is somewhat unreasonable that we should have to hear persons on all sides assuming, without a tittle of evidence, as if it were a matter of the most obvious certainty, "the decline of science in England." If any of our countrymen choose to consign to other nations the superiority in chemistry, or astronomy, or mathematics, or mechanics, or any science of which they may suppose them-

selves to have the disposal, we shall not here argue against such generosity; though we must own that it seems to us somewhat faint-hearted to fancy that all scientific distinction has passed away from a country in which the tomb is hardly yet closed upon Davy, and Wollaston, and Young; and in which we have still, in many departments of science, numbers so well-informed and some so eminent. But we really must object to having the pre-eminence in the science now under our consideration tost over to we know not whom, merely for the sake of humouring the flow of this splenetic declamation. And we utterly reject the supposition that this science is on the decline in our country; or that there is any presumption of the kind to be collected from the mismanagement, real or imaginary, of particular societies, or from the follies and misdemeanors of particular persons. Geology has flourished and is flourishing, in virtue of the strenuous and disinterested exertions of a body of men animated by the love of knowledge, and by a spirit singularly candid, active, and liberal; and we trust the time is yet far distant, when it will come to be supposed that the fortunes of this noble study are to be affected by pitiful quarrels about the expense of official dinners, or slips of secretarial penmanship.

But we have no wish to dwell upon this subject, having thus entered our protest against the indignity of having our science and its condition included in such sweeping and hasty judgments as have recently been floating about in the world. We have not, however, yet finished our observations on the peculiar character of our present geological school; for there is a point still to be mentioned, in which it is, at least, as remarkable as in any thing we have yet noticed. Notwithstanding that the labour and industry of our geological observers have been such as men seldom bestow, except for the purpose of proving or confirming some favourite opinion, their self-denial and temperance in abstaining from theory-making have been quite as eminent as their diligence in collecting materials. To any one acquainted with the recent original productions of our geological literature, this must have occurred as a very curious characteristic. Nothing can be more copious or communicative than these publications, so far as details are concerned. To describe, to circumscribe, to subdivide the strata of particular localities; to class, distinguish, restore the animal remains discovered; to identify distant rocks in the minutest circumstances; these and similar subjects have been the theme of many a long and dreary communication which has been read to the Geological Society, and which it required all the ingenuity and good taste of the members to enliven by the agreeable

extempore discussions which succeed the readings. In most cases the writers described what they saw, and that was all. Stones were to them as flowers to Peter Bell:

“ A primrose on a river’s brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.”

The case was not as in former days, when the crystals of a single hand-specimen were supposed capable of revealing the history of the original condition of the world. No doubt among all this mass of detail, (most valuable and indispensable, notwithstanding its tendency to tiresomeness,) there did occur and must occur suggestions and opinions as to the causes and connexions of the appearances described. It was the glimmering of dim and distant truths of this kind, which often gave the subject the charm of an oriental fiction; and lured the inquirers onwards,

“ O’er bog or steep, through straight, rough, dense or rare.”

But that which was truly admirable, was the constancy and firmness with which our geologists abstained from either dwelling upon such speculations as important, positive, certain, and leading points in the science; or from considering an assent to any such opinions as a proof of the orthodoxy and soundness of geological faith of any of their brethren. There was among them a strong suspicion of all generalities; an inflexible rejection of every thing which referred to Mr. Jenkinson’s favourite topic of “the cosmogony or creation of the world;” and a resolute determination not to be misled, even by the most tempting promises of a beautiful and consistent theory, into the rashness of generalizing from immature and partial observations.

It is manifest that such habits in the geologists, though eminently judicious and philosophical, must stand exceedingly in the way of their presenting themselves in an attractive form before common readers. Such persons require general propositions, because those are the only ones which to them have the air of knowledge. They want to know whether the earth was formed by fire or water; whether the deluges which have swept its surface were caused by an alteration of its axis, and so on. And if the geologist shrinks from the responsibility of answering such questions, they lose all interest in him and his pursuits. They have not, nor can have, any pleasure in accumulating and arranging facts which produce no impression except a suspended and expectant tendency to believe. They have no conception that, with reference to scientific propositions, scepticism may be the only sound belief. It was therefore, in this state of the science, next to impossible to write a good systematic book on the sub-

ject, adapted to the popular mind. A collection, indeed, of local facts, geographically and stratigraphically arranged, like the excellent little work of Conybeare and Phillips, became an admirable guide to those who were willing to use their eyes and hands while travelling about: and other geological compilations with particular objects were produced possessing considerable merit. But whenever a book came forth, directed principally to theoretical speculations on the general points, it was immediately certain that it did not proceed from the pen of any good working geologist; and in such cases the works were, in fact, full of arbitrary assumptions and of erroneous and misunderstood statements; belonging, in their style of philosophizing, to the days when men retired into their closets and shut their eyes to the external world that they might construct "theories of the earth" with less interruption.

This having been the state of the subject hitherto, we took up with no small curiosity a work having such a title as "*The Principles of Geology*" by Mr. Lyell, who is unquestionably one of the most vigorous and intelligent of the hammer-bearing philosophers. We seemed to see, in the mere outside of such a volume, an augury that the spell was broken which had so long confined the intellectual movements of our geologists; and to have in it a promise of more than one theory, more than one speculative controversy, soon to arise, among those who had hitherto bruised our rocks and ransacked our shores, content if they could determine whether the upper or lower green sand was in their hands, or whether an ichthyosaur or a plesiosaur had rewarded their toils.

We believe it will ere long be found, that our suspicions of a fresh outbreak of the spirit of theorizing among our geologists are not unfounded; but we by no means think this an evil at the present moment. The quantity of facts and views brought together since the days of former theories is so great, that the experiment at present, under an able hand, will be made with far different conditions from those which formerly belonged to it. And it is requisite that this trial should, from time to time, be resumed, both that men may fully discuss any plausible mode of deducing inferences from their phenomena; and also that there may be something to encourage and attract those weaker brethren, whose minds may not be of a cast severe enough to go on collecting facts which have no other merit than that they are facts. It can hardly happen, in such attempts at combining our materials, but that some new truths of greater or less comprehensiveness will be educed; though the highest and widest connecting principles may be doubtful and hazardous. And having said so much of the aspect of the science at the period of Mr. Lyell's essay to

construct a system, we shall proceed to the consideration of his work, in which there is much to illustrate the preceding reflexions.

The general proposition which it is the main object of Mr. Lyell's book to render probable, is, though not new, somewhat startling, as the reproduction of a theory, which, after being much talked of, seemed to be abandoned, in consequence of the views which observation had forced upon men's minds. It is, in short, the well-known Huttonian doctrine, that the strata at the surface of the earth have been formed by the agency of causes which still continue to act in the usual course of the world. It asserts that a variety of agents of degradation and decay, operating upon mountains and shores, carry perpetually accumulating masses of materials into the depths of the ocean; and that at certain irregular, but very distant periods of time, these deposits, cemented and consolidated, are elevated by the action of that subterraneous fire which shows itself to us in the volcano and the earthquake, and thus become continents and mountain ranges. The doctrine promulgated in this form by Hutton and his disciples, was considered sufficiently bold, and indeed the minds of most men shrunk from the indefinite and boundless cycles, the enormous succession of progressive ages, which such operations, on the most moderate calculation, must require. But Mr. Lyell seems to know no such weakness; his view of the causes of things seems to elevate him to the felicity of condition which the poet envies in the investigator who

“Metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjicit pedibus.”

Our modern Huttonian not only ridicules the weak parsimony of those who wish to spare the *least* valuable of all things, *past* time; but he professes also to have raised himself above the need of that machinery which his predecessor in theory had recourse to. Hutton, for the purpose of getting his continents above water, or of manufacturing a chain of Alps or Andes, did not disdain to call in something more than the common volcanic eruptions which we read of in newspapers from time to time. He was content to have a period of paroxysmal action—an extraordinary convulsion in the bowels of the earth—an epoch of general destruction and violence, to usher in one of restoration and life. Mr. Lyell throws away all such crutches; he walks alone in the path of his speculations; he requires no paroxysms, no extraordinary periods; he is content to take burning mountains as he finds them; and, with the assistance of the stock of volcanos and earthquakes now on hand, he undertakes to transform the earth from any one of its geological conditions to any other. He requires time, no doubt: he must not be hurried in his proceedings. But if we will allow

him a free stage in the wide circuit of eternity, he will ask no other favour; he will fight his undaunted way through formations, transition and flötz—through oceanic and lacustrine deposits; and does not despair of carrying us triumphantly from the dark and venerable schist of Skiddaw, to the alternating tertiaries of the Isle of Wight, or even to the more recent shell-beds of the Sicilian coasts, whose antiquity is but, as it were, of yester-myriad of years.

We fear that this account of Mr. Lyell's object may lead our readers to believe that his book is a tissue of fanciful speculations and hazardous conclusions. Certainly nothing could be more unjust than such an impression. Though we are not prepared to assent to all the opinions which he propounds, it is impossible to think otherwise of his work than as a most skilful and masterly attempt to combine into a consistent view a large mass of singularly curious observations and details, which no one but an accomplished geologist could have brought together. Even if it were to be considered merely as a new exposition of the Huttonian theory, there is no comparison in the fullness and variety of his facts, in the clear intelligence of their true nature and bearing, between this and any previous work of the kind: but the book has in truth a higher character; for it is so constructed, that the reader may avail himself of Mr. Lyell's aid, his rich and pregnant observation, his sound and well-pondered comparison; and may then choose for himself, whether he will be led by his author into the regions of chaos, to trace

“ The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
Illimitable ocean without bound.”

To point out what is new and important in Mr. Lyell's treatise, and its bearing on that which is already known; to mark, at the same time, what in his speculations is insecure and extravagant, or what in the exposition of them is incautiously or objectionably expressed; these offices would require a work as large as that which we have to review, or probably larger, because “ the cover of the salt hides the salt.” But to give some specimens of these various merits and defects, properly belongs to our business, and this we shall endeavour to do as briefly as possible.

Some of the most novel and interesting observations of our author refer to a class of strata which, for want of a better word, we will for the present call the *penultimate* formations; hoping that Mr. Lyell, or some other well-informed and judicious geologist, will soon fix upon them some suitable appellation: and in explaining what we mean by this term, we must give a sketch of

geological discovery, which will, we hope, render intelligible the observations we shall afterwards have to make.

The fortunes of this science, during the last half century, have conducted it, by a very remarkable course, at the same time, through four main divisions of its subject, and through the four principal scientific nations of Europe.

The *first* form under which this portion of knowledge was systematically presented, was *mineralogical* geology, the cultivation of which had *Germany* for its point of origin and activity. The disciples of Werner received from their highly-gifted teacher an arrangement of rocks, which taught them to distinguish their kinds according to the mineralogical character, and to look for the same succession of such members in every part of the world. As a doctrine generally applicable, nothing can be more hasty and baseless than this. The generality of the type laid down by the school of Freyberg, was an assumption perfectly gratuitous; nor could any progress be made in determining the order of superposition of strata, till the distinction and identification of them were made to depend on *all* their characters; and of these, the marks derived from their organic contents, are incomparably more important than those from their materials. But to this celebrated school we must not refuse the praise of having undertaken the stratigraphical examination of Europe in a spirit of zeal, of acuteness, and of combination, worthy of the philosophical character of the Germans, and of the vivid and comprehensive mind of the founder of the sect. And even yet we do not possess, for the classification of primary rocks, those namely which are not characterized by remains of organized beings, any better means or rules than have proceeded from the Wernerian investigators. Several of the divisions of the flötz formations as discriminated by Werner, have undoubtedly also been retained by the most enlightened modern geologists. But we conceive that this arrangement was undeniably constructed at first without any clear or proper appreciation of that organic evidence which alone can authorize its extensive application. It is on this account that we attribute to the Wernerians, as their really valuable distinction, the cultivation of mineralogical or primary geology.

We turn from them to notice *secondary* geology, a wide department of the science, which belongs in a very considerable measure to *England*. The conviction, suggested by an intimate acquaintance with an immense variety of details, that the strata of this country may be distinguished by the shells and other fossils which are found in them: that by this means even minute subdivisions of beds may be traced from one end of the kingdom to the other, and recognised unerringly under almost any mode of

occurrence :—this discovery, so important in itself and in its consequences, is due to Mr. Smith, who, as a mineral surveyor, had his attention early drawn to such views. We are informed by Mr. Lyell that Mr. Smith published his “*Tabular View of the British Strata*” in 1790, and there proposed a classification of the secondary formations of the West of England : but the map of England, in which he embodied the results of many patient and active years’ labour, did not appear till 1815 ; and in the mean time others had caught (some probably from him) the same spirit of investigation, and were verifying the same conceptions. The Geological Society of London, founded in 1807, was at the same time an evidence of the existence of these views, and a means of applying them to the analysis of every part of our soil and shore. It so happens, moreover, that our island exhibits, in a form singularly condensed, and yet distinct, most of the members of the secondary stratigraphical series of Europe ; and our coasts afford natural sections which eminently facilitate the examination of these phenomena. From these causes it has arisen, as we have already said, that England has hitherto been the head-quarters of secondary geology—the country where its cultivators are most active and successful, and where most of its leading and normal exemplifications are sought.

The glory of the *third* great branch of the subject, *tertiary* geology, belongs to *France*, and forms one of the brightest points in the luminous path of discovery which her men of science have trodden in our times. We cannot sufficiently admire the happy conjunction which at this period of geological investigation placed together the excavations of the Parisian district, so teeming with new and strange facts, and the vast talents and profound knowledge of Cuvier, so peculiarly adapted to create the new science which these phenomena required for their solution. It was in 1808, that Cuvier and Brogniart began to publish those views of the mineral geography of the neighbourhood of Paris, which soon became a subject of leading curiosity throughout Europe. Their investigations led them to the conviction that the rock on which Paris rests is composed of a succession of deposits, not extending across the country like the secondary strata, but limited within a certain circle or *basin*, and most remarkable for their contents. It appeared that these rocks contain some beds characterized by remains belonging entirely to land and fresh-water animals ; that above these were other beds in which the organic remains were exclusively marine ; that above these again were other beds containing bones and shells of fresh-water origin, but of kinds entirely different from those of the lower fresh-water formation. It appeared too, that those fresh-water formations contain bones of

various quadrupeds, of great size, differing in a curious manner from the animals which at present exist. Many of these remains were of course very imperfect and obscure; and in all cases, the structure and habits of the animal to which they belonged could be divined only by the most consummate knowledge of natural history and anatomy. These requisites Cuvier brought to the task of such unparalleled interest which thus devolved upon him; and he has so well executed it, that in reading his works and those to which his have given occasion, we seem to be wandering in a land of enchantment. His magical power has called from the slumber of ages the unwieldy and marvellous forms of antediluvian life; and we find around us an array of paleotheriums and anoplotheriums, of extinct crocodiles and pelicans, which appear in all the bodily reality that their present successors exhibit to us in Mr. Wombwell's menagerie.

These discoveries were of the most attractive interest, even if we were to confine ourselves to the zoological views which they present; and they speedily led to similar investigations of various spots in Europe, and to the discovery of other basins and deposits more or less resembling those of Paris.* But besides this charm, there was another train of inference, or at least of irresistible conjecture, to which they drew men's thoughts. There was contained in the succession of different races of animals, thus imbedded in the materials of our earth, the evidence of changes and revolutions which had taken place in a manner and order hitherto unguessed. Incursions and retreats of the sea, changes in the form and elevation of continents, dilocation and rupture of large portions of the crust of the earth;—such and many more were the operations of which the history was read in the facts thus disclosed: and this condition of violence and ruin was interwoven, as it appeared, with the existence of dry land supporting vegetables and quadrupeds, that were but one remove from those of our present world. The fascination of such speculations would have been all-powerful, if the phenomena had not been incalculably better adapted to suggest problems and perplexities, than to help us to their solution. As the matter was, geologists saw the futility of attempting at present to explain all these strange discoveries by hypothesis; and with an intellectual temperance and self-command, very different from the spirit of former times, went on with their labours, content to be certain and clear in limited proposi-

* Mr. Webster's examination of the Isle of Wight followed close upon the discoveries of Cuvier and Brogniart, and was singularly interesting in verifying there also, by means of the fossil shells, a double alternation of marine and fresh-water deposits. But it is only within the last few weeks, that there have been discovered in that island some of the paleotherian animals which occur in the strata of Paris.

tions, and leaving the true general view of the connexion of those appearances to unfold itself when the proper epoch should arrive.

Still it must be allowed, that the almost universal impression among geological speculators was, that the causes by which the earth had been urged from the state evidenced by one formation to that exhibited in another, were different from any agencies of which we have any experience. In the dislocation of provinces, in the elevation of hills from the bottom of the sea, in the comminution and dispersion of vast tracts of the hardest rock, in the obliteration and renewal of a whole creation, they seemed to themselves to see, without the possibility of mistake, the manifestation of powers more energetic and extensive than those which belong to the common course of every-day nature. They conceived that whatever might be the causes which had been at work in these former ages, their fury was now spent, their task performed, their occupation gone. They spoke of a break in the continuity of nature's operations; of the present state of things as permanent and tranquil, the past having been progressive and violent. They considered the existing condition of the earth as separated by a vast chasm from its previous convulsions. They could not imagine how theorists were to pass by any known road, from a creation in which scarcely one species of animal (if one) was identical with those which now live, to the world of our contemporary shell-fish and crocodiles; or how the strata of the Isle of Wight, thousands of feet thick, were, by any usual machinery, to be overturned and set on edge. And these difficulties do no doubt appear, even at this day, so formidable to most geognosts, that they will not acknowledge themselves bound to account for such alarming revolutions. Nor do we believe that Mr. Lyell, stout-hearted as he is, would have ventured upon this perilous expedition into the realms of chaos, if he had not found a half-way station in the fourth class of strata, the *penultimate* formations, of which we now proceed to speak.

These formations consist of strata more recent than the regular tertiaries to which we have referred, and yet announcing, by their fossils or their position, an antiquity greater than that belonging to the present condition of our globe. They thus seem to offer themselves as the results of the state of things which last preceded that under which we live and geologize, and indeed they are, in a greater or less degree, interwoven with the existing condition of things. It is curious that this *fourth* class of phenomena carries us to *Italian* rocks and *Italian* writers. In this way, our still youthful science seems to be completing the grand tour of Europe. The literary history and the natural history of this part of the

subject are equally curious; and these are, one and the other, admirably treated of by Mr. Lyell; who has, by singular good fortune, skill and industry, both collected a mass of new and important facts with regard to this fourth class of strata in Italy, and also brought into notice a number of very remarkable geological books and authors, hitherto little known and heard of, at least in this part of the world.

The principal facts and observations relating to this part of the subject, which Mr. Lyell's book contains, are found in his sixth chapter. He there employs himself in adducing circumstances which seem to him to prove, that the mean annual temperature of the region of the Mediterranean, must formerly have resembled that now experienced within the tropics; and however his facts be accounted for, the connecting link which they form between the present and some different state of that part of the globe, is well worthy of notice. And if we conceive the reader to be so much of a geologist as to be familiar with the notion of strata containing remains entirely different from the present species of organized beings, and to be in the habit of ascribing these deposits to a period altogether disconnected from that in which man is placed, we conceive that he will find a very startling interest in many of Mr. Lyell's observations. Thus it appears, (p. 94,) that in Sicily, Ischia and Calabria, the fossil testacea of the more recent strata belong almost entirely to species now known to inhabit the Mediterranean; and yet with a remarkable difference: for "the conchologist remarks that individuals in the inland deposits exceed in their average size their living analogues." Again, "as we proceed northwards in the Italian peninsula, we find the assemblage of fossil shells, in modern (Subappennine) strata, to depart somewhat more widely from the type of the neighbouring seas." And these shells are far above the present level of the waters:

"I collected," Mr. Lyell says, "several hundred species of shells in Sicily, some from an elevation of several thousand feet, and forty species in Ischia, partly from an elevation of above one thousand feet, and these were carefully compared with recent shells, procured by Professor O. G. Costa, from the Neapolitan seas. Not only were the fossil species identical with those now living, but the relative abundance in which different species occur in the strata, and in the sea, corresponds in a remarkable manner. Yet the larger average size of the fossil individuals of many species was very striking. A comparison of the fossil shells of the more modern strata of Calabria and Otranto, in the collection of Professor Costa, afforded similar results."

One of the most curious circumstances in these fossil remains, is, that in deviating from those which now occur in the same cli-

mates, they approach to the inhabitants of tropical seas, and thus seem to testify the former prevalence of a warmer climate.

“Many of them are common to the Subappennine hills, to the Mediterranean, and to the Indian Ocean. These, in the fossil state, and their living analogues from the tropics, correspond in size; whereas the individuals of the same species from the Mediterranean, are dwarfish and degenerate, and stunted in their growth, for want of conditions which the Indian ocean still supplies.”

Without adducing more of the very large assemblage of facts, on which Mr. Lyell founds his reasonings, we conceive that the above specimens will enable us to make intelligible the course of his speculations. These most modern of the ancient formations, these nearest approaches of fossil to living forms of animals, are found—where?—In the region where the volcano and the earthquake are still in energetic action; where the causes which most alter the face of the earth are now employed in their task. We may conceive, at least Mr. Lyell finds no difficulty in conceiving, that the continued agency of subterraneous forces, such as we know to exist, might in the course of ages raise a portion of the Sicilian or Ischian coast to the elevation at which he found the spoils of the sea. We find, in the districts which are thus agitated, vast and extensive changes, which in their results resemble the phenomena disclosed by geological inquiry. The celebrated temple of Jupiter Serapis, near Puzzuoli, with the coast on which it stands, has, since the time of Marcus Aurelius, been—first depressed so that the sea flowed into its courts, and its pillars were perforated by lithodomi to the height of 12 feet above their base;—then again elevated 24 feet above the level of the sea into the position in which it has been so long the wonder and the puzzle of travellers. At least Mr. Lyell conceives that he has demonstrated this succession of events; and it cannot be denied that he has maintained it by evidence singularly interesting and persuasive. Again, in the year 1822, the province of Chili was shaken by an earthquake, through a space of one thousand two hundred miles; and a line of coast above one hundred miles long, was raised permanently above its former level. Our limits will not allow us to add any of the very interesting list of narratives of similar phenomena which Mr. Lyell has collected, (chap. 24,) in order to show that the tendency of earthquakes and volcanos is to produce phenomena similar to those on which the geologist has to theorize.

Enough has been said, however, to point out the manner in which Mr. Lyell's theoretical opinions were suggested. By the above facts, the near similarity of fossil and recent shells, and the existence, in the same region, of causes capable of changing sea

to land, we are brought in contact, as it were, with the period in which these creatures, now embedded in the mountains, were living in the depths of the sea. The discontinuity which separated us from former creations is partly removed; and we are led by an intelligible road into those remote periods and states which at first appeared involved in darkness and disorder.

From this point the train of suggestion of Mr. Lyell's views is obvious and natural. If we can thus conceive the nature of the transition from what we may call the *penultimate*, to the ultimate or present state of the earth, why, Mr. Lyell may say, should we suppose that the passage from the tertiary to the penultimate period is not likewise a part of the same chain of events? Do the phenomena of that transition differ, but by their magnitude, from those which we have already reduced to the ordinary operations of nature? By supposing volcanic agencies to agitate and alter one part of the world for a long period, then to change the seat of their activity, to sink into repose where they had raged, and to begin a similar long reign of violence in a distant region; by such suppositions, even without attributing to these forces any unheard-of or paroxysmal fury, we may conceive, Mr. Lyell thinks, the tertiary marine deposits to have been brought from the depths of the ocean, and all the other revolutions to have taken place of which we find the traces in the tertiary period.

But, following this line of reasoning, where shall we stop? The relations of succession and position among the secondary rocks are, no doubt, on an incomparably more extensive geographical plan than any thing which belongs to known volcanic action, but the character and mode of causation appear to be the same as in the other cases. Time alone is the necessary condition for obtaining the changes on this large scale. Let us not, therefore, cries our author, shrink from the mere accumulation of ages; let us follow this continuity of connexion as far as it will lead us; and we need not despair of combining into one unbroken view, all the multiplied and marvellous series of geological facts. Such is the mode in which Mr. Lyell has attempted to lead us through the realms of Night and Chaos: to construct

“ A broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulf
Tamely endures a bridge of wond'rous length,
From hell continued, reaching the utmost orb
Of this frail world.”

That this is a bold piece of engineering is obvious: and we will now proceed to explain very briefly the responsibilities which Mr. Lyell has incurred by undertaking it, and to describe the mode in which he acquits himself of them.

By thus asserting the former states of the earth and sea, which geological inquiry presents to us, to be parts of one continuous progression, carried on by the same causes which act at the present day, the author puts himself under an obligation to show:—

1st. That the known causes, (aqueous and igneous forces,) may, under the conditions supposed, produce *mechanical* effects resembling in kind and magnitude those for which he has to account.

2d. That the differences of the *temperature*, which seems to have existed in the former and the present state of the world, are explicable by the same train of agencies.

3d. That the changes from one set of animal and vegetable species to another, are also explicable or conceivable on the assumption of the same conditions.

These are, no doubt, most formidable theses for any one to defend. Mr. Lyell advances to the task with a most undaunted courage; but it will hardly be expected that we should have to say with undeniable success. On the first point he labours most assiduously; and, whatever we may judge of the truth of his general proposition, has certainly compiled for us a very valuable treatise on the operation of the causes in question. On the second head he has given us an ingenious but somewhat venturous theory. The third point he has at present left untouched. It is clear, however, that to give even a theoretical consistency to his system, it will be requisite that Mr. Lyell should supply us with some mode by which we may pass from a world filled with one kind of animal forms, to another, in which they are equally abundant, without perhaps one species in common. He must find some means of conducting us from the plesiosaurs and pterodactyls of the age of the lias, to the creatures which mark the oolites or the iron-sand. He must show us how we may proceed from these, to the forms of those later times which geologists love to call by the sounding names of the paleotherian and mastodontean periods. To frame even a hypothesis which will, with any plausibility, supply this defect in his speculations, is a harder task than that which Mr. Lyell has now executed. We conceive it undeniable, (and Mr. Lyell would probably agree with us,) that we see, in the transition from an earth peopled by one set of animals, to the same earth swarming with entirely new forms of organic life, a distinct manifestation of creative power, transcending the operation of known laws of nature: and, it appears to us, that geology has thus lighted a new lamp along the path of natural theology.

We judge, therefore, that even granting our author to have succeeded in the removal of these difficulties to which he has fairly set his shoulder, the time is still far distant when we can be called on, as philosophers, to accept his system as proved. But

it would not be doing Mr. Lyell justice to omit to notice, more particularly, the very able manner in which he has treated that part of the subject which occupies the principal portion of his work, viz. the examination of the actual operation of the causes of change which affect the earth's surface. In general, this curious province of knowledge has been very imperfectly attended to: and though questions have often been argued, requiring an estimation of the power of existing causes, these causes have never been subjected to a sufficiently complete and comprehensive discussion. Writers have been satisfied with guessing at the results of such agencies, upon the suggestion of casual and common observation; instead of endeavouring to ascertain, by a general and careful collection of authentic facts, the mode of action and the amount of the work done. This appendage of geology, seems, however, now to be ready to receive an orderly and systematic character, which will elevate it to the rank of a separate science: a science which has for its object to classify and analyse the changes which are perpetually occurring in the inorganic portion of nature: and which we might call **GEOLOGICAL DYNAMICS**, since it treats of the forces which are acting to modify the face of the earth. We have an excellent beginning of such a science in the work of M. von Hoff, of Gotha, the "*History of the Natural Alterations on the Earth's Surface, which are proved by Tradition*;" a dissertation occasioned by the subject being proposed as a prize question in 1818 by the Royal Society of Göttingen. This very learned and able author, (whose two volumes appeared in 1822 and 1824 respectively,) has collected from ancient and modern writers a very large body of curious information: and Mr. Lyell, taking advantage of what is thus done by his predecessor, and combining with it the stores of his own extensive knowledge and philosophical spirit, has produced a very interesting and valuable treatise on this subject.

Mr. Lyell's *Geological Dynamics* commences in his 10th chapter, with a division of the agents of change into two principal classes, the aqueous and the igneous. To the former belong rivers, torrents, springs, currents, and tides: to the latter, volcanos and earthquakes. We cannot, for want of room, give any adequate specimen of this part of the work. The reader may, however, easily imagine that there must be much to entertain as well as to instruct him in authentic and detailed descriptions of the great and violent operations and catastrophes which take place in the material world, and in the discussions which an analysis of these occurrences requires.

The following are some of the topics to which the subject conducts us:—The destroying and transporting power of running

water; the sinuosities and confluences of rivers; the effects of torrents and inundations, such as those which ravaged Scotland in 1829, and have been so admirably described by Sir T. Lauder Dick; the excavations through beds of lava, by which rivers often retaliate, when their course has been interrupted by a volcanic eruption; the effects of cataracts, such as that of Niagara, in grinding away the lip over which they flow; and a calculation founded upon these, of the time when that great waterfall will carry its notch into the brim of the basin which contains lake Erie. Again, we have histories of the Italian rivers, with their long-recorded changes: of the perpetual alterations of the Mississippi, even in the short period during which it has been familiarly known: of the accumulation of drift-wood at its mouth, according to Mr. Lyell, the materials of some future coal field: of land-slips and floods: of the bursting of lakes, like that in the valley of Bagnes in 1818: of the flooding of waterfalls, such as that of the "headlong Anio" in 1826. Besides these destructive effects, we have the waters exerting a reproductive power; forming deltas of rivers as large as provinces, filling up estuaries and lakes, altering the places of harbours and the line of coast. Such phenomena occur where rivers empty themselves into lakes or inland seas, as the lake of Geneva, the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and finally the Baltic, the permanence of whose level has so long been a subject of controversy among the Scandinavian writers. But when rivers flow into the oceanic expanse, agitated by perpetual tides, the existence of a positive delta, or of an estuary, which may be considered as a *negative delta*, depends upon the balance of the powers of the fresh and the salt waters.

Mr. Lyell considers also the warfare which the sea is perpetually waging against the borders of the dry land. He traces this struggle more especially upon our own shores, beginning from the primitive cliffs of Shetland, which are perpetually shattered by the fury of the northern ocean; proceeding along the east coast of Scotland, where the occurrences which took place during the erection of the Bell-Rock light-house, afforded exemplifications of the great power of the waves; thence going on to the northern Yorkshire coast, where the lias and oolite yield to the elements, till we come to the projecting chalk promontory of Flamborough head, which is continually washed into caves and columns, and so crumbles away. The clay and gravel, which succeed on the coast to the southward, are wasted still more rapidly, and the sites of towns and villages of former times are now occupied by the German ocean. The maritime part of Lincolnshire is principally protected by embankments, having been first a wooded country, then inundated, and afterwards recovered from the sea. When we come to the cliffs of Norfolk and Suf-

folk, we find the decay in general incessant and rapid. The coast is, however, in some places, defended by sand hills, bound together by the roots of the *arundo arenaria*. Under this protection, the land may even gain upon the water, as has been the case at Yarmouth; but Mr. Lyell conceives this repulsion of the enemy to be temporary only. "When the sea at length returns, (for, as the whole coast gives way, this must inevitably happen sooner or later,) these tracts will again be submerged, and submarine forests may thus be found, as along the margin of many estuaries." Harwich, in Essex, which stands on an isthmus, will probably, Mr. L. thinks, become an island in little more than half a century. The isle of Sheppey, in the mouth of the Thames, at the present rate of destruction, will likewise be annihilated in fifty years. Of the church yard of Reculver, farther to the east, half has been washed away recently, the church having been nearly a mile from the shore in the time of Henry VIII. The average waste of the coast of the Isle of Thanet is from two to three feet a year. The Goodwin Sands, which an obscure tradition points out as the place of the estates of Earl Goodwin, may be, Mr. Lyell conceives, the vestige of an island washed away about the time of the great flood mentioned in the Saxon Chronicles, *sub anno* 1099. At Dover, the chalk of Shakspeare's cliff continually diminishes. The ocean which separates our island from the continent is shallowest at the straits, having there only eighteen fathoms water; and from this point deepens in both directions. Mr. L. attributes a high probability to the opinion that England was formerly united to France, till the ocean effected the breach which now separates them. At Folkestone the sea eats away the coast; but the level tract of Romney Marsh and the adjacent parts, have received great accessions. These additions are opposite the points in the English channel, where the tides meet from the east and the west. At Beachy Head, slips of masses of the chalk are frequent. The whole coast of Sussex has been incessantly incroached on by the waves from time immemorial. Mr. Lyell asserts, that the town of Brighton was, in the reign of Elizabeth, situated where the chain pier now extends into the sea. We conceive him to be right in maintaining that the town then stood below the cliff; but we believe its position was to the west of that which he assigns, and was under what is called the East Cliff. To protect this line of coast by artificial means is the object of perpetual labours, which, however, have had but a partial success. The Isle of Wight owes its present outline to the continued action of the waters, the promontories at its two extremities being the ends of its back-bone of chalk. We need not follow Mr. Lyell in this description, by Hordwell, Christchurch, Purbeck and

Portland, to Lyme Regis. Beyond this part, the cliffs of Devonshire and Cornwall, being composed of hard rocks, decay less rapidly: but even these coasts undergo their changes; and the long reefs which there extend from various headlands into the sea, may be conceived to be the ruins of the more projecting promontories of former ages.

The same destructive agency of the tides and currents of the ocean may be exemplified on our western coast, and on the coast of France; still more in the history of the Dutch coast, on which the estuary of the *Bien Bosch* was formed in the fifteenth, and that of *Zuyder Zee* in the thirteenth century; and more or less in almost every part of the world. But it ought not to be overlooked that the greater part of Mr. Lyell's instances are taken from shores of alluvial or similar incoherent materials; and that his inference, that the destroying causes predominate much over those of restitution, will probably require great limitations when the whole extent and operation of both classes are fully considered.

We must, however, abstain from going further in the detail of the subjects which belong to this branch of the science, and hasten to mention Mr. Lyell's labours on the other department of it, that connected with igneous causes. On this subject much information has been brought together by recent writers: and Mr. Lyell has here, as in other cases, collected, combined and systematized in a very instructive manner. He considers the situation and boundaries of the different volcanic tracts; for instance, that of the Andes—the system of volcanos extending from the Aleutian isles to the Moluccas—that of the Polynesian Archipelago—and finally, that which extends from the Caspian to the Azores. But he more particularly examines the volcanic phenomena which have taken place in the district bordering the Mediterranean. He endeavours to show that *Ischia* and *Vesuvius* have alternated in their activity. His history of the eruptions of *Campania*, of *Sicily*, of *Iceland*, of those of the mountain of *Jorullo*, of the peak of *Teneriffe*, of *Lancerote*, of *Santorin*, give us a very lively picture of the circumstances of such operations, and certainly offer a very imposing view of the magnitude of the changes which, independently of all theory, have taken place on such occasions. In the same spirit is given the history of earthquakes, which Mr. Lyell presents in an inverted chronological order, beginning with that of *Murcia*, in 1829. On arriving at that of *Calabria*, in 1783, he devotes to it a whole chapter (ch. 24), the authorities on the subject being, indeed, unusually copious and authentic; and after carrying us back to the great earthquake of *Jamaica*, in 1692, he discontinues his retrospect. We are

obliged to omit all mention of other causes of increase or diminution in the solid parts of the earth, such as calcareous and mineral springs, atmospheric action, &c., of which Mr. Lyell has spoken; and the modification of the earth's surface by the effect of vegetation, a most important process, which he has, very unaccountably, left out of consideration altogether.

That the Elements of Geological Dynamics, thus compiled by Mr. Lyell, are eminently valuable, there can be no doubt; but we are far from being able to follow and agree with him in his application of the principles thus obtained to the purposes of speculative geology. The proposition which he endeavours to establish by the aid of these views, is, as we have already said, that all the phenomena of the earth's strata may be considered as produced by a continuous series of events, of which the changes now occurring are fair examples; and this doctrine, we confess, we cannot believe to be sufficiently made out. Common readers will probably not be disposed to consider as requiring any refutation, a theory which asserts that the elevation of the Andes from the bed of the Pacific is a phenomenon "of the same kind" as those which happen in our times. But, to do Mr. Lyell justice, it is to be taken into account, that having, as he thinks, eternity for his working-time, and volcanos and earthquakes for his tools, he naturally trusts much to the result of continued labour. He deems it an extravagance to raise a mountain 10,000 feet at once, when he can gain the same object by raising it a yard at a time, only taking care to begin his work a few millions of years earlier. He treats with disdain the notion, "that nature had been, at any former epoch, parsimonious of time and prodigal of violence." To let off all his volcanos at once, would appear to him as contrary to the economy of nature, as to blow up his powder magazine would be to that of a good general. He brings out, on the contrary, a well-disciplined park of subterraneous artillery. "*Let a series of two hundred earthquakes strike the shoal, each raising the ground ten feet*"—such is the word of command—"the result," he adds, "will be a mountain two thousand feet high." Inasmuch, however, as all this is very consistent with his general theory, we do not here quarrel with such a mode of proceeding; but we conceive that even allowing his machinery, the effect upon the materials of the earth would not be that which we find to have taken place. It cannot be expected that we should be able to discuss, in the one or two pages which remain to us, a question which must necessarily involve the whole body of geological facts and principles; but we will not quit the subject without a reflexion or two upon this part of it.

We beg to suggest then, that the changes belonging to the past

stages of the earth's existence, as disclosed by geological inquiry, and those which are now taking place upon its surface, cannot be considered as forming a continuous and homogeneous series; with whatever latitude of meaning this continuity be understood, and whatever license of duration be allowed for its developement; and this, we conceive, is shown, in the first place, *by the extent and form of the elevations of the ancient strata.* Can we, among all the known earthquakes of all ages, select and combine, so as to obtain any part, however minute, of a series of operations like that which has elevated a brim of chalk round the great basin of the German ocean and Northern Germany; or which has thrown up a still wider entrenchment of oolite, reaching through the heart of England, France and Switzerland? That these results are the work of a series of elevations and depressions, which we might, if we chose, call earthquakes, we may, for argument's sake, grant; but is there any resemblance between the wide connexion and co-operation of such supposed dislocations, and anything which we know or can conceive of common earthquakes? Have the convulsions which belong to modern periods had any tendency, however remote, to reproduce such configurations of strata? We can see no ground whatever for such an assertion. Any elevations which can possibly have taken place within historical times have been of very limited extent, local, unconnected, indiscriminately distributed, and accompanied by an angular dislocation scarcely perceptible. The strata we have mentioned possess an elevation continuous for thousands of miles, a great height, and a considerable inclination, often tolerably uniform for a large portion of their extent. Under such circumstances, all the ages of eternity would not enable us to coax what we *know* of modern changes into a semblance with the conditions of the past. And if, while we are unable to discover such a law among the mutations now in progress, as would assimilate their effects to those for which we have to account, we still choose to assume that such a law does exist; what is this but to introduce into our system a perfectly arbitrary condition, which deprives it of all claim to be looked upon as a legitimate and inductive connection of the two sets of appearances?

But again: it appears to us that Mr. Lyell's theory is inconsistent with what we know of *the relations of successive strata to each other.* The result of such a series of operations as he supposes, in which each set of strata is formed from the detritus of the preceding set, must be, we should suppose, a succession of formations composed of the same, or nearly the same, materials; instead of the alternation of clays, limestones, sandstones and conglomerates which we really find. But it is still more obvious,

that since we are to suppose all changes to be gradual, and their elements small, no stratum could differ much *in position* from the preceding one. No one knows better than Mr. Lyell how far this is from being the case. How can he endeavour to persuade us that the convulsion which dashed in pieces the carboniferous strata of England—breaking up, over thousands of square miles, beds of solid rock above a thousand feet thick—bending, crushing and overturning them, often into a vertical position, generally into one highly inclined—and dislocating for miles fragments as large as cities;—how can he set about persuading us that this was a catastrophe produced by “causes such as are now in action.” Was it gradual and progressive? Then what was the connecting principle of the successive fits of energy which can be said to resemble existing agencies? and where are the formations which were produced in the intervals of repose? And again, when we find, covering the shattered edges and displaced fragments of this vast ruin, an enormous mass of strata, formed entirely from the broken and water-worn rubbish of the pre-existing rocks; lying in nearly horizontal beds, and destitute of all vestige of animal life—how can this be understood to speak to us of a period of tranquillity and vitality, such as intervene between the feeble destructive crises of the modern world? We might adduce hundreds of examples equally forcible, and we confess we cannot even conjecture what answer Mr. Lyell would make to such inquiries.

But, moreover, we do not conceive that Mr. Lyell has succeeded in showing that *the existing forms and relations of river-vallies* would be produced by such causes as he supposes to be the only active ones. This is, no doubt, a very difficult subject; but it is to us inconceivable how the wide shallow vallies of the lower parts of the great rivers of England, for instance, could be produced by any alternation of shaking and washing, such as his co-operation of earthquakes with the present drainage would give. There is also another difficulty. Any partial elevation of a country, such as is a main element in Mr. Lyell's process for shaping the land, would disturb the whole equilibrium of the running waters, alter the courses and connexions of streams, and completely revolutionize the river-system of the country. We ought, therefore, to find the traces of a former state of the water-courses in any country, which, like England, must be supposed to have undergone many and great changes. We ought to discover the ramifying trunks of extinct rivers cutting through the hills, and floored with river silt. No one will maintain that England presents us with such a set of appearances; but we have, on the contrary, everywhere the traces of an event entirely different from

a diversion of the existing drainage, and from any occurrence belonging to existing causes:—of some vast inundation, how long continued, or how often repeated, geology is probably unable to inform us, which has brought the fragments of the rocks on one side the kingdom to strew them on the other; which has piled hundreds of feet of gravel upon our plains and lower hills; and which was immediately succeeded by the system of rivers, whose vallies now cut through these diluvial masses as well as through the subjacent strata. Surely we cannot call these events, about the certainty of which, we believe, all our geologists are agreed, part of the present course of the world, or links of a continuous chain, without using our phraseology with a laxity which deprives it of all substantial value, and all philosophical character.

There is one other observation which must conclude our arguments on this subject. In his earnestness to assert “the uniformity of nature on a great scale,” Mr. Lyell seems to thirst for an antiquity of this earth even greater than that which is indicated by geological phenomena themselves. When he maintains, after Hutton, that we see in geology, as in astronomy, “no mark, either of the commencement or of the termination of the present order;” when he implies, that the strata seem to tell us the story of a perpetual recurrence of cycles of change of the same kind; he appears to forget that the geological series, long and mysterious as it is, has still a beginning. Is there the shadow of a reason for asserting that the lowest stratified rocks, from the crystalline mica schist to the grauwacke slates, were the result of a series of operations and of a condition of things like those which gave rise to their successors? Were these masses produced from previous continents and seas, stocked with their respective inhabitants? If so, what is become of the remnants of these continents, and why do we not see them still supporting these schistose beds thus formed from them? And where are the remains of the shell fish and plants which, according to the analogy thus asserted, lived at that distant period? In this case, the phenomena are different from those of the succeeding epochs; by what rules of philosophising, then, can we assert the causes and conditions to be similar? Here we have, however remote, a limit, an origin, a starting place. Or, if Mr. Lyell chooses to have the granite older than these slates, the argument is transferable to that rock with still greater cogency. Is it not then most gratuitous to maintain that the Author of Nature “has not permitted in his works any symptom of infancy or of old age?” If men may go wrong, as Mr. Lyell asserts of former theorists, through a disposition “to assume that the economy of nature was formerly governed by rules quite different from those now

established," is it not possible also to err by holding that the economy of nature must have been the same at every period of the earth's existence, however strongly all appearances may proclaim a difference?

It appears to us, then, that even taking into account the mechanical changes alone, of which the earth's surface tells the tale, we cannot reconcile them with the uniform course of nature which Mr. Lyell inculcates. And it seems to be in vain that he has endeavoured to embody in material realities the arbitrary and fanciful visions of recurring cycles of mundane events: to call them forth from the versified traditions of Ovid, or the conjectural generalisations of Aristotle, into the domain of inductive reasoning. Of such uniformity, of such recurrence, a sounder and more cautious philosophy can discover no vestige. There is no resemblance, no analogy, between the astronomical series of occurrences,—a few points moving under the influence of two or three unerring laws,—and the wilderness of geological facts, which, however few and simple their laws may be in the mind of their great Director, present themselves to us, as an endless variety of conflicting agencies whose strength we cannot weigh, of progressions whose law and extent we cannot estimate, of effects with doubtful causes, and facts with unknown connexions. What do we know of the igneous powers, which entitles us to assert that they may not, as a natural consequence of their long continued action, become less energetic, and more nearly balanced by the resistance which they have to overcome? And if this be possible, as who shall deny it to be, where is the wisdom of ascribing to the doubtful and interrupted struggle of dimly-seen antagonists the axiomatic fixity which belongs to the laws of motion? If, to assume *à priori* any *given* succession of paroxysms and crises would be inexcusable and absurd, how is it less so to assume a law equally arbitrary, the negation of all such variations in the intensity of the unknown forces? This we might say, even if the supposition of uniformity would, equally well with that of paroxysmal actions, explain the appearances: but if, when we compare the former assumption with facts, we find that it represents them as ill as any other arbitrary assumption could do, it must then seem very strange that the praise of philosophical impartiality and logical connexion should be peculiarly claimed for this hypothesis: and that those to whom the plain examination of the facts has suggested the belief of an action far different from any which the present system of things exemplifies, should be schooled, as incapable of throwing away their rooted prejudices, and of duly appreciating the effects of revolving ages.

This, we say, is the view which is forced upon us when we

consider the mechanical changes only; but when, in addition to this, we take into account that each successive state of the earth has been stocked with a different race of animals, fitted by their organization for the then existing conditions of the elements; and not capable of being brought into existence, even according to any conjecture of which we have heard, otherwise than by the fiat of the Creating and Designing mind; we then feel fully persuaded that it is our business not to allow ourselves, nor, if we can help it, our readers, to believe that Mr. Lyell has given to his theory any permanent or substantial plausibility. His multifarious and well-digested facts, his excellent descriptions and comparisons, his philosophical estimate of past theories and controversies, and the many portions of valuable speculative truth, which, with reference to doctrines of narrower compass, he has promulgated and illustrated, must long give to his book an eminent place in our scientific literature. But his theory must speedily fall back into the abyss of past fantasies and guesses from which he has evoked it in vain: leaving us the conviction, that many less sweeping propositions and intermediate generalizations must be firmly established on innumerable observations, before we can hope to ascend to one general theorem, including, as the subject of its enunciation, all terrene changes throughout endless ages.

There are many parts of Mr. Lyell's book possessing great interest which we have not yet touched upon, but which our present limits make it necessary to pass over. His theory of the causes which have changed the temperature of the earth is, as we have said, devised with great ingenuity; but also with great boldness. Indeed, it appears to us, that it would be very premature to construct theories on this subject till we are much more widely acquainted than we yet are, with the facts to be accounted for. It is only on a few spots, and by the most recent researches, such as those of Mr. Lyell himself on the Mediterranean coasts, that we possess the evidence given by fossils, of the state immediately preceding the existing order of things. When the *penultimate* strata have been carefully examined and compared over the greater part of the globe, and the indications of former temperature extracted from these; we shall then see what is the problem, connected with this subject, which the theoretical geologist has to solve. Till we approach this condition, his happiest conjectures can never assume the character of philosophy. In the same manner we would say, that with regard to the advances of the sea upon the land, and other processes belonging to Geological Dynamics, they are to be studied all over the globe; and we are not to take one or two districts, one or two periods, as sufficient specimens of the character of these operations. We conceive that a history

of the earth and inorganic nature, to be constructed in this spirit, must for the future be kept in view as a prominent and permanent object by natural philosophers. This is the point where Geology, which extends itself into the domains of so many sciences, comes in contact with the important and now so popular study of Geography. And much may speedily be performed in this department of knowledge. That thousands of facts of former times, which would now have been most highly instructive and interesting to us, have passed away into hopeless oblivion, we may gather, from the labour and difficulty with which a few portions of evidence on such subjects have been extracted from the records of the history of man. In like manner, thousands of processes which it will greatly concern future geological reasoners to know, are taking place on every side of us, and will have occurred in vain, if we fail to register and transmit them to our successors. The features of external nature, which to a careless glance seem so fixed and rigid, are, to a more exact observer, in perpetual play and mobility. Even in the most tranquil times, rocks and mountains crumble away, rivers forget their courses, and the line of coast fluctuates, more slowly indeed, but not less truly, than the waves which beat upon it; but occasions often arise when the power of change announces itself in a manner not to be mistaken;—in the inundation, the earthquake, the bursting lake, and the lava torrent. These are not events to be looked upon with an idle and transient wonder, or noticed only for their sound and fury; but to be carefully noted, with especial attention to the lasting alterations which they produce; and the records of them treasured with a duteous care, as important contributions to the geography and history of our common mother.

We conceive that Mr. Lyell's book, among its many claims to praise, will have that of having been the first to systematize and bring before the English public the elements of a branch of knowledge thus destined to become of first-rate consequence and attractiveness. And we here take our leave of our author, begging to assure those of our readers who may know the work from our report only, that they will find in it many sources of interest, many trains of research and stores of information, to which we have not been able even to allude. The subjects that Mr. Lyell has introduced, in themselves very curious, he has treated in a very striking manner, with the dignity of a philosopher, and very often with no common charm of style and composition. If we have examined his theories with freedom, we believe we may venture to say, that this is a liberty for which geologists require no apology. And we are happy also to believe that the time is now come when no other intelligent persons look with suspicion on this class of

speculations; when the condition and history of the earth, so far as they are independent of the condition and history of man, are left where they ought to be, in the hands of the natural philosopher; and when geology is looked upon as tranquilly by the pious and religious, as zoology or astronomy.

ART. IX.—*A Charge delivered to the Clergy of his Diocese, by Charles James, Bishop of London, at his Primary Visitation in July, 1830.* London: Fellowes; Rivingtons; and Hatchard. 4to. pp. 38.

AMIDST the abundance and variety of matter which crowd upon our attention from the press in this teeming age of literature, it is always grateful and refreshing to come in contact with the compositions of this prelate. Whatever be the subject or the occasion, we are sure to find in them what is plain, practical, and applicable; they come fresh and free from the conceptions of his own mind; they are unclouded with pedantry and affectation of any kind; and they are without art, unless, indeed, it be employed in concealing it. To these merits, which, in an age of business and bustle like this, must be considered as of great importance, we need scarcely add, that his words are words of weight and of authority. However different may be their acceptance with the different persons to whom they are addressed, there can be but one opinion respecting their title to be heard. They are recommended by high station and high talents; they deal in matters of the deepest interest and of the greatest moment; and they bespeak themselves to be the productions of an active and powerful mind, intent upon his own duties, and therefore the less scrupulous in exacting those of others—firm and decided in his opinions, but watchful of the signs of the times, and skilful in applying the light and knowledge he derives from them to the high purposes of his ministry. Of such a character, more or less modified by circumstances, will be found most of the works which have proceeded from the bishop in his episcopal office; and though neither the subjects nor the relations to which they are limited can admit of much that is new or striking, it is difficult, we think, for a candid and intelligent reader to rise up from the perusal of any of them without feeling that he knows something which he did not know before, or that he knows it better, or that he is more impressed with its importance, and desirous to consider it more fully. That his admonitions, for such for the most part they are, should not always have given satisfaction, can be no matter of surprise to us, even if they had been less homely and less compromising than they are. It is of the very essence of such labours to give

offence. Δυσκολον επισκοπειν, said one who had great and painful experience in this matter in ancient times, and the observation is not less applicable to those who will do their duty now. The lets and hinderances of Christianity may have changed their forms and their denominations, but they flow from the same embittered source and cannot change their nature and their tendency; and he who in this generation will stand boldly forward to execute thoroughly and conscientiously the office of a bishop—to feed the flock of Christ—to speak and to exhort and to rebuke with all authority, and, as circumstances may require, to bring forth from his treasures things new and old, and this alike to laity and clergy—must lay to his account to encounter much opposition, some resentment, and some obloquy. He will inevitably cross upon the feelings of some and the prejudices and habits of others; he will disturb the repose of the indolent and the vapid—poison the pleasure of the sensualist—alarm the fears of the timid—and what is hard to think of, he will sometimes create dislike, even when he effects conviction, and finally, perhaps, improvement; for such is the deplorable weakness of our nature, that however convinced we may be by the best testimony, that of our own conscience, of the justness of those reproofs which are applicable to ourselves, it requires some time and grace to sanctify the correction to us, and to reconcile us to the hand which inflicted it. A state of moral transition is always a state of uneasiness and irritation and shame, and so long as these last, the pain of them is rarely visited upon the right person. Let him, however, proceed steadily in his firm and upright course, assured that his views are not less in harmony with the wants and the spirit of the times than they are conformable to the duties of his ministry; but while he thus continues to speak and to act as *one having authority*, let him also continue to cultivate more and more that gospel grace which gives the greatest lustre and value to authority,—we mean the grace of lowliness and meekness,—that grace not only precious amongst the Christian virtues, but the very soul of every other; let him show, that, in the Christian school at least, decision of character is compatible with kindness and even tenderness, and that before honour is humility. Thus, whatever feelings he may excite, he may be assured that no man can despise him. Thus will he have a good report of those that are without; and thus, at all events, he will fulfil the duties of a faithful watchman of the Church at a period of great peril and anxiety, when firmness, and openness, and vigour, always exercised with charity, are as necessary in the higher orders of the ministry, as industry, faithfulness, and piety, in those which are below.

But it is time that we should pass on to the Charge, which,

though important in many respects, derives a peculiar interest and character from the circumstances under which it was delivered. It was not only the Bishop's first Visitation of this most influential diocese, but also his first public reunion, under a new relation, with a body of clergy, to whose merits and character he was no stranger, and through whose ranks he had risen, step by step, to his present honours; and further, he addressed them from a place where the memory of his predecessor's kindness was still fresh and fragrant to the minds of all, and particularly to his own. Under these circumstances, we cannot wonder that he should give a greater loose to his kindly feelings than had been shown on any like occasion before, and that an air of fellowship, and confidence, and brotherhood should breathe throughout the whole, which must have rendered his Charge not less affecting than it was instructive to those who heard it.

Notwithstanding this influence, however, there is nothing remitted of that watchfulness and care by which his lordship has ever been distinguished; and though upon points of expediency and propriety he refers himself to the judgment of his clergy, as persons of education and independent minds, "though he professes himself conscious of his own infirmities, accessible to reason, and even thankful for advice, yet, in requiring attention to the duties prescribed by the Church, where he is not only empowered but solemnly charged to exercise authority," he is still as plain spoken and uncompromising as ever, and higher, perhaps, in the tone of his expectations, on account of the circumstances of the times, and the character of the persons by whom he was surrounded. After an impressive statement of the difficulties of his office, and a pious acknowledgment of his own insufficiency, and of his reliance upon the Divine aid, for the attainment of which he requests the prayers of his brethren, he proceeds to a rapid sketch of the signs of the times, which, to those who observe the movements of God's Providence, indicate, as he says, the approach, if not the arrival, of a period pregnant with important consequences to the cause of religion. This we shall give in his own words.

"With respect to ourselves, the repeal of those laws, which were long considered to be indispensable to the safety of the Established Church, if it be no just cause of alarm, at least places us in a new position, compels us, for the future, to depend more entirely upon our internal resources, and will be a test of their sufficiency. Let us not, however, suppose, that the concessions which have been made to the Roman Catholics will diminish the activity, or weaken the influence, of those who are continually on the watch for opportunities of enlarging the boundaries of their Church, and who seek to infuse into the minds of the people a doubt as to the validity of our ministerial commission.

“ In the great body of Protestant Dissenters, who hold in common with ourselves the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, I perceive no symptoms of increased hostility to the Established Church. On the contrary, indications, I think, may be discerned of a mitigated dislike, a more candid interpretation of our ministerial labours, and a readier disposition to co-operate with us in the promotion of those objects which do not immediately involve the question of our religious differences. But there are other quarters in which the horizon wears a more threatening aspect.

“ The spirit of infidelity,—which at the close of the last century unhinged the frame of society, and overturned the altars of God in a neighbouring kingdom, but was repressed, and shamed, and put to silence by the Christian energies of this country, is again rearing its head; and the truths of the Gospel are denied, and its doctrines derided, and its blessed Author is reviled and blasphemed, by men whom the force of human laws has been found insufficient to restrain. And if it be said that these are few in number, and insignificant in point of talent and learning, there is a more numerous class amongst us, who look upon religion merely as a necessary part of every system of government; who would introduce the principles of a miserable political economy into its institutions and ministry; and who take no personal interest in its consolations or its ordinances; and there is also a powerful and active body of men, who are attempting to lay other foundations of the social virtues and duties than those which are everlastingly laid in the Gospel, and to propose other sanctions, and other rules of conduct, and other rewards, than those which are proposed in the Word of Revelation.

“ The almost universal diffusion of elementary knowledge, furnishes the enemies of Revealed Religion with abundant materials to work upon: but then it also furnishes the friends of truth with the obvious means of counteracting the influence of erroneous doctrines, and of instilling sounder principles into the bulk of the community. Any attempt to suppress, or even to check, the spirit of inquiry which is abroad in the world, would not only be a vain and fruitless attempt, but a violation of the indefeasible liberty of the human mind, and an interference with its natural constitution. To impart to that spirit a right direction, to sanctify it with holy motives, to temper it to righteous purposes, to shape it to ends which lie beyond the limits of this beginning of our existence, will be the endeavour of those who desire to make the cultivation of intellect conducive to moral improvement, and to establish the kingdom of Christ at once in the understandings and affections of mankind.

“ I need not undertake to prove, that it is pre-eminently the duty of the clergy to watch the tendency and progress of this irresistible spirit; to avail themselves of its opportunities, and to provide against its dangers; to keep pace themselves with the intellectual advancement of the age, and to use the facilities which it affords them for the dissemination of Christian principles.”—pp. 7—9.

Such were the bishop's views of the evils affecting, or likely to affect, the interests of religion and of the Church at the time he

spoke, and such the reflections to which they then gave birth in his mind: and though in the few short months which have elapsed since their delivery the scene has been fearfully and wonderfully changed—though the crisis he foretold has trodden much closer upon the heels of his prediction than he himself could have contemplated, and the evils of which he spoke have been aggravated by circumstances as strange as they were unexpected—though the cry of infidelity has been heard louder and bolder in the storm which has been gathering around, and other spirits of a kindred influence have mingled their voices in the blast, frightening peace and security from the land—still we think, whatever might have been his impressions, his general advice to the clergy would have been substantially the same, viz. “that all, in their respective departments, are to be labouring with increased assiduity in the discharge of their appointed duties, profiting by the helps which are to be derived from the improved state of human knowledge and the improved mechanism of education; and feeling all the additional weight of obligation laid upon them by the peculiar circumstances of the times, to be more than ever zealous, and diligent, and devoted to their work.” To this advice it is unnecessary, and might be presumptuous in us to add; but there are one or two points upon which we may be excused for dwelling a few moments, because the subsequent events have given more importance to them:

The first is the counsel offered by his lordship to the clergy on the new position in which the Church is placed from the repeal of the laws respecting Catholics and Dissenters. He tells us that this repeal “will compel us for the future to depend more entirely upon our internal resources, and will be a test of their sufficiency:”—a wise sentence, as we conceive, expressing in a small compass the real strength of our Church, and the duty at such a moment incumbent upon its supporters, of a united and hearty dependence upon it. It is altogether notorious that there exists amongst the clergy a great variety of opinions respecting the value of those safeguards which the wisdom of our ancestors had drawn around the Church, but which the legislature of the present day has thought proper to remove as unnecessary to one party, and vexatious and oppressive to the other; and we cannot but hold it to be one great blessing—a blessing that would compensate for no inconsiderable loss—that the repeal in question has removed from our own bosom such a pregnant source of suspicion and disquiet. Nevertheless, amongst the great majority of the clergy who were conscientiously averse from the Catholic claims, we cannot wonder that some should be found deeply to lament their loss, and to mourn over the forlorn state of Zion as if her

glory were about to pass away. But it is time that these late regrets, which are somewhat worse than useless, should cease. They cannot bring back the past, but they may mar the future. They tend to propagate the evils of division, though the object of them is as irrevocably gone as the years before the flood; to cripple our efforts in the direction of our effective force; and to create doubts in the minds of others respecting the value of those internal resources to which the bishop loudly calls us, and which are in truth the real ground-work of our strength. What these resources of the Church are, no one, we think, can doubt. They are the scriptural character of her doctrines and discipline—the piety and the beauty of her Liturgy—the learning, the diligence and the industry of her ministers, by whom the former are to be ably defended and soundly taught, the latter to be rightly and duly administered. It was by these means the Church of England was established and rooted in the affections of the people, before test acts and exclusion bills were invented, and by these, with God's blessing, it must be supported and preserved now that they are gone; and if the change thus produced in their position should have the effect recommended by his lordship, of making the clergy betake themselves more earnestly and entirely to those internal resources which remain—if, casting off all irritating distinctions and foolish questions, which engender strife, they would cordially unite in teaching and exemplifying those divine doctrines and precepts in which they all agree,—we are confident that both they and their cause will be all the better for it. The more, indeed, they rely upon these resources, the more worthy will they find them of their reliance; the more they examine them, the more they will discern their value, and the more anxious will they be, by a due and adequate performance of all that depends upon themselves, to render them sufficient and availing—availing not solely for the credit and support of the Establishment, but for the furtherance of those higher and nobler objects for which the Establishment itself was founded, viz. the honour of the Christian name in the British empire, the present peace and the eternal interests of those committed to their charge. If it be true that the Church has fallen upon evil times, it is a reason that our zeal, and sincerity, and diligence, in her behalf should be more eminent. And when we reflect that this noble inheritance of our ancestors, of which we are the guardians and administrators, has now subsisted, by the providence of God, for nearly three centuries, with only two short intervals of depression, and those characterised by superstition and fanaticism, braving even in its infancy the rudest shocks and surviving the most arduous struggles, surely we ought not to be less hopeful of it, or less anxious for it now, when, in its full maturity and growth, its powers enlarged and its prospects widen-

ing with our increasing empire, it is become the best hope of Protestant Europe for the propagation of true and genuine Christianity to the very uttermost parts of the earth. These are the grounds upon which we are invited to take our stand, and this the charge which is committed to us; and he who is weak or wavering in such a cause, either knows not the value of his trust, or is grossly wanting in his fidelity and his duty to it.

But we augur far better things of the Church; nor can it be said that the clergy are unprepared for this change, or even for the far greater trials which may still await them. We are well aware how vain and foolish, and even suspicious, would be any studied eulogy upon their conduct in a work like this, and how much better it is that we should stimulate each other to correct what is amiss, and to supply what is defective, of which God knows there will always be enough, than to dwell with self-complacency upon what is good; but driven as we are to our resources, it would not be wise to leave unnoticed the great encouragement which a candid view of our history for the last forty years will discover to us. In that period, it will not be denied, even by the adversaries of the Church, that in all that concerns the feelings, the duties and the acquirements of ministers, a wholesome and striking improvement has taken place; that, with the exception of a few dark spots, which are for the most part of another age and of another school, they are become, as a body, much more intent upon their duties, and far better qualified for the discharge of them. And what adds greatly to the value of this change is, that it has not been sudden or violent, the effort of men struggling under the pressure of some great calamity, or labouring to escape from it, but a slow, gradual and well defined process, carried on in a season of comparative security and prosperity, and effected by causes perfectly intelligible and still in operation; partly by the diffusion of light and knowledge over the minds of all classes of men, making the duties of the ministry better known both to themselves and others, partly by the higher qualifications required for admission into it, but chiefly by that beautiful principle of reaction in the Scripture itself, by which it propagates its holy influence upon the minds of all who apply to it practically, more fully and extensively than even they themselves might have expected from it. Let but this process go on,—let the sense of their divine commission continue to rise higher and higher in the minds of the clergy, and its power be impressed upon their teaching, and there will be little cause for apprehension to the Church. Such conduct, and such views must carry with them the affection and esteem of the sound and the good amongst the laity, who well know and feel whose work it is that we are doing, and for whose benefit it is done. We are God's

ministers, and their servants for Christ's sake. This is the true bond which unites us, and the more they feel the genuine influence of our ministry upon their own hearts and lives, the more will they be induced to honour it. The time, indeed, may come, foretold by the Apostle, when the people will not endure sound doctrine; but even then the duty of the clergy is clear and defined, and it will be their happiness and safety to be found in it: still they are to be watchful in all things, endure afflictions, and do the work of an evangelist; the prophets must still prophesy, even though it be in sackcloth.

With respect to the honours and endowments of the Church, on which the keen eye of jealousy and cupidity are often seen to rest, we are not certain whether they are matters which his lordship intended to include in those internal resources on which he bids us to rely, or not. Of this, however, we are confident, that he is too wise and too experienced to consider them, abstractedly and independently, as such. They may be well adapted to the various orders and functions of our Church—they may be becoming to its state—they may be necessary to its welfare, and its usefulness, and its respect—but they never can be regarded in the light of a stay or security, unless when connected with the adequate discharge of those burthens and duties for which they are intended as a compensation—duties from which they cannot be separated, even in argument or in thought, without disadvantage, nor, in reality, without the greatest danger. In this light the clergy are desirous to regard them, and by this tenure, and by this alone, it is their interest and their duty to retain them; and if the dispensers of our honours and emoluments would always look steadily in their selection to those qualities which are best calculated to strengthen and to support this union, there is no question but that the revenues and the duties would reflect credit upon each other, would contribute to their mutual preservation, and be together honoured in the public mind. But if the reverse of this should ever unhappily be the case,—if in an enlightened nation like this the priesthood itself should by any means become base, servile, or ignorant,—if men should *repair to it, not for preferment, but for refuge—like malefactors, only to save their lives; or like those of Eli's race, that come crouching, and seek to be put into the priest's office, that they may eat a piece of bread*; or if, on the other hand, our rulers, like Herod and Archelaus, should wilfully dishonour the high places of the hierarchy by filling them with the stupid or the unworthy; why then, in either case, it is clear that the office and its reward would only be a shame and disgrace to each other, and contribute mutually to hasten their common ruin. Thus, in whatever light we may view the matter, to the

same foundation we must come at last. "Some, indeed," says the eloquent and pithy South, "may please and promise themselves high matters from full revenues, stately palaces, court interests and great dependences; but that which makes the clergy glorious, is to be knowing in their profession, unspotted in their lives, active and laborious in their charges, bold and resolute in opposing seducers, and daring to look vice in the face, though never so potent and illustrious—and lastly, to be gentle, courteous, compassionate to all. These are our robes and our maces, our escutcheons and highest titles of honour; for by all things God is honoured, who has declared this the eternal rule and standard of all honour derivable upon men, 'that those who honour him shall be honoured by him.'"

But there is another subject of the Bishop's preliminary observations, which gives us, we confess, more uneasiness, and becomes every day more difficult and painful, and that is the renewed and increasing efforts made by scoffers and infidels, not only in our country, but in others, to profit by the disturbed state of the public mind, and to disseminate as widely as possible their infernal poison amongst the needy, the ignorant and the profligate, at once goading them to cruel disorders and excess, and robbing them of all hope of an hereafter. It cannot be known, excepting to those who make it their business to inquire, what pains and patience, and ingenuity are now bestowed upon this accursed work. Infidel books and infidel teachers we have always had; but certainly there never was a moment when the art of corrupting the minds of the people was carried to so high a pitch, or exercised with so much effrontery; nor ever were the fruits of it so frightfully conspicuous. It is revolting to think of them, and it were a task to make the heart sick to detail them; but it may suffice to state that, besides the public discourses which are delivered almost daily, by the great masters of the school in the Rotunda, and other places amongst the crowded outskirts of the metropolis, *for the avowed specific purpose of advocating the cause of infidelity*, it is a well-known fact that blasphemous and profane lectures are delivered three times a-week in the city itself, to large audiences of labourers and artizans after their daily task is done, from each of whom a penny a piece is collected under the head of Infidel Rent.

Nor is the press behind-hand with them in their course; for while numerous hawkers and other emissaries scatter unsparingly in lanes and alleys their pennyworths of profanation, the great emporium in Fleet Street blazons forth its more elaborate blasphemies with fresh spirit, in characters which those who run may read—a standing monument of its interminable hostility to the

Gospel, and of the utter hopelessness of all legal measures to restrain it. What then is to be done, it may be asked, in a state of things like this? Shall we look calmly on and say, let them alone, the authors and propagators of the mischief are profligate and worthless men, whom nobody will trust, and therefore too contemptible to be noticed. Alas! we should only deceive ourselves, and be led to neglect others, by taking this flattering unction to our souls; certain it is, that the force of any argument does not depend upon the character of those who propound it; and we may venture to affirm, that, of the thousands who read these writings and are swayed by their contents, not one in an hundred either knows or cares a single tittle about the motives of those from whom they come. It is clear, therefore, that some active and present remedy must be brought to meet the evil, and there is none which presents itself so readily and so naturally as that which may be derived from the arguments, and the testimony, and the advice of the true friends of Christianity, particularly of the ministers; and very reasonable it is to conclude, that if they who have all the advantages of learning and character on their side, who live as it were daily with the oracles of God, and know their power and their efficacy, and are accustomed to impress them on the minds of others, would descend to meet these enemies of the faith on their own ground, the truth in such hands must certainly prevail. Such unquestionably is their duty, and they will not be found to shrink from it; but here we have an observation to make. This state of things, painful as it is, does not come upon the Clergy entirely by surprise. It is impossible that they could have so long assisted in that general diffusion of elementary knowledge amongst the poor, which has lately taken place, and have witnessed that spirit of inquiry, of which the Bishop remarks, that to suppress or to check it would be not only a vain attempt, but a violation of the indefeasible liberty of the human mind, without perceiving the probability of such a crisis as this, and as far as possible providing for it. Accordingly they now rejoice in the hope that the good seed of religion and morality, early sown in the minds of so many children in the National Schools, will be the means of saving thousands and tens of thousands from the contagion, and of preserving the soundness of the mass; and they believe that the tastes and likings instilled into them will make them for the most part turn with disgust from such blasphemies, as at once insulting to God and mischievous to themselves. By these means, much of the evil which might otherwise have taken place has probably been prevented, and it is consoling to think that the wholesome operation is still going on, and will continue, by God's help, when this

flood of infidelity shall have passed away. But, in attempting, by argument, to stem a torrent like the present, it does not become them to be too sanguine respecting their own efforts, or negligent of other means; and when they consider on what unequal terms the contest is to be carried on—how many thousands in the crowded and sequestered quarters of this metropolis have their minds exposed to the poison, but are inaccessible to the antidote, or only receive it when it is too late; in how small a compass of a few words single objections to Christianity may be intelligibly stated to minds of an ordinary stamp, which yet require much time and space intelligibly to answer them;—how much of this profane matter is addressed to the passions and not to the judgment—how loudly in a corrupt nature pride and vanity, and the desire of rising above what is called prejudice, and the headlong violence of youth and the vicious habits of age, and the force of bad example, and the spirit of social daring, all plead in favour of that license from all restraint and accountability which the teachers of infidelity promise—when, I say, we consider these disadvantages, we feel it to be matter of pain and sorrow to every reflecting mind, that such a contest should ever have occurred amongst us, and that the safety of so many souls should be placed upon the issue of it.

But, inadequate in some respects as this remedy is, it is important to know that there is no other of a direct nature likely to be applied with effect, and none therefore which merits so much attention and encouragement. The arm of the law has been stretched out in vain, and the severity and the clemency of the government have been successively tried with the worst possible effects; for severity has made the objects of it more desperate, by adding revenge to the dark passions which brooded in their minds before, while clemency has made them more confident and more daring.* Under such discouragement it has come to pass, and we cannot wonder at it, that prosecutions for blasphemy have been suspended, if not abandoned; and thus it appears that, while the principle of coercion remains upon the Statute Book confirmed by the opinions of judges and the verdicts of juries, it is little better than a dead letter, and that here too we are compelled to rely upon our own resources. Nor can any stronger proof be alleged of this, than the fact that a celebrated wholesale dealer in infidelity, who has been suffered to carry on his unholy traffic with impunity for many years, has at

* It is melancholy, but in some respects instructive, to perceive how powerfully revenge, that insatiable passion of the unregenerated heart, prevails in the writings and speeches of the demagogues of the day; how frequently it breaks out—how strongly it seems to goad them on to mischief.

last been prosecuted by government upon the charge of mixing up sedition with blasphemy—a portentous alliance, which, whether early or late declared, is the ultimate object they have in view. Whether this state of things is to be continued—whether any revision of these laws can be hoped, such as to render them more efficient, or whether any other legal measures can be devised for the same purpose, consistent with the spirit of the Gospel and the principles of the constitution, it is for the legislature to decide; meanwhile our duty is the more obvious and the more pressing, and that is to meet the evil in every place and in every shape in which it may appear, and by such measures as are best adapted to expose and to refute it—to bring forth from our treasure things new and old, and to labour at least as fervently to save men's souls as these enemies of their race do to destroy them. In conformity to this view, the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge have just now voted 1000*l.* to be employed in printing and publishing such books and tracts as are likely to suit the purpose, and have also appointed a committee for carrying their benevolent designs into effect. In these labours, which, we are confident, are as scriptural in their character as they are charitable and humane in their end, we may fairly expect the co-operation of all who have the cause of Christianity or the good of their fellow-creatures at heart; and, what is better, we may come boldly to the throne of grace with our prayers, that he, who by a beautiful display of his wisdom maketh even the wrath of man to praise him, would give a blessing to our labours, and convert the designs of these deceivers into a clearer manifestation of his truth.

After all, we must repeat, that this our labour, however strenuously carried on, is, humanly speaking, inadequate and defective—a task, by which few comparatively can profit, and in which still fewer can co-operate; but we cannot quit the subject without expressing our conviction that there is a remedy infinitely more comprehensive and effectual, in which many may co-operate and by which all may profit—and that is to be found in a more zealous and manifest cultivation of vital Christianity amongst the higher and middling classes themselves; thereby shedding the light of the confession of a true faith upon those below them, and producing convictions of its power and of its truth much more impressive and durable than could be effected by any arguments which words can convey. If thine eye be single then thy whole body shall be full of light. This is the great protection to be sought against all the moral contagion which is floating around us, and this the wisdom which God's judgments now in the world are intended to impress. To this also the

Bishop plainly points; but if there be amongst us, as he truly affirms, a very numerous and influential class "who look upon religion merely as a necessary part of every government—who take no personal interest in its consolations and ordinances," or even consider it in any other light than as the one thing needful, we may rest assured that whatever precautions we may take in the education and instruction of the poor, they will be unavailing: nothing we can do for those beneath us—no arguments—no lessons addressed to their understanding can ever be of effectual service in preserving the community from contamination, if this bad example, this practical infidelity, be daily seen passing before their eyes.

Nor let any one imagine for a moment that the propagation of this spirit is an evil which purely concerns the Church, or even Christianity itself; though in a Christian country this, one would think, were enough:—No: it strikes at the laws, the happiness, and the freedom of the nation, and even at the foundation of society itself: there lives not a man however humble, with property to lose, or family to protect, who is not deeply concerned in it. For be it remembered, that the contest is not between one religious sect and another, but between Christianity and no Religion at all. And what hope can there be, of a redundant and excited people, when the sense of the all-seeing eye, and the fear of the judgment to come, are cast off? What but they should be reckless, wicked, and licentious? And when was it ever known, or heard of, that a wicked and licentious people could be free, or that any refuge remained for such a state but despotism or anarchy—lawless power exercised under pretence of authority, or lawless power exercised under pretence of liberty, or under no pretence at all? It was a bad time for this country, when levelling and fanaticism combined together lorded it in the land,—and the consequences we all know: but the triumph of infidelity and radicalism united, which is what these men seek, offers to our imagination, in such a country as ours, a spectacle, from which even the stoutest heart must shrink. Something indeed of this kind has been presented to many of us in that reign of terror which has stained the annals of a neighbouring kingdom, and which, after deluging the country with blood and crime, ended at last in a ruthless and overwhelming tyranny—a tyranny which compressed Europe with such a fierce and unyielding grasp, that the very recoil from it, now seen around us, is full of terror. God grant that it may never be our lot to witness amongst ourselves even the faintest resemblance of such a state!

But we must now pass on to other particulars of the Bishop's

Charge, the first of which is Residence. Upon this important subject he is, as usual, full, particular, and explicit; weighing every objection, and meeting every excuse; but as his remarks are principally connected with circumstances of a local nature, we must content ourselves with recommending them to those whom they may concern, observing only, that in his Lordship's diocese there are more circumstances particularly affecting that question, than in any other. What he says of pluralities, however, as part of the same case, is matter of more general interest, and particularly worthy of being noticed at this present moment, not only because it is important, but because it has been mistated and misunderstood. It is well known that the abuse of pluralities was a charge strongly urged against the Papal government at different periods of our history, and that one of the earliest accusations brought against our own Church by dissenters, was grounded upon the alleged continuance of an evil, which had before risen to an intolerable height. At that period, however, the charge seems to have been made without sufficient reason; and Hooker, who undertook, in an elaborate argument, the defence of pluralities, pleads for them, however, only as exemptions and privileges, to be granted to a few under a general rule, the principle of which was, that for every benefice there should be a resident incumbent. Upon this principle, the statute of Henry the Eighth was framed, and upon this also the bishop defends them now, "as necessary in some cases, and, in some, highly useful." In the present state of the country, however, the power of conferring the privilege has been so diffused, partly by the greater number of degrees, but chiefly by the increase of the peerage, that there is scarcely any clergyman, however low his estimation in the Church, who, if he could obtain a presentation to two livings, might not easily procure a legal title for holding them. Against this extension, therefore, the Bishop raises his voice: "he would gladly see them restricted, and conditions imposed upon those who hold them." In this expression, which, coming from such a quarter, at a season like the present, can scarcely be considered as a barren sound, we are disposed cordially to join; and being fully convinced, that whatever change, either in this or any other matter which may be desirable, would come with much more grace and effect, and meet more fully the public feeling, from the Church itself, than from any other quarter; we are not sorry to believe that this opinion may be the forerunner of some proposal to the same effect. Against all mean compliances with vulgar clamour, against all time-serving and selfish sacrifices of future good for the sake of present ease and enjoyment, against all compromise or desertion of those rights and privileges which are in-

herent in the Church, and necessary to its welfare and its efficacy, we hold up all our hands; we are sure that they would be distasteful to all the good and wise amongst the laity, unprofitable, if not mischievous, in their results, and unworthy altogether of our cause. But if there be any spot or wrinkle in the face of the Church, the effect of time, or accident, or oversight, which its friends deplore, and its enemies delight in, surely it must be right and wise in the members of the Church themselves to assist with all alacrity in its removal. The first step is the sound which alarms us—but it is a cry which may be continued too long; at all events it is now too late—for the first step was taken long ago, when acts of parliament were passed with the concurrence and even at the suggestion of the bishops, affecting its discipline and controlling in some measure the distribution of its revenues. And who so competent for such improvements as the members of the Church themselves? Surely it would be a wrong impression to get abroad among the people, that no improvement in the constitution of the Church could be effected, excepting by so dark and intricate a process, that its enlightened Rulers were either unwilling to undertake or unable to carry it into effect. If, indeed, any essential change were either requisite or contemplated, we should be the first to say that the present season was, of all others, the most inauspicious and the most unfit. Amid the heavings of that moral earthquake which is shaking the whole of Europe to its centre—when men's eyes are failing them for fear and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth, nothing appears in its true magnitude and proportions, nor can the consequences of new measures be fairly weighed; and we may venture to affirm that, in whatever part of our Constitution great changes may be effected in the present mood, there is the greatest danger that they will be pushed too far. Upon this subject we might learn an useful lesson even from barbarous times; for Tacitus tells us that the ancient Germans debated over their cups and at night, but decided in the morning when they were sober. It is against such rash and untimely changes that we are most anxious to provide, and the best means of avoiding them, next to that internal reform which we have already noticed, is to wipe away, as speedily as possible, every obvious blot that may appear upon the surface of our Establishment, and tempt the rude hand of its enemies to interfere.

To such reforms as these of which we have spoken, the best and wisest of our predecessors have always been most disposed; and we cannot forbear quoting, to this effect, a passage from a divine remarkable for his learning and his piety, who is said to have been the best preacher of his time, and whose life was the

best sermon,—we mean Dr. Hammond. It was, without doubt, composed under strong emotions, but it exhibits a devotion to the Church so pure and saint-like, as to be quite edifying and inspiring—particularly when it is remembered that it comes from one, who, by his subsequent sacrifices and labours, voluntarily undergone in behalf of its fallen state, showed clearly, that it was no empty challenge that he uttered, but the genuine and deliberate offering of his fidelity and affection.

“There is a weight and office which our forefathers thought worthy to be encouraged and rewarded with those payments, and if any man shall think them ill-proportioned, I shall not doubt to tell him St. Chrysostome's judgment, that the burden of a bishop was formidable, even to an angel to undergo, and if the corruption of latter times be affirmed to have changed that state of things, I answer, that the restoring Episcopacy to its due burthen as well as reputation, were a care worthy of Reformers, and it is so far from my desire that any such care should be spared, that it is now my public solemn petition, both to God and man, that the power of the keys, and the exercise of that power, the due use of confirmation, and (previous to that) examination and trial of youth, a strict search into the manners and tempers, and sufficiencies of those that are to be admitted into holy orders, and to be licentiate for public preachers, the visitation of each parish in each diocese, and the exercise of church discipline upon all offenders, together with painful, mature, and sober preaching and catechising, studies of all kinds, and parts of theological learning, languages, controversies, writings of the schools and casuists, &c., be so far taken into consideration by our law-makers, and so far considered in the collating of church preferments and dignities, so much of duty required of clergymen, and so little left arbitrary or at large, that every church preferment in this kingdom may have such a due burthen annexed to it, that no ignorant person should be able, no lazy or luxurious person willing or forward to undergo it.

“And if this might be thus designed, I should then resolve that the direct contrary to the fore-mentioned suggestions would be truth, that the settling and continuing of this present government would prove the common interest of all, and only the burthen of those few that have those painful offices assigned them, and lest any man think this word a boast, (which I can safely venture with the world at this time, and not have reason to fear a surprisal, or being taken at my word,) I shall venture another offer in the name of my brethren of the clergy, (not that I have took their particular votes, but that I persuade myself so far of their piety,) that rather than the glory should thus depart from Israel, by the Philistines

taking the Ark of the Lord, laying waste this flourishing church of ours, or transforming it into a new guise, every one single of us, that have any possessions or titles worthy any man's envy or rapine, and so are thought now, by our own interests, to have been bribed or fed advocates in this cause, may forthwith be deprived of all that part of the revenues of the church wherein we are legally invested; and he that shall not cheerfully resign his part in the present prosperity of the church on the meer contemplation and intuition of the benefit that may now and after his life redound to others, let him have the guilt of Achan's wedge laid on him, and the charge of being disturber of the state. I hope we have learnt to want as well as to abound, and to trust God (that can feed the young ravens when the old have exposed them) for the feeding of us and our families, though all our present means of doing it were taken from us. If this may serve turn to satisfy the thirst of those that gape, and the suspicions of those that look unkindly on us, we offer to free you from all blame of sacrilege, or oppression, or injustice, (from one of which no other means imaginable can free a change of government,) by our own voluntary cession or resignation as far as our personal interests reach; and shall think the peace of this state, and continued prosperity of this church, a most glorious purchase, most cheaply bought, if it be had upon such terms as these. And if the function itself, with the necessary adjuncts to it, be not swept away in the calamity, we shall be perfectly pleased whatsoever befall our persons, and desire that trial may be made of the ingenuity of clergymen, whether they have not thus far profited under God's rod as to be willing to yield to any possible proposition (which will bring no guilt of sin upon our consciences) toward the averting the judgments of heaven which are now (I wish I might say for our sins only) most sadly multiplied upon this land."

In the observations which follow respecting the clerical duties, we find a recommendation of Visiting Societies for the relief and improvement of the poor, accompanied at the same time with a salutary caution to the parochial clergy against relinquishing the superintendence and direction of these auxiliary labours; and particularly against delegating to them their own peculiar functions and duties, as the commissioned interpreters of Scripture. His Lordship then adverts to the practice of christening and churching in private houses; the first of which he wishes to discourage as much as possible, and the second he condemns altogether as irregular and improper, and strongly urges upon the clergy the necessity of discontinuing it.

The Bishop next passes on to a topic of more universal interest—the education of the poor, upon which his observations

are so impressive, and so sensible, that we cannot refrain from quoting them at length.

“I would only remind you, that it is every day becoming more and more important, as a branch of ministerial duty, to countenance and encourage National daily or Sunday Schools, to watch over the mode in which they are conducted, and to prevent the instruction, which is given in them, from degenerating into the mere form of knowledge, without any of the power of godliness. The salaried teachers of the schools may work the machinery of the system, so as to produce results, sometimes of a surprising kind, if we look merely to the exercise of the children's memory: but it is the province of the Clergyman, who is more alive to the tendencies of education, and entertains juster and nobler views of its objects, to give a spiritual character to those results; to apply them to the confirmation of right principles and right habits; and to take care that the youthful learner is trained, not only to *know* the Holy Scriptures, as the term is commonly understood, but so to know them, that they may be likely, under the divine blessing, to make *him wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus*.

“It is to these seminaries that we are to look for a succession of youthful branches, which, having been grafted into the body of Christ's Church at baptism, may here imbibe the sap of holy principle, and be prepared by culture, under the gracious influences of the Spirit sought for in prayer, to become *trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord*. It is hardly going too far, to assert, that a Clergyman's attention to his parochial schools is the most hopeful part of his ministerial exertions. It is surely a point of incalculable importance to him, to secure an interest in the affections of a large part of his flock from their earliest years. Not to mention the hold which he may thus acquire upon the parents through the medium of their children, he may securely calculate upon being listened to, in his public ministrations, with intelligence and profit, by those who have been long habituated to his mode of teaching divine truth, and with attention and respect by those, who have been accustomed from their infancy to regard him as their instructor and friend, to fear his kind rebuke, and to rejoice in his approving smile. And although it will ever be his duty to remind them that he speaks not in his own name, but as the messenger and servant of One who desires that they should be brought nearer to himself, yet the personal regard which is excited towards him may be made powerfully auxiliary to higher motives and restraints. One of the surest preservatives from the poison of vice or infidelity, next to the sound instruction with which their memories have been stored and their hearts strengthened, will be the habitual reverence which they have acquired for their kind and disinterested instructor, and their unwillingness to forfeit his good opinion.

“And the sooner this intercourse begins, the more likely it is to produce its effects. I am a zealous friend, upon conviction, to Infant Schools for the children of the poor. No person, who has not himself watched them, can form an adequate notion of what these institutions,

when judiciously conducted, may effect, in forming the tempers and habits of young children ; in giving them, not so much actual knowledge, as that, which at their age is more important, the habit and facility of acquiring it ; and in correcting those moral defects, which neglect, or injudicious treatment, would soon confirm and render incurable. The early age at which children are taken out of our National schools, is an additional reason for commencing a regular and systematic discipline of their minds and wills, as soon as they are capable of profiting by it ; and that is, at the very earliest opening of the understanding, and at the first manifestation of a corrupt nature, in the shape of childish petulance and waywardness."

We recommend this passage strongly to the consideration of ministers in every part of the kingdom, and are anxious to express our own deep sympathy in all that the bishop has said in it. We know well the importance of this superintendence of ministers in these schools, and have witnessed frequently the mighty difference in the religious views and feelings of children under the different treatments here described—how weak and vapid and transient are the impressions made by catechisms taught by rote, and, as it were, mechanically ; and how strong and vivid and improving, when the thoughts of the scholars have been affectionately and intelligently led by a judicious clergyman to the words of truth, and again applied to their own conduct and feelings.

The next subject is the qualifications for orders, on which, after remarking strongly upon the general diffusion of knowledge, and the necessity of higher studies and edification in the clergy, in order to support their relative situation in society, and the credit of their order, he remarks :—

" We are therefore not only authorized, but in my opinion required—authorized by the abundant supply of candidates, and required by the exigencies of the Church—to look for a more systematic and laborious preparation for the ministry ; and to expect that clerical accomplishments shall be raised with the universally rising qualifications of every other profession. We have perhaps some reason for wishing, that our Universities should do more than, even with the recent improvements in their system, they have hitherto done, towards effecting this desirable result. For my own part, I entertain a very strong opinion as to the necessity of one or more theological seminaries, in which, besides going through a prescribed course of study for one or two years, the candidates for Holy Orders might be exercised in reading the Liturgy of our Church, and in the composition and delivery of sermons. The establishment of these, which need not interfere with the accustomed course of academical study, must necessarily be a work of difficulty, requiring much consideration and forethought. In the mean time we have it in our power, by exercising a stricter scrutiny, to secure a certain degree of competency in our candidates : and I have sincere pleasure in bearing the testimony of my own experience to the

fact, that the standard of ministerial acquirements has already been greatly raised, without any diminution in the number of applicants for admission into the ministry, and with the most obvious and striking benefit to the Church itself."—pp. 33, 34.

We are not certain if his Lordship is aware of the fact, but it may be worth while to state, that in several parts of Germany we believe, in Nassau we know, there does exist a seminary for Protestant clergymen, precisely constituted according to his view; and, as we have reason to conclude from some observations of our own, that much advantage has been derived from it, we shall give a statement of the whole process of the clerical education there, as we received it in German from one who was himself a good specimen of the school, that our readers may perceive how this peculiar part of it is connected with the rest.

"The future clergymen, in common with all other servants of the state in our country, receive their first education in one of the three preparatory schools at Wisbaden, Hadamer, or Dillen-berg; afterwards, from their twelfth to their sixteenth year, they frequent the *Gymnasium* at Weilberg, where they are instructed in Languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), Philosophy, History, Physics, Geography, Mathematics, Archeology, &c. When they have attained a sufficient knowledge in all these branches, which must be proved by an examination before commissioners sent by government, they may enter an university: here they remain as long as they choose, but not for a less time than two years, and though the choice of the university is also left to their own option or to that of their friends, yet it is more agreeable to government when they enter themselves at Gottingen, which is called the *National University*. The last year of their studies the future clergymen must pass in the Theological Seminary at Herborn, where instruction is given by learned divines, and where practical theology is, above all things, taught and exercised: and here, before the management of a sacred ministry is confided to them, they must be examined, partly in writing and partly verbally, in the following subjects. 1. Explanation of the whole of the Old and New Testament in the original languages. 2. The German language and the history and literature of Germany. 3. Dogmata and the history of Dogmata. 4. Morality. 5. The art of writing sermons and of preaching. 6. The art of catechising and instructing children in religion. 7. Pastoral Theology. 8. Philosophy in all its branches, and the history of philosophy. 9. The art of instructing and teaching in the schools. 10. Statistics.

It is highly to the credit of the Bishop, that, from the first moment of his accession to his present dignity, he has uniformly

devoted his attention and his labours to this most essential object, and that his example and influence have been of the greatest service in effecting that higher tone in the clerical character and acquirements which is now going on; and gladly do we join in the following answer to the only objection which could be offered.

“ If it be objected, that, by thus raising the standard of clerical acquirements, we shall exclude some persons from the ministry, whose faculties are naturally less vigorous and active than those of others, we reply, that if a young man, with all the advantages of a good education, and knowing himself to be destined to this sacred and arduous calling, is unable to write Latin correctly, and to construe the Greek Testament at the age of three and twenty, he is either greatly deficient in diligence and seriousness, or he is not qualified by natural endowments for the office of an expositor of God's Word. And ‘ if some parents,’ to use the words of Bishop Sanderson, ‘ must needs have their children thrust into the ministry, though they have neither a head nor a heart for it,’ we tell them that our duty, and the interests of the Church of Christ, and the cause of men's salvation, will not permit us to second their mistaken design; that their sons are not ‘ *rightly called*’ to the ministry; ‘ it being certain, that God never calleth any man but to that for which he hath in some competent measure enabled him.’ Let them seek for some other profession, in which their incapacity may injure themselves alone; and not intrude into a calling, which will render their ignorance infectious, and make the little light that is in them to be gross darkness which may be felt.”—p. 36.

It remains for us now only to insert the last impressive and truly Christian lesson with which the Charge is closed.

“ If all of us were earnestly bent upon seeking the mind of the Spirit in his Word, and upon obtaining his assistance, in the diligent use of all the appointed means of grace; if all would study, and meditate, and pray, as though they were convinced that the salvation of their brethren as well as their own depended upon the issue of their studies, and meditations, and prayers; human counsel and direction would be almost superfluous. Yet the Spirit of truth and grace, all-sufficient and powerful as He is, and ready to succour those who call upon Him, usually works by instruments and means; and He has himself instructed us, that the wisest and the holiest are not to despise the aids of mutual instruction, encouragement, and advice; that we are *not to be negligent to put one another always in remembrance of these things, though we know them, and be established in the present truth.* To his guidance and influence, let us day by day, in our prayers, commend one another, and those *over whom he has made us overseers*; that he may *build us up*, while we are labouring to edify our brethren, and *give us an inheritance amongst them who are sanctified*, and to whose sanctification we ourselves have been graciously permitted to contribute, in however humble a degree, in guiding them, both by our doctrine and example, to the Author of salvation and to the Giver of eternal life.”—p. 38.

We cannot close our remarks without adverting for a moment

to a topic, which could scarcely have come properly within the scope of the Bishop's charge, even if it had been then as prominent a feature in the times as it is now; but which, nevertheless, is matter of deep interest to the clergy in many respects, and particularly in that of their pastoral care; we mean, the state into which many of them have been thrown, especially the country clergy, by the lawless and destructive insurrections of the agricultural poor. It must be allowed, that their position has been a very novel and a very trying one, and is likely to be one of difficulty for some time to come; they have many of them been injured in their property and their income, some have been in danger of their lives, and others have been driven to the strait in which the Jews were placed after their return from the captivity, that of building the church with one hand, and holding a weapon with the other; and though the violence has now for the most part subsided, and some of the guilty authors have suffered the penalty of their crimes, yet still it is impossible that a tempest of this kind can in any case have swept over a peaceful village without leaving marks of its ravages behind, the worst of which, perhaps, is the injury necessarily done to that tie of confidence and affection which binds the pastor to his flock, and which is the source of so much benefit to all. But to the ministers of Christ, whatever they may have felt and suffered, there can but remain one prominent feeling after such a crisis, that of compassion for their misguided flocks, and one permanent desire, that of healing the wound which has been caused, both by using all the means in their power to alleviate the actual distress, and to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful scenes in future. It is to these points that the few hints we now venture to throw out will apply.

That there have been various causes operating in the production and in the continuance of these disorders, amongst which may be safely reckoned great misapprehension of the events which have taken place on the continent, there can be no doubt; and that the authors and ringleaders have been for the most part old offenders, or wanton violators of the peace, totally unconnected with agricultural, or, indeed, with any other, distress, is perfectly evident from the inquiries to which the trials have given rise; but that the very low wages of the village poor have had some concern in the matter, and at all events have rendered the body of the labourers more reckless and more easily disposed to join with the guilty agitators than they otherwise would have been, it is difficult, we think, to deny. Here, then, is the part of the case which it is incumbent upon all who have the welfare of the poor at heart to consider. The wickedness of these excesses, the violation of Christian duty involved in them, and the irreparable mischief done by them, even to the perpetrators themselves, will

naturally become the subjects of friendly pastoral remonstrance, wherever they may have occurred; but the point before us, which is by no means beside the Christian care, is matter of more permanent interest, and extends to those also who have hitherto been at peace.

It is one of those established truths gained from the uncertain ocean of political economy, that high wages and a very redundant population are absolutely incompatible; and as the latter is allowed to exist with us at present, to talk of an immediate and complete remedy for this distress would be a species of quackery not worth listening to for a moment; but stern and obstinate as the evil is, it is by no means equally pressing in all places; and as on the one hand it is capable of great aggravation, so on the other it admits of great and immediate mitigation, from Christian prudence and benevolence. Of its aggravation by the ignorance of the poor, and a bad administration of the poor-laws, we have the strongest proof in what is passing around us; for it is a fact that the disturbances have been most prevalent in the southern counties, particularly those of Kent and Sussex, where the poor are the most ignorant, and the poor laws have been the worst administered; while in the west and north of England, and particularly in Scotland, where both these matters have been better managed, the mischief has been scarcely felt: indeed there is reason to believe, that in these last-mentioned countries the condition of the labourer is by no means worse than usual; for, considering the price of grain, a rate of wages, from ten to twelve shillings a week, fairly and independently paid, is about the average of the century.

Such being the aggravations of this evil, it will not be difficult for us to suggest a few measures for its alleviation. 1st. The retracing every false step in the administration of the poor laws wherever it may be practicable, and particularly the avoiding such an example where they have not been so administered before. 2d. A disposition to lower rent and tithes where a very late revision of either has not taken place, so as to enable the farmer to look up a little; for there is no doubt that this class of men are for the most part very poor, and that their poverty must have contributed to the present lowness of wages in some parishes, if not in the great majority. 3d. An anxious desire, on the part of all who are concerned, to make every sacrifice in their power to give or to obtain such wages for the poor, as may suffice to purchase for them the necessaries and some of the comforts of life. 4th. The attaching of small patches of land to every cottager, from one quarter of an acre to an acre; thereby giving him a greater interest in his place, and an advantage which, when improved by his own labour at his leisure hours, is of infinitely greater value than the amount of the rent bestowed in any other way; and, what

is still more important, placing before the eyes of his children an example of ease and comfort, which would be a stimulus to their own prudence and exertions. 5th. A careful and judicious education of the children of the poor, strongly impressing upon them, as the one thing needful, the principles of the Christian faith, with all the duties of patience, contentment, &c. which flow from it; and opening further their minds to a knowledge of their true state, and of their true interests in society.

The first and fifth are unquestionably of the most importance, with a view to any permanent amelioration of the poor; but, to be effectual, they must be adopted and pursued together. It is in vain to teach children in our schools the virtues of frugality and foresight, if the moment they spring into life they are compelled to give their labour for half its value, and are thus cut off at once from the only means of carrying their lessons into effect. We feel, however, that the subject would hurry us too far; but let every clergyman consider for himself how far he may be able by his influence, his property, or his counsel, consistently with propriety and good-will, to participate in this work; and sure we are that wherever he can so do it, he is not only acting conformably to his Christian calling, but also establishing at the same time an interest in the breasts of the poor, which cannot fail of giving greater facility and effect to all his higher ministrations.

ART. X.—*Reasons for seceding from the Dissenters, and conforming to the Established Church of England.* London. Seeley and Sons. Price 4d. or 25 for 6s. 6d.

THE first half of this little book argues plainly and sensibly for union in matters of religious faith and practice; and shows the natural tendency of dissent towards strife, confusion, and every evil work. The latter half acquaints us, from the author's personal experience, with the effects of that religious system from which he has felt himself compelled to secede.

"The painful state of dependency of the minister upon the people, from which so many evils result, is another reason why I wish to conform. The nature of the duties the minister of the gospel has to discharge, the infinite importance of the truths he has to deliver, and the faithfulness required in enforcing upon the attention and practice of men, their various religious, moral, and civil duties: prove the necessity of placing him above the influence of fear, in the prudent and due discharge of his sacred functions.

"However important and necessary it may be, that the minister should occupy a situation, in which he can neither be awed by threats, nor seduced by promises; it is evident that the mode of pecuniary support which universally prevails among dissenters, is such, as to frustrate that desirable object. Frequently, when the sacred duties of

his office have been faithfully discharged, much disapprobation has been manifested at his conduct ; and he is sometimes told, that a mode of preaching which is admitted to be agreeable to the Word of God, will not be approved by his hearers ; he is consequently compelled, either to adopt a new style of address, or encounter the loss of pecuniary support. A state of things such as this, cannot but be painful to every honourable and ingenuous mind ; and clearly proves, that the system which exposes a minister, in the discharge of his duties, to these temptations and difficulties, is radically wrong. The ministers of the gospel are, with all freedom and fidelity, to announce the will of God to men, who are bound to obey it ; but it frequently happens, that a tone of haughty and ignorant dictation is held towards the pastor, which neither intelligence nor piety can repel ; and thus, an attempt is made to force him, instead of administering the pure unadulterated word of God, to minister to a fastidious and vitiated taste. In the religious establishment of England, due care has been taken, by a competent provision, to secure to the minister his scriptural rights, and thus to remove from him all temptation to a departure from fidelity, in the discharge of his sacred duties. A provision such as this, is as consonant with reason, as it is with the plain dictates of holy Scripture ; and therefore, from the sense of duty I owe to the Divine author of the Scriptures, I am constrained to desire to unite with that church, which, founded upon such wise and scriptural principles, is thus calculated to secure an effectual and faithful discharge of ministerial duties.

“The frequent disputes, and contentions, which agitate dissenting communities, is another reason why I wish to conform to the Established Church of England. The causes of these unchristian differences are both numerous and beyond the application of any effectual remedy, since they are the natural result of an unscriptural system. In the choice of a minister, evils of this nature frequently commence ; for, as every one (however incompetent to give a judgment upon such a subject) has an equal voice in this choice, it often happens that there are some, who through ignorance, caprice, or pride, do not approve of the election. A party is thus formed at the very commencement of the career of the minister, which, taking every opportunity to instil prejudice into the minds of others, continues to operate until the affectionate and confidential intercourse, which ought always to subsist between a pastor and his flock, is undermined and destroyed. The result consequently is, that party spirit runs so high, as to interrupt both the peace and usefulness of the minister ; and scenes of confusion are exhibited, in which some of the worst passions of human nature are brought into action, to the great dishonour of religion. Against such painful and disingenuous proceedings neither talent nor character can afford security. The democratical form of church government, which generally prevails among the dissenters, is the fruitful source of these evils. Having no head to govern, no wisdom to direct, and no power to determine for them, they are oftentimes not aware how much their measures are influenced by their own pride, ignorance, and sometimes selfish interests. Where a different state of things prevails, (and there are happily some exceptions,) it is not owing to the sound-

ness of the system, but to the influence of principles, which triumph over the radical defects of the system. In the admirable and apostolical constitution of the Church of England, no opportunities of this nature are permitted to arise, for the exercise of those evil passions which it is the design of Christianity to destroy. In the New Testament we have not a single example, in which a church, or Christian society, has chosen its own minister: it is clear, therefore, that in the purest ages of the church, her ministers received their appointment from the Apostles or bishops. It is here, then, that the practice of the dissenters, in the manner of electing their ministers, is plainly contrary to the Scriptures. In the Church of England I see piety, gravity, wisdom, talent, and rank combined, to govern and direct all her affairs as one harmonious body: to which mild and paternal authority, Christian meekness, and humility will feel grateful to yield obedience. And even should there not be disputes with the minister, to agitate the dissenting society, yet, it is too often the case, that the harmony of the body is disturbed by intestine broils, carried to such a degree, as to exhibit all the elements of discord: and, while making profession of superior sanctity, members will too often manifest towards each other the most marked uncharitableness and aversion. Such scenes I have witnessed with pain and deep anxiety; and these feelings were increased by the conviction, that the disorder was such as to forbid the application of a remedy. I am therefore convinced that the system of polity, with which such things are associated, and out of which they grow, is neither founded in reason, nor on scriptural principles. Many evils arise out of the abuse of sound and wise regulations; but, the evils of dissent spring from the system itself."—p. 12.—17.

These are wise words, and we heartily thank the author for speaking them,—and speaking them with so much modesty and Christian temper.

ART. XI.—*Hours of Devotion for the Promotion of True Christianity and Family Worship.* Translated from the original German by the Rev. E. I. Burrow, D.D. F.R.S. & F.L.S. London. Rivingtons. 8vo. pp. 574. 14s.

THE title of this work did not convey to us any accurate idea of its peculiar character. We do not perceive that it contains any new or important aids to devotion properly so called; and those who take it up with the expectation that it will teach them how to pray, may chance to be disappointed. Their quarrel, however, will be only with the name; for the contents of the book, although different from what might be expected, are valuable and interesting. Many of the more familiar and every-day duties are touched upon with a simplicity and truth which will ensure them a favourable reception, and, in many instances, with no inconsiderable success. We select the following passages in support of our assertion.

“ These frightful effects of a *rage for faith*, have happily become rare in our days: or rather, through the influence of wise and Christian magistrates—thanks be to Providence—they have entirely disappeared: on the other hand, that same false Christianity is much revived and supported, which exalts a dead faith, and proportionally disregards the practice of virtue on Christian principles—awakens a dangerous propensity to fanaticism, to a fruitless trifling with the feelings, to false devotion, and to uncharitable judgment of those who hold opinions different from our own on religious subjects. For it is more convenient to an indolent mind to speculate or dream over spiritual matters, than to practise religion; much more convenient to sigh over a wicked world than to edify that wicked world by active Christianity, and to animate the virtue of the Christian by a virtuous example: it is easier to acquire a fictitious, and, in some respects, an earthly love of Christ, by exciting one’s own feelings and imagination, than to love Jesus in all his brethren, that is, in all mankind with whom we are conversant: ‘ *Whosoever shall do the will of God,*’ saith Jesus himself, ‘ *the same is my brother, and my sister, and mother.*’ (MARK, iii. 35.) Every other love, as being merely a fiction of the mind, which produces not the abjuration of faults, and the practice of virtue, whenever there is opportunity, is closely allied to a fruitless and dead faith.”—pp. 111, 112.

“ We cannot but wonder at the trouble which men often give themselves to enjoy their lives as little as possible; at their making it, as it would seem, their first duty to render disagreeable to others, and still more so to themselves, the few days which the will of their Creator has assigned them upon earth.

“ There are various kinds of persons, who, happen what will, are never contented with any thing; and cannot agree with any body, however kind and conceding he may be towards them. They have always some subject for censure, for quarrel, for reproach, or for complaint. They are always engaging in new friendships, and can preserve none for long. Nowhere are they pleased. In every place they find something to offend them, always something to object to—at one time the regulations, at another the persons, of the family with which they are connected. No one does any thing to their satisfaction.

“ Such miserable and quarrelsome people may, exclusively of these bad habits, have amiable qualities; they may, at first sight, be very prepossessing, and continue pleasing as long as we are not more intimately acquainted with them, and perceive not their failings. They may even accustom themselves to conceal their morose and imperious temper in strange places and new society. They are courteous, indulgent, full of attention towards others. They wish to please. They take pains to gain approbation:—partly because they imagine that the new acquaintances are according to their taste, men after their own hearts;—partly to show others, with whom they live in discord, that they are by no means unsocial and unfriendly by nature, but that they have been compelled to be so by the faults of their earlier associates. But as soon as the new acquaintances shall have become a few weeks’ older, and have lost the charm of novelty; as soon as a nearer connexion permits a greater intimacy,—the quarrelsome man turns the rough side outwards, and is again, as before, without forbearance. He blames, reproaches, is positive,

would have every thing according to his fancy, and finishes by tearing asunder the bonds of friendship he had so industriously sought, and by contemptuously rejecting the esteem which we had conceived for him.

“ This singular disposition, which eclipses, and sometimes renders entirely useless, all the laudable qualities of a person, all his excellent talents and knowledge, however splendid they may be,—is frequently nothing more than the fruit of a consciousness of such advantages, only the effect of the pride of possessing these acquirements. With a small portion of modesty the quarrelsome man would be converted into the most peaceable of all men. But this consciousness of superiority leads him to look down upon others, and to hold them cheap in his opinion. He thinks that he has a more correct insight into every thing; that he knows every thing better: all opposition offends and provokes him;—it appears to him like doubting the soundness of his understanding, a mistrust of his knowledge and experience. He rejects with a decisive tone whatever is not according to his taste. He passes a severe judgment upon both the important and the unimportant; and will maintain his opinions even at the risk of grieving others. In his passion, it is alike to him whether a person hate him or not; he means to stand above the world, to be all-sufficient for himself, and independent. If he be offended, he resents it haughtily; if he be hated, or even misunderstood with regard to his good qualities, he consoles himself with his consciousness of superiority. He is accustomed to find fault. With him all those who do not submit implicitly to his decisions, are unworthy of regard.

“ The foundation of this dangerous way of thinking is commonly laid in the first rudiments of education—when parents pet a child, flatter him on account of his natural gifts, and leave him as much as possible to his own will. This blind parental love makes the child domineering, too full of confidence in his own accomplishments, and selfish in the direction of his mind. He will sacrifice every thing to carry his point, even the greatest pleasures; he will forego every thing, even if it cost him tears, except the triumph of having effected his purpose. This self-conceit, and the habits arising from it, of pretending to know every thing better than others, of disputation and obstinacy, may, however, be equally the consequence of opposite practices in the mode of education. If you treat a child severely and unjustly—being persuaded of the injustice and short-sightedness of his preceptors—he will suffer in silence; but he will continue in his own opinion;—he will accustom himself to feel distrust in the understandings and hearts of others,—to consider his own convictions as the only right ones—and, at a riper and more independent age, to maintain them with the same harshness which was exercised towards himself. People, too, who in their youth have lived neglected, in poverty or oppression, but have raised themselves by their own powers to a certain respectability, may easily be led—whilst they are going too far in reliance on their own power and worth—into a stubborn pride and a quarrelsome disposition.”—pp. 242—246.

There is much more in this very useful and effectual style; and in an age which is too much inclined to confine its attention to general views, we conceive that particular lessons of such a description as this may be the instrument of extensive good.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

The Right Reverend CHRISTOPHER BETHELL, D.D., Lord Bishop of EXETER, to the Bishopric of BANGOR, in the room of the late Right Reverend Dr. HENRY WILLIAM MAJENDIE, late Bishop thereof.

The Very Reverend HENRY PHILLPOTTS, D.D., Dean of Chester, to the Bishopric of EXETER, vacated by the translation of Dr. BETHELL to the See of BANGOR.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Croydon, <i>V.</i> . . .	Surry . .	Henry Lindsay .	The Archbishop.
Dork.			
Halifax, St. James, <i>C.</i> .	W. York .	J. W. Dew . .	Vic. of Halifax.
Ilkley, <i>V.</i>	W. York .	Joseph Clarke .	L. W. Hartley, Esq.
Low Harrowgate, <i>C.</i> . .	W. York .	J. Holme . . .	V. of Pannal.
North Cave, <i>V.</i>	E. York .	J. Jarratt . . .	J. Barton, Esq.
Sunk Island, <i>C.</i>	E. York .	R. Metcalf . . .	The King.
York, St. Dennis, in } Walmgate, <i>R.</i> with } St. George and Na- } bourn, <i>V.</i> }	York . .	John Robinson .	G. Palmer, Esq.
Willerby, <i>V.</i>	E. York .	Edm. Dowker .	Lord Chancellor.
London.			
Gosfield, <i>V.</i>	Essex . .	J. Stedman . .	E. G. Bernard, Esq.
Navestock, <i>V.</i>	Essex . .	James Ford . .	Trin. Coll. Oxford.
Oakley, Little, <i>R.</i> . . .	Essex . .	G. Burmester .	Thomas Scott, Esq.
Prebend of Chiswick } in Cath. Church of } St. Paul }	London . .	John Smith . .	Lord Bishop.
Durham.			
Darlington, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Durham .	J. W. D. Merest	Marq. of Cleveland.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Chale, <i>R.</i>	I. of Wight .	C. Richards, jun.	Rev. C. Richards.
Corhampton, <i>P. C.</i> .	Hants . .	P. Lowther . .	H. P. Wyndham, Esq.
Coulsdon, <i>R.</i> . . .	Surry . .	Wm. Wood . .	Arbp. of Canterbury.
Ellisfield, <i>R.</i> . . .	Hants . .	E. Bosanquet .	E. Brocas, Esq.
Headley, <i>R.</i>	Surry . .	F. Faithfull . .	Col. F. G. Howard.
Bath and Wells.			
Ilchester, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	P. Wilson . .	Lord Bishop.
North Stoke, <i>R.</i> . .	Somerset .	Charles Hayes .	Lord Chancellor.
Nunny, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	T. J. Theobald .	C. Theobald, Esq.
Prebend of Coombe, } the 4th in Cath. Ch. of }	Wells . .	C. M. Mount .	Lord Bishop.
Prebend in Cath. Ch. of	Wells . .	W. B. Whitehead	Lord Bishop.
Yeovilton, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	Henry Law . .	Lord Bishop.
Bristol.			
Blandford, St. Mary, <i>R.</i>	Dorset . .	Hon. S. Best . .	Rev. T. Burrough.
Bristol, St. Stephen, <i>R.</i>	Bristol . .	Charles Buck . .	Lord Chancellor.
Clifton, Trinity, <i>C.</i> .	Gloucester .	J. Hensman . .	
Cranborne, <i>V.</i>	Dorset . .	F. H. Pare . .	Marq. of Salisbury.
Moreton, <i>R.</i>	Dorset . .	R. B. Buckle . .	Jas. Frampton, Esq.
Pillesden, <i>R.</i>	Dorset . .	Henry Fox . .	Rev. G. Raymond.
Turnworth, <i>V. and</i> } Winterbourne Whit- } church, <i>V.</i> }	Dorset . .	Tho. Tyrwhitt .	Bishop of Sarum.
Chester.			
Boughton, St. Paul, <i>C.</i>	Chester . .	Fred. Parry . .	
Chorley, St. George, <i>C.</i>	Lancaster .	E. Shuttleworth .	R. of Chorley.
Hindley, <i>C.</i>	Lancaster .	E. Hill	Rector of Wigan.
Kendal, St. George, <i>C.</i>	Westmoreland	Edm. Richardson	Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
Kirkby Wiske, <i>R.</i> . .	York . .	R. H. Chapman	The King.
Liverpool, St. Luke, <i>C.</i>	Lancaster .	James Aspinall .	
Chichester.			
Bramber, <i>R.</i>	Sussex . .	Tho. Grantham .	Magd. Coll. Oxford.
West Chiltoning, <i>R.</i> .	Sussex . .	Wm. Barlee . .	Earl of Abergavenny.
Exeter.			
Blackborough, <i>R. and</i> } Bondleigh, <i>R.</i> . . . }	Devon . .	Chas. Boulton . .	Hon. P. C. Wyndham.
Duloe, <i>R.</i>	Cornwall .	W. Creswell . .	Balliol Coll. Oxford.
Dunterton, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	N. T. Royce . .	Rev. N. T. Royce.
Holbeton, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	C. J. C. Bulteel .	The King.
Kentisbeare, <i>R.</i> . . .	Devon . .	Chas. Tripp, D.D.	Hon. P. C. Wyndham.
St. Issey, <i>V.</i>	Cornwall .	Wm. Gilbee . .	Dean and Chapter.
Stockley Pomeroy, <i>R.</i> .	Devon . .	James Morton .	The King this turn.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Gloucester.			
Alderton, R. [by disp. with Bishop's Cleeve, R.]	Gloucester .	W. L. Townsend	John Parsons, Esq.
Leckhampton, R. . . .	Gloucester .	C. B. Trye . . .	C. N. Trye, Esq.
Minor Canonry in Cath. Church of } . . .	Gloucester .	Thomas Evans .	Lord Bishop.
Tytherington, V. . . .	Gloucester .	W. H. M. Roberson	T. Hardwick, Esq.
Wickwar, R.	Gloucester .	T. R. Everest .	Rev. T. Cook.
Winstone, R.	Gloucester .	Sir E. W. Sandys	Sir E. B. Sandys, Bart.
Hereford.			
Deanery of the Cath. } Church of }	Hereford .	E. Grey	The King.
Eastham, R. with Hanley William, C. } Hanley Child, C. } and Orleton, C. . }	Worcester .	C. Turner . . .	Mrs. Turner.
Nichfield & Coventry.			
Bedworth, R.	Warwick .	Henry Bellairs .	Earl of Aylesford.
Birmingham, St. } George, R. . . . }	Warwick .	John Garbett . }	Execut. of the late T. Hawke, Esq.
Himley, R.	Stafford .	R. Wrottesley .	Earl Dudley.
Smethcott, R.	Salop . . .	Edw. Burn . . .	Mrs. Lacey.
Stoke-on-Trent, St. } Peter, C. . . . }	Stafford .	B. Vale	R. of Stoke-on-Trent.
Wolverhampton, St. } George, C. . . . }	Stafford .	G. Boodle Clare	D. of Windsor.
Wolvey, V.	Warwick .	J. Clementson . }	Jas. Smith, Esq. and Rev. Jas. Riddle.
Wlandaff.			
Llangna, R.	Monmouth .	John Jenkins .	J. L. Scudamore, Esq.
Lincoln.			
Appleby, R.	Leicester .	J. M. Echalaz . }	Guardians of G. Moore, Esq.
Blunham, R.	Beds . . .	J. Mountain . .	Lord Grantham.
Eastwell, R.	Leicester .	Edw. Ballen . }	Lord Chancellor and St. J.'s Hosp. Chest. alt.
Knebworth, R.	Herts . . .	J. L. Hesse . . .	Mrs. B. Lytton.
Syston, V.	Lincoln .	Geo. Gilbert . .	Sir J. H. Thorold, Bt.
Norwich.			
Akenham, R. with Claydon, R. . . . }	Suffolk . .	James Tyley . .	Miss E. Drury.
Antingham, St. Mary, R.	Norfolk . .	John Dolphin .	Lord Suffield.
Belaugh, R. with Scottow, V. . . . }	Norfolk . .	W. K. Fergusson	Lord Bishop.
Chelmondiston, R. . .	Suffolk . .	Henry Clissold .	Lord Chancellor.
Cley-near-the-Sea, R. .	Norfolk . .	C. Codd	J. W. Tomlinson, Esq.
Ellough, R.	Suffolk . .	R. A. Arnold . .	Earl of Gosford.
Fordham, P. C. . . .	Norfolk . .	Charles Mann .	E. R. Pratt, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
(NORWICH—continued.)			
Frettenham, <i>R. with</i> Stanninghall, <i>R.</i> }	Norfolk . .	James Shirley .	Lord Suffield.
Gunthorpe cum Bale, <i>R.</i>	Norfolk . .	E. J. Howman .	On his own Petition.
Ipswich, St. Lawrence, <i>C.</i>	Suffolk . .	J. C. Aldrich .	The Parishioners.
Kessingland, <i>V.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	G. Norris . .	Lord Bishop.
Loddon, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	T. C. W. Seymour	Bishop of Ely.
Lowestoff, <i>V.</i>	Suffolk . .	F. Cunningham }	Bishop of Norwich.
Potter Heigham, <i>V.</i> . .	Norfolk . .	John Lubbock }	
Sudburn cum Capella } de Orford, <i>R.</i> . . }	Suffolk . .	C. Smear . . .	The King.
Whitton, <i>R. with</i> } Thurlton, <i>R.</i> . . }	Suffolk . .	C. R. Ashfield .	Bishop of Ely.
Willisham, <i>C.</i>	Suffolk . .	James Wood .	Thomas Myers, Esq.
Oxford.			
Baldon-March, <i>R.</i> . .	Oxford . .	H. P. Willoughby	Lord Chancellor.
Enstone, <i>V.</i>	Oxford . .	Joseph Sibley .	Rt. Hon. Ld. Dillon.
Peterborough.			
Deanery of Cath. Ch. of	Peterboro' .	T. Turton, D.D.	Lord Bishop.
Ecton, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	J. C. Whalley .	On his own Petition.
Hardwick, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	Edw. Hughes .	Rev. E. Hughes.
Higham Ferrers, <i>V.</i> .	Northampton	T. W. Gage . }	Earl Fitzwilliam.
Irthingboro', St. Peter, <i>V.</i>	Northampton	R. A. Hannaford }	
Lyndon, <i>R.</i>	Rutland .	T. K. Arnold .	S. Barker, Esq.
Moulton, <i>V.</i>	Northampton	John Stanton .	On his own Petition.
Salisbury.			
Bishop's Slow, <i>R.</i> . .	Wilts . .	J. G. Thring . }	Sir J. D. Astley, Bart.
Everleigh, <i>R.</i>	Wilts . .	F. B. Astley . }	
[by disp. with Manning-			
ford Abbotts, <i>R.</i>]			
Fisherton Delamere, <i>V.</i>	Wilts . .	W. D. Thring, D.D.	J. Davis, Esq.
Great Sherston, <i>V.</i> }	Wilts . .	Chas. Whitcombe	D. & C. of Gloucester.
with Alderton, <i>C.</i> }			
Kevil, <i>V.</i>	Wilts . .	H. Richards . .	D. & C. of Winchester.
Sherborne, <i>V.</i>	Dorset . .	John Parsons .	The King.
[Pec. of D. of Sarum.]			
Taffort Evias, <i>R.</i> . .	Wilts . .	S. B. Ward . .	J. Tho. Mayne, Esq.
St. David's.			
Llanbdr Welfrey, <i>R.</i> .	Pembroke .	W. Seaton . . }	Lord Chancellor.
Llandafilog, <i>R.</i> . . .	Brecon . .	Tho. Vaughan }	
Llanfihangel-Wchwily, <i>C.</i>	Carmarthen	Tho. Davies . .	V. of Abergwilly.
Llanrythian, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Pembroke .	A. H. Richardson	V. Chor. of St. David's.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of	Brecon . .	Joshua Davies .	Lord Bishop.
Tenby, St. Mary, <i>R.</i> .	Pembroke .	J. H. Humphreys	The King.
Walterstone, <i>P. C.</i> }	Hereford }	T. Morgan . .	Earl of Oxford.
and Old Castle, <i>C.</i> }	Monmouth }		
Worcester.			
Bidford, <i>V. and</i> }	Warwick .	Tho. Boulton .	Lady Skipwith.
Priors Salford, <i>V.</i> }			
Claines, St. George, <i>C.</i>	Worcester .	Jas. Tyrwhitt .	P. C. of Claines.

CHAPLAINCIES.

Alderson, S. H., M.A. formerly Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, to be one of the Chaplains to the Lord Chancellor.

Clayton, Augustus Philip, to be Domestic Chaplain to Lord Viscount Melbourne.

Cooper, J. to be Chaplain of his Majesty's ship the Undaunted.

Dodson, Christopher, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Dow. Countess of Craven.

Hardy, C. to be Chaplain of his Majesty's ship the Revenge.

King, J. W., M.A. to be one of the Chaplains to his Excellency the Marquis of Anglesea, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Randall, Moses, to be Chaplain to Manchester Collegiate Church.

Serjeant Oswald, M. A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, to be one of the Domestic Chaplains to the Most Noble the Marquis of Stafford.

Townsend, Wm. L. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Craven.

Tyrwhitt, J. Bradshaw, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Belhaven and Stenton.

Tyrwhitt, T. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Stirling.

Wyatt, W. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Marquis of Londonderry.

SCHOOLS, &c.

Cooper, Mark, to be Second Master of Islington Proprietary Grammar School.

Gibson, J. to be Exam. for Writers in the service of the East India Company.

Kerby, R. W. to the Head Mastership of Wymondham Grammar School, Norfolk.

Ripley, Luke, to the Second Mastership of Durham Grammar School.

White, W. to the Head Mastership of the Grammar School at Wolverhampton.

Wray, Cecil D. to a Fellowship of the Collegiate Church of Manchester.

LECTURESHIP—PREACHERSHIP.

Brett, Rev. George, M.A. of Jesus College, Camb. to the Morning Preacher-ship of Hanover Chapel, Regent Street, on the resignation of the Rev. Edward

Serocold Price; Patron, the Dean of Carlisle.

Robinson, Robert, to the Evening Lectureship of the Coll. Ch. Wolverhampton.

IRELAND.

Bredin, James, to the Precentorship of Leighton and Rectory of Nurney; Patron, the Bishop of Ferns.

Colley, Arthur, to the Rectory of Tulamoy; Patron, the Bishop of Ferns.

French, W. Le Poer, to a vacant Stall and to the Living of Cloon, Leitrim; Patron, the Archbishop of Tuam.

ORDAINED.

CARLISLE.

By the Lord Bishop. On Sunday the
19th of December, 1830.

DEACONS.

Joseph Hutchinson Whitelock. Lit.
from St. Bees.

Henry Armstrong, B.A. Christ Coll. }
Cambridge.

By Lett. Dim. from the Bishop of }
Durham.

PRIESTS.

William Armitstead. Lit. from St. Bees.
John Park. Lit. from St. Bees.

William Abbott, B.A. Queen's College,
Oxford.

John Brownrigg Harrison. Lit. from
St. Bees.

CHESTER.

By the Lord Bishop. Dec. 18.

DEACONS.

S. Newall, Queen's College, Camb.

S. Longhurst, Queen's College, Camb.

H. E. Massie, Queen's College, Camb.

W. Baudwen, Trinity College, Camb.

J. W. Harden, St. John's Coll. Camb.

W. Macivor, Brasenose College, Oxf.

J. S. Birley, Brasenose College, Oxf.

G. F. E. Warburton, Brasenose College,
Oxford.

W. W. Johnson, Brasenose Coll. Oxf.

J. H. Moran, Magdalen College, Oxf.

Rob. Wilson, Trinity College, Dublin.

Thomas Harrison, St. Bees.

W. R. Atkinson, St. Bees.

PRIESTS.

James Wright, Queen's College, Tri-
nity College, Cambridge.

James Hassell, Trinity College, Camb.

R. Appleton, Trinity College, Camb.

Anthony Cumby, Corpus Christi Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Cha. Cole, Corpus Christi Coll. Camb.

Rob. Pulbenie, Emmanuel Coll. Camb.

Tho. Bradford, Magdalen Coll. Camb.

C. W. Dalton, Magdalen Coll. Camb.

A. Hall, Caius College, Cambridge.

J. Macauley, St. Peter's Coll. Camb.

W. Dixon, Brasenose College, Oxf.

C. Wray, Brasenose College, Oxford.
R. Greenall, Brasenose Coll. Oxford.
H. Holdsworth, Brasenose Coll. Oxf.
J. Robinson, Brasenose Coll. Oxford.
Thomas Harrison, Trinity Coll. Dublin.
W. Shepherd, St. Bees.

R. Bradley, St. Bees.

Messrs. Butler and Vaughan, by }
Lett. Dim. from Bish. of Hereford. }

Mr. Fawkes, by Lett. Dim. from }
Archbishop of York. }

LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

By the Lord Bishop. Oct. 3.

DEACONS.

T. Oben Drawbridge, B.A. Queen's
College, Oxford.

P. Fosbrooke, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.

R. D. Hill, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, at Buckden.
Sept. 19.

DEACONS.

C. J. Barnard, B.A. Emmanuel Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Stephen Reed Cattley, B.A. Queen's
College, Cambridge.

John T. Day, B.A. Corpus Christi Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Tho. Sheldon Green, M.A. Fellow of
Christ's College, Cambridge.

Geo. D. Grundy, B.A. Brasenose Col-
lege, Oxford.

James Amiraux Jeremie, M.A. Fellow
of Trinity College, Cambridge.

W. French Major, Magdalen Coll. Oxf.

Geo. R. Oakley, B.A. Trinity College,
Dublin.

Nat. Pomfret Small, M.A. St. Mary's
Hall, Oxford.

Charles Woodward, S.C.L. Queen's
College, Cambridge.

H. E. C. Cobden, B.A. St. John's }
College, Cambridge. }

from the Bishop of Ely }

PRIESTS.

James Armitstead, B.A. Wadham Col-
lege, Oxford.

John Boyle, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Camb.

James Layton Brown, B.A. University College, Oxford.

Tho. Carson, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

Vicesimus Knox Child, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

John Manuel Echalez, M.A. Fellow of Trinity Coll. Oxford.

W. N. Gresley, B.A. St. Mary's Hall, Oxford.

Richard T. Lowe, M.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

A. T. Russell, S.C.L. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Alex. Everingham Sketchley, M.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

Geo. W. Straton, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Tho. Whitworth, B.A. Christ College, Cambridge.

NORWICH.

By the Lord Bishop, at Norwich.

Oct. 10.

DEACONS.

H. Beckwith, B.A. Jesus Coll. Camb.

Tho. J. Biofield, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Geo. Cooke, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.

Edward Carlton Cumberbatch, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Hon. C. Dundas, M.A. Trinity Coll. Cambridge.

Edw. Holley, B.A. Caius Coll. Camb.

S. Jackson, B.A. Caius Coll. Camb.

W. Jay, B.A. Caius Coll. Camb.

Hippesley Maclean, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

E. H. Ravenhill, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Rob. Scaplehorn, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

John James Smith, B.A. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.

Barrington Taylor, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

A. Thurtell, B.A. Caius Coll. Camb.

PRIESTS.

Tho. Fielding Baker, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

W. Foulger, B.A. Trinity Coll. Camb.

John Gunton, B.A. Christ Coll. Camb.

T. Collingwood Hughes, B.A. Downing College, Cambridge

John Rust Jeffery, B.A. Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

W. Nunn, B.A. Jesus College, Camb.

T. J. Theobald, B.A. Christ Coll. Camb.

OXFORD.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Cathedral at Christ Church.

Dec. 15.

DEACONS.

Henry Duke Harington, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Cha. Lushington, M.A. Student of Christ College, Oxford.

W. Parker, M.A. Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Rich. Fawsett, B.A. Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

James Guillimard, B.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

Thomas Chandler Curties, B.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Cha. Rob. Henry James, B.A. Curate of Shifford.

D. M. Bowme, B.A. Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

James Beauchamp, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

Rich. Harington, M.A. Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

John Phelps, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

David John George, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

Robert Hawkins, M.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford.

Francis Edw. Paget, B.A. Student of Christ College, Oxford.

W. Sweet Escott, S.C.L. New College, Oxford.

W. Robert Browell, B.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford.

George Horatio Hadfield, M.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford.

Thomas Edmondes, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

Cha. Williams, M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.

Cha. F. S. Fanshawe, M.A. Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Hen. Hodgkinson Bobart, M.A. Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford.

John Jordan, B.A. Clare Hall, Camb.

Tho. Henry Hawes, B.A. Magdalen Hall, and Chaplain of New College, Oxf.

E. P. Blunt, M.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

St. Vincent Lane Hammick, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

B. Y. Mills, B.A. Trinity College, Oxf.

PETERBOROUGH.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Parish Church
of St. John Baptist. Oct. 29.

DEACONS.

Robert Moulton Atkinson, B.A. St.
John's College, Cambridge.

S. Shield, B.A. St. John's Coll. Camb.

J. C. Whalley, B.A. Brasenose Col-
lege, Oxford.

William Singleton, M.A. St. John's }
College, Cambridge.

By Let. Dim. from the Arch. of York. }

PRIEST.

James Challis, M.A. Trinity College,
Cambridge.

By Let. Dim. from the Bish. of Ely.

SALISBURY.

By the Lord Bishop, in the Episcopal
Palace. Oct. 17.

DEACONS.

Rob. Dyer, B.A. St. Alban Hall, Oxf.

James Fletcher West, B.A. Brasenose
College, Oxford.

Robert Martyn Ashe, B.A. Trinity
College, Oxford.

George Kinnard, B.A. St. Alban Hall,
Oxford.

H. D. C. S. Horlock, B.A. Magdalen
Hall, Oxford.

James Vaughan, B.A. Balliol College,
Oxford.

John Lawes, B.A. St. John's College,
Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Walter A. Trenchard, M.A. Trinity
College, Oxford.

W. Henry Newbolt, B.A. New Col-
lege, Oxford.

Lewis Tomlinson, B.A. Wadham Coll.
Oxford.

W. Bowling, B.A. Jesus College, Oxf.
Samuel Smith, B.A. Magdalen College,
Cambridge.

John Matthews, B.A. St. John's Col-
lege, Cambridge.

Matthew Gibson, B.A. Trinity College,
Cambridge.

Edmund Waller, B.A. Trinity College,
Cambridge.

Robert Meek, St. John's College, Cam-
bridge.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Croydon, <i>V.</i>	Surry . .	J. C. Lockwood	The Archbishop. Lord Chancellor and Corp. of Sandwich, alt.
Sandwich, St. Peter, <i>R.</i>	Kent . .	W. Wodsworth	
York.			
Darrington, <i>V. and</i> } Newton Kyme, <i>R.</i> }	W. York .	John Challoner	The Archbishop. T. L. Fairfax, Esq.
Hutton Rudby, <i>V.</i> } and Middleton on } Leven, <i>C. and</i> }	W. York . }	R. Shepherd . }		J. Cary, Esq.
Rownton, East, <i>C.</i> }	N. York . }		Lady Amherst.
Ilkley, <i>V.</i>	W. York .	Wm. Holdsworth	L. W. Hartley, Esq.
London.			
Prebend. of Chiswick } in Cath. Ch. of . }	St. Paul's .	T. Parkinson, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
Durham.			
Darlington, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Durham .	Wm. Gordon .	Marq. of Cleveland.
Winchester.			
Coulsden, <i>R.</i>	Surry . .	J. C. Lockwood	Archb. of Canterbury.
Bath and Wells.			
Chillington, <i>P. C. and</i> } Seavington St. Mary, } <i>P. C.</i> }	Somerset .	Thomas Evans .	Earl Powlett.
Clevedon, <i>V. and</i> } Rural Deanery of } Bedminster . . }	Somerset .	E. C. Grevile .	Lord Bishop of Bristol.
Corfe, <i>P. C.</i>	Somerset .	G. N. Gale . .	F. G. Cooper, Esq.
Nettlecombe, <i>R. and</i> } Preb. in Cath. Ch. of }	Somerset }	W. Trevelyan . }	Sir J. Trevelyan, Bart. Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of } Wells and Ilchester, }	Wells . . }		
<i>R. and Yeovilton, R.</i> }	Somerset .	R. T. Whalley .	Lord Bishop.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Bristol.			
Bristol, St. Stephen, <i>R.</i>	Bristol . .	E. C. Grevile .	Lord Chancellor.
Henbury, <i>V. with</i>	Gloucester .	W. Trevelyan .	Lord Middleton.
Aust, <i>C. and</i>			Sir J. Smyth, Bt.
Northwick, <i>C.</i>			E. Colston, Esq. and Rev. C. Gore. In rot.
Carlisle.			
Udale, <i>R.</i>	Cumberland	Jos. Cape . .	Rev. J. Cape.
Chester.			
Caton, <i>C.</i>	Lancaster .	Jos. Benn . .	Vicar of Lancaster.
Chancellor of Diocese of	Chester . .	T. Parkinson, D.D.	Lord Bishop.
Fell. of Coll. Ch. of	Lancashire } Flint . . }	C. W. Ethelston }	Rev. C. W. Ethelston. John Threffal, Esq.
Manchester, and			
Cheetham, <i>C. and</i>			
Worthingbury, <i>R.</i>			
Ely.			
Wisbeach, St. Mary, <i>C.</i>	Cambridge .	A. Jobson, D.D.	Lord Bishop.
and St. Peter, <i>V.</i>			
with Gyhirn, <i>C.</i>			
Exeter.			
Duloe, <i>R.</i>	Cornwall .	George Powell .	Balliol Coll. Oxford.
Dunterton, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	Wm. Royce . .	Rev. W. Royce.
Goodleigh, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	W. Churchward	Rev. W. Churchward.
North Bovey, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	Hon. W. Annesley	Tr. of Visc. Courtenay.
Hereford.			
Deanery of	Hereford .	Edward Mellish	The King.
Lichfield and Coventry.			
Aston, Birmingham, <i>V.</i>	Warwick .	George Peake .	Rev. G. Peake.
Coleshill, <i>V. and</i>	Warwick .	Hon. R. Digby .	Earl Digby.
Sheldon, <i>R.</i>			
Lillington, <i>V. and</i>	Warwick .	John Wise . . }	Mat. Wise, Esq. T. W. Knightley, Esq.
Marton, <i>V.</i>			

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Lincoln.			
Bramston, <i>R. and</i> } Waltham, <i>R. . . .</i> }	Leicester .	Wm. Woodall .	Duke of Rutland.
Blunham, <i>R. . . .</i> .	Beds. . . .	R. P. Beachcroft	Countess de Gray.
Choulsbury, <i>C. . . .</i> .	Bucks . . .	David Roderick	Trust. of Mr. Neale.
Kegworth, <i>R. with</i> } Isley Walton, <i>C. and</i> } Archdeaconry of . }	Leicester .	T. Parkinson, DD }	Christ Coll. Camb. Lord Bishop.
Knebworth, <i>R. and</i> } Letchworth, <i>R. . .</i> }	Herts . . .	Morgan Price .	R. W. Lytton, Esq.
Leckhampstead, <i>R. .</i> .	Bucks . . .	J. T. A. Rees .	J. Beauclerc, Esq.
Syston, <i>V.</i> .	Lincoln . .	John Scott . .	Sir J. H. Thorold, Bt.
Thoresway, <i>R. . . .</i> .	Lincoln . .	Wm. Mounsey .	Lord Chancellor.
Throcking, <i>R. . . .</i> .	Herts . . .	Richard Jeffries	Mrs. Elwes.
Mlandaff.			
Llancarvan, <i>V. . . .</i> .	Glamorgan	Rees Howell .	Lord Chancellor.
Norwich.			
Baddingham, <i>R. and</i> } Cransford, <i>V. and</i> } Ellough, <i>R. . . .</i> }	Suffolk . . .	Clem. Chevallier }	Rev. C. Chevallier. Earl of Gosford.
Beeston, St. Andrew, <i>R.</i> .	Norfolk . .	Wm. Boycett .	F. R. Reynolds, Esq.
Cley-near-the-Sea, <i>R.</i> } and Gunthorpe, <i>R.</i> } with Bale, <i>R. . . .</i> }	Norfolk . .	Charles Collyer }	J. W. Tomlinson, Esq. Rev. C. Collyer.
Gayton, <i>V.</i> .	Norfolk . .	L. Treadway . .	The Lord Bishop.
Kessingland, <i>V. with</i> } Lowestoff, <i>V. and</i> } Potter Heigham, <i>V.</i> }	Suffolk . . .	Rich. Lockwood	The Lord Bishop.
Sudbourne, <i>V. with</i> } Orford, <i>C.</i> }	Suffolk . . .	John Connor .	The King.
Peterborough.			
Moulton, <i>V.</i> .	Northamp.	Wm. Stanton .	Miss Mostyn.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	Peterborough	Rich. Lockwood	The Lord Bishop.
Rochester.			
Aylesford, <i>V. and</i> } Lamberhurst, <i>V. .</i> }	Kent . . .	Wm. Eveleigh .	Dean and Chapter.
Speldhurst, <i>R. with</i> } Groombridge, <i>C. .</i> }	Kent . . .	Wm. Gordon .	Robert Burgess, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
St. David's.			
Llanbadarn Fynnyd, C. } and Llanwanno, C. }	Radnor . . }	John Thomas . }	Rector of Llanbyster. Preb. of Llanbyster in Coll. Ch. of Brecon.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of and Talbenny, R. } and Tenby, R. . . }	Brecon . . } Pembroke }	N. Roche, D.D. }	Bishop of St. David's. Sir W. Owen, Bt. The King.
Worcester.			
Coughton, V. . . . }	Warwick . }	Fra. Gottwaltz }	Sir C. Throckmorton, Bart.
Grafton Flyford, R. . }	Worcester . }	Richard Darke . }	Earl of Coventry.

Name.	Residence or Appointment.
Bradley, Thomas	Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Old Foundation.
Eyre, Wm. Urnstone	Fellow of New College, Oxford.
Herries, W.	Bristol.
Kennett, B.	Camden Terrace, Kensington.
Sadler, Robert, B. A.	Over Whitaine, Warwickshire.
Tresiller, J.	Endellion, Cornwall.
Tuckfield, R. C. H.	Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford.
Walton, John	Leeds.

AMERICA.

At Auburn, in the central part of the Diocese of New York, the Right Rev. JOHN HENRY HOBART, Bishop of that See. He was consecrated 29th of May, 1811.

MARRIED.

- Aldrich, William, W. B. C. L. of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and Perpetual Curate of Butley, to Dorothy Lucy Mingay, second daughter of R. Rope, Gent. of Ubbeston.
- Ashe, Robert, Rector of Langley Burrell, Wilts, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late John Pybus, Esq. of Old Bond Street, London.
- Athawes, John, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of Loughton, Bucks, to Miriam, youngest daughter of the late John Brown, Esq. of Milners Hall, Earith.
- Becket, Wilson, M.A. of Thornton-le-moor, Yorkshire, to Fanny, second daughter of Joseph Bullock, Esq. late Commissary General in the West Indies.
- Beckwith, Samuel Boydell, B.A. of St. John's College, Oxford, and of Lamberhurst, Kent, to Anna Maria, eldest daughter of the late Jos. Vannini, Esq. of St. John's.
- Blyth, Charles Dethick, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and Rector of Sutton, Bedfordshire, to Barbara, second daughter of the late Lieut. Col. Clutton.
- Bourne, Robert Burr, M.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, to Eliza Jane, youngest daughter of the late John Johnston, Esq. of Danson, Kent.
- Burr, John Toll, M.A. of Barnham, to Anna Susan, second daughter of the late S. Barrow, Esq. of the former place.
- Busfield, Wm. M.A. to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late Rev. C. F. Bond.
- Byron, John, M.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, third son of Captain Byron, R.N.C.B. to Mary, eldest daughter of Wm. Richardson, Esq. of Leatherhead, Surrey.
- Cattley, S. R. of Queen's College, Cambridge, to Mary Anne, fourth daughter of J. W. Thomlinson, Esq. of Clay, Norfolk.
- Cave, Oliver, M.A. of Balliol College, Oxford, to Frances, youngest daughter of Wm. Lенаux, Esq.
- Clarke, T. B.A. Vicar of Mitcheldever, near Winchester, to Anne Agnes, daughter of T. Husband, Esq. of the former place.
- Colville, Asgill, Vicar of Midsomer Norton, and nephew of the late General Sir Charles Asgill, Bart. G.C.H. to Maria, fourth daughter of the late Edmund Broderip, Esq.
- Cotes, Peter, M.A. Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, to Harriet Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Charles Barton, of Rownhams, Hants, and Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn.
- Dashwood, George H. Gentleman Commoner and M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, to Marianne, widow of Henry Job, Esq. late of his Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons.
- Dodsworth, William, M.A. Minister of Margaret Chapel, St. Marylebone, to Elizabeth Buller, grand-daughter of the late Mr. Justice Buller.
- Drake, J. Tyrwhitt, M.A. of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Rector of Amersham, to Emily, youngest daughter of the late C. D. Garrard, Esq. of Lamer, Herts.
- Dymoke, John, M.A. Rector of Scrivelsby and Roughton, Lincolnshire, to Mary Ann, daughter of the Rev. C. Madely, D.D. Vicar of Horncastle.
- Eckersall, Charles, second son of John Eckersall, Esq. of St. Catherine's Lodge, Somersetshire, to Mary Anne Wallis, only daughter of the late Richard Wallis, Esq.
- Evans, J. S. R. of Queen's College, Oxford, and of Lydgate, York, to Elizabeth, third daughter of Wm. Lees, Esq. of Whiston, near Prescott.
- Everst, Thomas Rowpell, Rector of Wickwar, Gloucestershire, to Mary, eldest daughter of Isaac Ryall, Esq. Surgeon of the Royal Marine Infirmary, Plymouth, and of Hampstead, in the county of Dublin.
- Ford, James, B.D. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, and Vicar of Navestock, Essex, to Miss Jermy, of Ipswich.
- Firth, Wm. B.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Rector of Letcombe Bassett, and one of the City Lecturers, to Miss West, of Holywell, in that city.
- Fulford, Rev. Francis, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, second son of Baldwin Fulford, Esq. of Great Fulford, Devonshire, to Mary, eldest daughter of Andrew Berkeley Drummond, Esq. of Cadland, Hants.
- Gilibee, Wm. to Barbara, eldest daughter of the late Rev. John Molesworth.
- Green, Valentine, M.A. Vicar of Barkestone and Plungar, Leicestershire, to Anne Barbara, eldest daughter of the Rev. Edward Thomas Vaughan, M.A.
- Greene, Cecil James, Vicar of Hampnett, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Wm. Wequelin, Esq. Northgate, Chichester.
- Griffith, J., B.D. Fellow of Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge, and Prebendary of Rochester, to Mary Elizabeth, only daughter of the Rev. J. Barker, of Hildersham Hall, Cambridge.

- Griffith, John Wickham, M.A. Michel Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, to Maria Louisa, daughter of the Rev. William Bayly, D.D. of New College, Oxford.
- Hayward, George Christopher, M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, and of Avening, Gloucestershire, to Augusta Sarah, youngest daughter of the late Wm. Marriott, Esq. of the East India Company's Service, and of Pershore, Worcestershire.
- Hazel, Wm. M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, and Head Master of the Grammar School, Portsmouth, to Jane, eldest daughter of the late Mr. James Hazel.
- Hickman, H. to Mary, Relict of John P. Noel, Esq. of Bell Hall, Worcestershire.
- Horsford, John, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, and Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Aberdeen, to Mary Ann, eldest daughter of Captain Frederick Glubb.
- Hopwood, Jesse, of Chelsea, to Anne, daughter of the late Thomas Beech, Esq.
- Jenkins, D. of St. Gorran, Cornwall, to Miss Richards, daughter of the late Mr. W. Richards, Solicitor, of Penryn.
- Jones, Lewis, Vicar of Almondbury, to Catherine, second daughter of the late James Watkin, Esq. of Moelouney, Cardiganshire.
- Lewin, Rd. of Yately, Hants, to Sarah, third daughter of J. R. Sandon, Esq.
- Leyson, John, Rector of Lanrigna, Brecon, to Anna Maria, only child of the late F. R. B. S. Penoyre, Esq. of the Moor and Hardwick, Herefordshire, and Bath Easton Villa, Somersetshire.
- Lord, Samuel Curlewis, B.D. of Wadham College, Oxford, to Emily, second daughter of J. Bayly, Esq. of Upper Tooting.
- Medway, J. of Melbourn, to Mary, daughter of the late J. Fordham, Esq. of Royston.
- Methold, John William, of Wetheringsett, Suffolk, to Louisa Wen, eldest daughter of D. Gunton, Esq. of Matlosk, Norfolk.
- Mildmay, Carew St. John, brother of Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, Bart. to the Hon. Caroline Waldegrave, youngest daughter of the late Admiral Lord Radstock.
- Morgan, Evan, of Lewisham, to Mrs. Maria Budgen, of Islington.
- Moseley, John, of Exmouth, to Frances Maria Williams, third daughter of the late Samuel Williams, Esq. of Bristol.
- Munro, Horace, Vicar of Kerry, Montgomeryshire, to Charlotte Elizabeth, fourth daughter of the late A. Pechell, Esq.
- Orme, Edward Hartley, B.A. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, to Mary, daughter of J. Garnett, Esq. of Roefield, Lancashire.
- Pare, Frederick Harry, M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, to the Hon. Geraldine Fitzgerald de Roos, third daughter of the late Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitzgerald and the Baroness de Roos.
- Price, George, Rector of Romald Kirk, Yorkshire, son of Barrington Price, Esq. West House, Brighton, to Georgina, the only surviving daughter of the late Capt. C. Pelly, Richards, Russell, of Datchett, Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, to Caroline Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. John Briggs.
- Robertson, Ebenezer, of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Harriet, eldest daughter of the late John Lockwood, Esq. of Beverley.
- Sadler, Alfred, B.A. of Nottingham, to Charlotte, eldest daughter of T. Campbell, Esq.
- Spence, Hugh Maltby, M.A. of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Vicar of West Haddon, Northamptonshire, to Margaret Millicent, youngest daughter of the late John Welb, Esq. of Lee Hall, Staffordshire.
- Vaughan, H. of Crickhowell, to Elizabeth, second daughter of T. Johnson, Esq.
- Vernon, Hon. and Rev. John, third son of the late, and half-brother of the present Lord Vernon, to Frances Barbara, second daughter of Thomas Duncombe, Esq.
- Walsh, J. H. A. M.A. of Balliol College, Oxford, and of Warminster, to Anne, daughter of the late Wm. Fleetwood Bury, Esq. of Pant-y-Goitre House, Monmouthshire.
- Wheeler, Charles, M.A. of Christ Church, to Mrs. Gelllett, daughter of James Neyler, Esq. of Cheltenham.
- Williams, D. H. T. G. youngest son of Sir G. G. Williams, Bart. to Anne Frances Gertrude Davies, eldest daughter of the late J. Davies, of Penlan, Esq.
- Wills, Benjamin, to Catharine, fifth daughter of the late Mr. Wm. Dibdin, Bristol.
- Wingfield, Wm. to Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Kelly, Dublin.
- Wrench, Jacob George, D.C.L. of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, F.A.S. and of Underdean Larches, Gloucestershire, to Eliza, youngest child of the late Richard Brant, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

Oct. 21.

Rev. Benjamin Saunders Claxson, Worcester College.

Nov. 4.

The Rev. James Carne, Oriel College, Grand Compounder.

BACHELOR AND DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

By accumulation.

Oct. 21.

Rev. Wm. Davison Thring, Wadham College.

DOCTOR IN CIVIL LAW.

Oct. 21.

Wm. Rosser Williams, B. C. L. Michel Fellow of Queen's College, and one of the Law-Fellows on Mr. Viner's foundation.

BACHELOR IN MEDICINE,

With license to practise.

Oct. 29.

Philip Lovell Phillips, Exeter College.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 21.

Rev. Wm. Marsh, Magdalen Hall.
Rev. H. Sanders, Student of Christ Ch.
C. Lushington, Student of Christ Ch.
Rev. Walter Lucas Brown, Student of Christ Church.
Rev. Jacob Jos. Marsham, Christ Ch.
Rev. Richard Lane Freer, Christ Ch.
John Edward Jackson, Brasenose Coll.
Rev. George Leigh, Brasenose College.
Rev. Joseph Birchall, Brasenose Coll.

Charles Neate, Fellow of Oriel College.
Hungerford Hoskyns, Oriel College.

Oct. 27.

George Cary Elwes, Fellow of All Souls' College.

William Mac Ivor, Brasenose College.
Rev. Sampson Harris, Exeter College.
Nathaniel Goldsmid, Exeter College.
William Ellis Wall, Trinity College.

Nov. 4.

Rev. Tullie Cornthwaite, Trinity Coll.
Thomas Collett, Trinity College.
Rev. Jasper Peck, Trinity College.
Rev. Hugh Robert Thomas, Jesus Coll.
Rev. Wm. Annesley, University Coll.
Rev. Edward Barlee, St. John's Coll.
Rev. John Matthew, Balliol College.
Rev. John Ryle Wood, Christ Church.

Nov. 11.

Rev. John Griffith, Jesus College.
John Horne, Exeter College.
The Rev. Edward Bouchier, M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, was admitted *ad eundem*.

Nov. 18.

Francis Forster, Fellow of Wadham College.
Rev. John Foley, Fellow of Wadham College.
Rev. Henry Brown, Balliol College.

Nov. 25.

Rev. Edward Osborn, Oriel College, Grand Compounder.
John Peter Simonet, St. Edmund Hall.
John Kaye, Brasenose College.
Richard Seymour, Student of Christ Church.
Rev. Charles Gilbee, Queen's College.

Dec. 2.

Rev. Abel John Ram, Oriel College,
Grand Compounder.
Rev. John Watkin Downes, Jesus Coll.
Rev. Charles Robert Butler, Worcester
College.

Dec. 9.

William Reade, Queen's Coll., Grand
Compounder.
George Wm. Hope, Christ Church.
George William Newnham, Scholar of
Corpus Christi College.
Rev. Thos. Barton Hill, Wadham Coll.
Rev. Stair Douglas, Balliol College.

Dec. 17.

Rev. Charles Washington Lawrence,
Brasenose College.
Rev. Francis Edward Paget, Student of
Christ Church.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Oct. 21.

Thomas James Agar Robartes, Christ
Church, Grand Compounder.
Edward Power, Magdalen Hall.
William Worsley, Magdalen Hall.
John Welstead Sharpe Powell, St. Ed-
mund Hall.
Herbert Randolph, Scholar of Balliol
College.
Fred. Belson, Scholar of University Coll.
John Tighe Wells, University Coll.
James Frederick Crouch, Scholar of
Corpus Christi College.
Thomas Garnier, Worcester College.
Alexander C. Streatfield, St. John's Coll.
Wm. H. B. Stocker, St. John's Coll.
Edward Cockey, Scholar of Wadham
College.
Robt. John Rolles, Fellow of New Coll.
Charles Henville Bayly, Fellow of New
College.
Newton B. Young, Fellow of New Coll.
Samuel Lysons, Exeter College.
Horatio Dudding, Exeter College.

Oct. 27.

Thos. Henry Whipham, Trinity Coll.
Edward Thrupp, Wadham College.
Henry Ker Seymer, Christ Church.

Nov. 4.

Henry Hutton, Wadham College.
John Henry Moran, Magdalen Hall.

Nov. 11.

William Atkinson, University College,
Grand Compounder.

Viscount Boringdon, Christ Church.
Griffith Williams, Jesus College.
Reginald Smith, Balliol College.
Robert Alfred Cloyne Austen, Oriel
College.
John Thos. Graves, Oriel Coll. incorpo-
rated from Trinity College, Dublin.

Nov. 18.

William Bingham, St. Mary Hall, Grand
Compounder.
Richard Morgan, Jesus College.
Henry Crofts, Scholar of University
College.
Benjamin Harrison, Student of Christ
Church.
Thomas Tancred, Christ Church.
William Cureton, Christ Church.
Septimus Cotes, Wadham College.
Samuel Grimshaw, Brasenose College.
Edward Owen, Worcester College.
John Carter, Fellow of St. John's Coll.
John Wyndham Bruce, Exeter College.
Richard Hardy Blanchard, Lincoln
College.
Peter Barlow, Queen's College.
John Campbell, Pembroke College.
Harford Brydges, Merton College.
Hon. Francis Bernard, Oriel College.
Henry Wm. Wilberforce, Oriel Coll.

Nov. 25.

George Bird, St. Edmund Hall.
Edward Greene, Demy of Magdalen.
George Airey Haigh, University Coll.
John Reveley Mitford, Christ Church.
Hugh Pudsey Dawson, Brasenose Coll.
Jas. Garnett Heedlam, Brasenose Coll.
Robert Courtenay Windham, Brasenose
College.
Henry Healey Healey, Lincoln Coll.
Erskine William Holland, Worcester
College.
George Edward Jepp, Scholar of Wad-
ham College.
Thomas Burningham, Trinity College.
John Dalson, Queen's College.
John Hodgson, Scholar of Queen's Coll.
Richard Collinson, Queen's College.
John Taylor and Robert Haynes, Pem-
broke College.

Dec. 2.

Nathaniel Levett, Jesus College.
Robert Hepburne Murray, St. Aiban's
Hall.
George Chetwynd, Christ Church.
William Smyth, Wadham College.
David Drummond, Worcester College.
Richard Roe Holberton, Exeter Coll.
Henry Manning, Balliol College.

Edward Pennefather, Balliol College.
 Frederick Smith, Balliol College.
 Edward Kensington, Balliol College.
 John Oldham, Oriel College.
 John Dorney Harding, Oriel College.

Dec. 9.

Henry William Barrow Willan, Queen's College.

William Henry Vanderstegen, Brasenose College.

Haliday Dickyn, Brasenose College.

John Wise, Wadham College.

John Vaughan, Worcester College.

Thos. Timothy Lane Bayliff, St. John's College.

Samuel Whiddon, Lincoln College.

Jonathan James Toogood, Balliol Coll.

John Edward Walker, Balliol College.

James Hale Talbot, Pembroke College.

John William Thomas, Merton College.

Slater Thomas, Merton College.

Dec. 17.

John Jenkins, Jesus College.

Hugh Prichard, Jesus College.

Rev. W. J. Shattock, St. Edmund Hall.

William Tireman, Demy of Magdalen Hall.

A. G. White, Brasenose College.

H. Ethelston, Brasenose College.

F. Daubeney, Brasenose College.

Richard Walker, New College.

B. W. Tucker, Oriel College.

A. Champness, Postmaster of Merton College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

Oct. 8.

The Rev. Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College, was the third time nominated and admitted Vice-Chancellor, by letters from the Chancellor of the University, and approved by Convocation.

The new Vice-Chancellor has nominated as his Pro-Vice-Chancellors, the following gentlemen :—

The Rev. Dr. Hall, Master of Pembroke College.

The Rev. Dr. Jenkyns, Master of Balliol College.

The Rev. Dr. Rowley, Master of University College.

The Rev. Dr. Gilbert, Principal of Brasenose College.

Oct. 21.

The Rev. Henry Rookin, M. A. was elected Fellow of Queen's College on the Old Foundation.

Nov. 10.

A deputation of the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College, agreeably to an ancient privilege of that society, had the honour of presenting an address and petition of patronage to the Queen; to which her Majesty returned a most gracious answer, and kindly acceded to their petition.

Mr. Henry Edward Wall was admitted Fellow of New College, being of kin to the Founder.

Brooke William Boothby, B. A. was admitted Actual Fellow, and Thomas Garnier, S. C. L. (late of Worcester College), Probationary Fellow of All Souls' College.

The Rev. Joseph Maude, M. A. was elected a Fellow of Queen's College, on the Michel or New Foundation.

Nov. 11.

William Edward Naien, Commoner of Queen's College, and John Piggott Munby, Commoner of Lincoln College, were elected Scholars of Lincoln College; and Thos. Lewis Trotter was elected one of Lord Crewe's Exhibitioners in the same Society.

Nov. 25.

In Convocation the Rev. Thos. Vowler Short, B. D. of Christ Church; the Rev. Charles Girdlestone, M. A. of Balliol College; the Rev. Henry William Buckley, M. A. of Merton College; the Rev. John Henry Newman, M. A. of Oriel College; and the Rev. John Ball, M. A. of St. John's College, were appointed to succeed to the office of Select Preacher at Michaelmas next.

Nov. 29.

Edward Turner Boyd Twisleton, B. A. Scholar of Trinity College, was elected Fellow of Balliol College.

At the same time Robert Blackburn, Commoner of Queen's College, and Archibald Campbell Tait, Snell's Exhibitioner of Balliol College, were elected to the vacant open Scholarships of Balliol College; and James Edwards to Greaves's Exhibition, at the same College.

Dec. 3.

Mr. Geo. Woods, Commoner of Queen's College, was elected Scholar of University College, on Sir Simon Bennet's Foundation.

Dec. 16.

Mr. T. Pearson was elected and admitted Scholar on Mr. Michel's Foundation at Queen's College.

Dec. 17.

The Rev. Joseph Ballantine Dykes was elected Fellow of Queen's College on the Old Foundation.

The Rev. W. H. M. Roberson, M. A. of Lincoln College, is appointed a Proctor of the Vice-Chancellor's Court, in the room of the Rev. W. Brown, resigned.

The following noblemen have been admitted of Christ Church:—

Lord Visc. Alford, son of Earl Brownlow.
Lord Visc. Alexander, son of the Earl of Caledon.

Earl of Hillsborough, son of the Marquis of Downshire.

The names of those Candidates who, at the close of the public examinations in Michaelmas Term, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the three classes of *Literæ Humaniores*, and *Disciplinæ Mathematicæ et Physicæ*, respectively, according to the alphabetical arrangement in each class prescribed by the statute, stand as follow:—

In the First Class of Literæ Humaniores:

Anstice, Joseph, Student of Christ Church.
Hamilton, Walter Kerr, Student of Christ Church.

Manning, Henry Edward, Balliol College.
Palmer, William, Magdalen College.
Walker, John Edward, Balliol College.
Wilberforce, Henry William, Oriel Coll.

In the Second Class of Literæ Humaniores:

Bates, John Ellison, Student of Christ Ch.
Clifton, Robert, Worcester College.

Fowle, George Frederick, Balliol College.
Gepp, George Edward, Wadham College.
Harding, John, Oriel College.

Kensington, Edward, Balliol College.
Medwin, Thomas, Worcester College.
Tancred, Thomas, Commoner of Christ Church.

Twells, Philip, Worcester College.

In the Third Class of Literæ Humaniores:

Bruce, John Wyndham, Exeter College.
Cureton, William, Christ Church.
Dickyn, Haliday, Brasenose College.
Dobson, John, Queen's College.
Headlam, James Garnett, Brasenose Coll.
Holberton, Richard, Exeter College.
Metcalf, John, Magdalen Hall.
Morgan, Richard, Jesus College.
Murray, Robert, St. Alban Hall.
Oldham, John Robert, Oriel College.
Pinhorn, George, St. Edmund Hall.

J. WILLIAMS JAMES GARBETT, R. MARTIN, R. I. WILBERFORCE, W. H. COX, G. MOBERLY,	}	Examiners.
--	---	------------

In the First Class of Discip. Mathematic. et Phys.

Anstice, Joseph, Student of Christ Ch.

In the Second Class of Discip. Mathematic. et Phys.

Morgan, Richard, Jesus College.
Tancred, Thomas, Commoner of Christ Church.
Wilberforce, Henry William, Oriel Coll.

In the Third Class of Discip. Mathematic. et Phys.

Cureton, William, Christ Church.

WILLIAM KAY, GEORGE RIGGS, H. REYNOLDS,	}	Examiners.
---	---	------------

The number of the Fourth Class, namely, of those who were deemed worthy of their degree, but not deserving of any honourable distinction, was 81.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

By Royal Mandate.

Dec. 1.

Rev. John Graham, Master of Christ's College.

Dec. 15.

Rev. Edward Everard, of St. Peter's College, Chaplain to the Household at Brighton.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

Dec. 1.

Rev. Charles Musgrave, Trinity Coll.

Dec. 15.

Rev. Peter Felix, Trinity College, Vicar of Easton Neston, and Curate of Chelsea.

DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

Nov. 17.

H. J. Hayles Bond, C. C. Col. one of the Physicians to Addenbrooke's Hospital.

HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 27.

The Hon. F. Jarvis Stapleton, Trin. Coll. son of the Rt. Hon. Lord Le Despencer.

Dec. 1.

Hon. Aug. Fred. Phipps, Trinity Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Oct. 27.

William Hutt, Trinity Coll.

Robert Andrew Riddell, Christ's Coll.

Nov. 17.

Wm. Geo. Parks Smith, Trinity Coll.

Thomas Bros, St. John's Coll.

Gervas H. Woodhouse, St. John's Coll.

William John Law, M. A. of Christ Church, and Henry Jenkyns, M. A. of Oriel College, Oxford, were admitted *ad eundem*.

Dec. 1.

Rev. James Cooper, Queen's College.

Rev. Charles Bridges, Queen's College.

Rev. Francis Ellaby, Cath Hall. Compounder.

Rev. James Lugar, Sidney Sussex Coll.

LICENTIATE IN PHYSIC.

Nov. 17.

Edward Augustus Domeier, Trinity College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

Oct. 27.

Arthur Tozer Russell, St. John's Coll.

Nov. 17.

Edw. St. John, Downing College.

BACHELOR IN MEDICINE.

Dec. 1.

Geo. Edw. Wilmot Wood, Trinity Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Oct. 12.

Charles Chapman, Fellow of King's Coll.

H. E. F. Vallancey, Fellow of King's College.

George Perry, Trinity College.

Samuel Longhurst, Queen's College.

John Bridges Kenrick, Jesus College.

Oct. 27.

James Lendrum, Trinity College.

Rev. Charles Longhurst, Queen's Coll.

Rev. Wm. Mason Dudley, Catherine Hall.

Gerald Carew, Downing College.

Alex. H. Fownes Luttrell, Pembroke College.

Nov. 17.

Robert Hinde, St. John's College.

Thomas Bury Wells, Trinity Hall.

Cuthbert Orlebar, Christ College.

Dec. 1.

Edw. Stanley Bosanquet, Trinity Coll.

Dec. 15.

Charles Agar Hunt, Queen's College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

Oct. 1.

The following gentlemen, Bachelors of Arts, of Trinity College, were elected Fellows of that Society :—

John Wordsworth,	W. A. Soames,
E. H. Fitzherbert,	Robert Pashley,
John Raine,	Christ. Wordsworth,
J. Watkins Barnes,	Thos. Henry Steel,
T. Joddrell Phillips,	W. Lloyd Birkbeck,

Oct. 2.

John Halsey Law, Scholar of King's College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

Oct. 10.

Being the first day of Term, the following Gentlemen were elected University Officers for the ensuing year :—

PROCTORS.

James C. Bernard, Esq. M. A. Queen's College.

Rev. C. H. Gooch, M. A. Corpus Christi College.

MODERATORS.

James Challis Esq. M. A. Trinity Coll.

Rev. James Bowstead, M. A. Corpus Christi College.

SCRUTATORS.

Rev. A. J. Carringham, B. D. St. John's College.

Rev. C. Smith, B. D. St. Peter's Coll.

TAXORS.

Rev. Joseph Cape, M. A. Clare Hall.

Rev. Edw. Baines, M. A. Christ Coll.

Oct. 12.

The following Gentlemen were appointed the Caput for the ensuing year :—

The Vice Chancellor.

Rev. M. Davy, D. D. Caius College, Divinity.

Rev. J. W. Geldart, LL. D. Trinity Hall, Law.

Rev. W. Clark, M. D. Trinity College, Physic.

Rev. F. Henson, B. D. Sidney Coll. Sen. Regent.

Rev. G. O. Townshend, M. A. King's College. Sen. Non Reg.

Oct. 22.

The Rev. S. B. Dowell, M. A. of St. Peter's College, was elected a Bye-Fellow of that Society.

Oct. 25.

William Hardman Molineux, Esq. B.A. was elected a Fellow of Clare Hall.

Oct. 26.

Robert Wm. Bacon, and James Wanklin Dowell, Scholars of King's College, were admitted Fellows of that Society.

Oct. 27.

Mr. Charles Lesingham Smith, B.A. and Mr. Midgely John Jennings, B.A. were elected Fellows of Christ's College, on the foundation of Sir John Finch and Sir Thomas Baines.

The Rev. Alexander Thurtell, B.A. of Caius College was elected a Senior Fellow of that Society.

Oct. 27.

Graces to the following effect passed the Senate :—

To appoint Mr. Hanson of Caius College, and Mr. King of Queen's College (Moderators of last year), Mr. Birkett of St. John's College, Mr. Tinkler of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Cape of Clare Hall, and Mr. Currie of Pembroke College, Examiners of the Questionists, in Jan. 1831.

To appoint Mr. Jarrett of Catharine Hall, and Mr. King of Corpus Christi College, Examiners of the Classical part of the Examination of the 5th and 6th Classes of Questionists.

To appoint Mr. J. Heath of King's College, Mr. Shelford of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Lodington of Clare Hall, and Mr. Baines of Christ's College, Examiners for the Classical Tripos, 1831.

To appoint Mr. J. Heath, of King's College, Mr. Calthrop of Corpus Christi College, Mr. Biley of Clare Hall, and Mr. Baines of Christ's College, Examiners of the previous Examination, in Lent Term, 1831.

To appoint Mr. Harding of King's College, and Mr. Calthrop of Corpus Christi College, Pro-Proctors for the ensuing year.

To empower the Vice-Chancellor to purchase, of Mr. Gee, a house in Trumpington Street, to complete the site for the Pitt Press.

Nov. 4.

The Rev. George Thackeray, D.D. Provost of King's College, was elected Vice-Chancellor of this University, for the year ensuing.

Nov. 5.

George Robert Tuck, B. A. Scholar of Emmanuel College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society.

Nov. 8.

The following Gentlemen of St. John's College, were elected Scholars of that Society:—

Gaslin	Johnes
Jerwood	Lawson
Mann	Cotterill, C.
Vawdrey	Hey
Earnshaw	Sandford
Bromby	Sullivan
Potchett	Hellyer
Trentham	Dixon
Campbell	Sherard
Kennedy, G. J.	Cross
Fearon	Golightly
Francis, H. R.	

The Rev. John Graham, B. D. Fellow and Tutor of Christ College, was unanimously elected Master of that Society, on the resignation of the Right Rev. Dr. Kaye, Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

At the meeting of the Fellows of Christ College for this election, it was unanimously agreed to present his Lordship with a piece of plate of the value of 500*l.* from private contributions amongst themselves, as a testimony of their respect, and to mark their sense of the great advantages which the Society derived from his Lordship's talents and virtues during the time that he presided over it.

Nov. 17.

A Grace passed the Senate to affix the University Seal to a petition to the High Court of Chancery, to authorise an alteration in the terms and conditions imposed on the Hulsean Lecturer.

Nov. 19.

J. B. L. Mallett, Esq. B. A. of Pembroke College was elected a Fellow of that Society.

Nov. 30.

Lord Viscount Palmerston was unanimously re-elected one of the Representatives in Parliament for this University,

having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the office of Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

Dec. 1.

A Grace to the following effect passed the Senate:—To appoint Mr. Bickersteth, Fellow of Caius College, University Counsel in the room of Sir Edw. Hall Alderson, now one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas.

Same day, Mr. James Brogden, B. A. of Trinity College, was elected a Travelling Bachelor on Mr. Wort's Foundation.

Same day, the Rev. Edmund Hector Hopper, B.A. was elected a Foundation Fellow of Christ's College.

Dec. 16.

Strother Ancrum Smith, Esq. B.A. of Catharine Hall, was elected into the Frankland Fellowship.

There will be congregations on the following days in the ensuing Lent Term:—

Saturday, Jan. 22, (A.B. Commencement,) at ten.

Wednesday, Feb. 9, at eleven.

Wednesday, — 23, at eleven.

Wednesday, Mar. 9, at eleven.

Friday, — 18, (A. M. Inceptors) at ten.

Friday, — 25, (End of Term) at ten.

Battie's Scholarship.

An examination of Candidates for the Scholarship on this Foundation, (lately held by Mr. Alfred Power of Clare Hall,) will commence on Monday, Jan. 24, 1831.

PRIZES.

SEATONIAN PRIZE.

Subject:—"The Ascent of Elijah."

Adjudged to

The Rev. Richard Parkinson, M.A. of St. John's College, and

Winthrop Mackworth Praed, Esq. M.A. Fellow of Trinity College.

NORRISIAN PRIZE.

Subject for the ensuing year:—"The Proof of the Divine Origin of the Gospel derived from the Nature of the Rewards and Punishments it holds out."

Vice Chancellor's Prize.

The Vice Chancellor has issued the following notice:—

King's Lodge, Dec. 15, 1830.

I. His Royal Highness, the Chancellor, being pleased to give annually, a third gold medal for the encouragement of English poetry, to such resident Under-graduate as shall compose the best Ode, or the best Poem in heroic verse; the Vice Chancellor gives notice, that the subject for the present year is, "The attempts which have been made of late years by sea and land to discover a North-west passage."

N.B. These exercises are to be sent in to the Vice Chancellor, on or before March 31, 1831, and are not to exceed 200 lines in length.

Members' Prizes.

II. The Representatives in Parliament for this University being pleased to give annually,

1. Two prizes of fifteen guineas each, for the encouragement of Latin prose composition, to be open to all Bachelors of Arts, without distinction of years, who are not of sufficient standing to take the degree of Master of Arts: and

2. Two other prizes of fifteen guineas each, to be open to all Undergraduates who shall have resided not less than seven terms, at the time when the exercises are to be sent in; the subjects for the present year are,

(1) *For the Bachelors.*

Utrum boni plus an mali hominibus et civitatibus attulerit dicendi copia?

(2) *For the Under-graduates.*

Utrum fides Punica ea esset qualem perhibent scriptores Romani?

N.B. These exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1831.

Sir William Browne's Gold Medals.

III. Sir William Browne having bequeathed three gold medals, value five guineas each, to such resident Under-graduates as shall compose.

1. The best Greek Ode in imitation of Sappho;

2. The best Latin Ode in imitation of Horace;

3. The best Greek Epigram after the model of the Anthologia; and

4. The best Latin Epigram after the model of Martial.

The subjects for the present year are:—

1. For the Greek Ode, Granta Illustrissimo Regi Gulielmo quarto gratulatur quod in solium Britanniae successerit.

2. For the Latin Ode, Magicas accingitur artes.

3. For the Greek Epigram, Magnas inter opes inops.

4. For the Latin Epigram, Prudens simplicitas.

N.B. These exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1831. The Greek Ode is not to exceed twenty-five, and the Latin Ode 30 stanzas.

IV. The Porson Prize is the interest of 400*l.* stock, to be annually employed in the purchase of one or more Greek books, to be given to such resident Under-graduate as shall make the best translation of a proposed passage in Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, Massinger, or Beaumont and Fletcher, into Greek verse.

The Subject for the present year is:—

As You Like it, Act ii. Scene i.

Beginning—"To-day my Lord of Amiens and myself," &c.

And ending—"Native dwelling-place."

N.B. The metre to be Tragicum, Iambicum, Trimetrum, Acatalecticum. These exercises are to be accentuated and accompanied by a literal Latin prose version, and are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1831.

N.B. All the above exercises are to be sent in to the Vice Chancellor privately: each is to have some motto prefixed; and to be accompanied by a paper sealed up, with the same motto on the outside; which paper is to enclose another, folded up, having the Candidate's name and College written within. The papers containing the names of those Candidates who may not succeed, will be destroyed unopened. Any Candidate is at liberty to send in his exercise printed or lithographed. No prize will be given to any Candidate who has not at the time for sending in the exercises resided one term at the least.

COMBINATION PAPER, 1831.

PRIOR COMB.

Jan. 3. Mr. Turner, C.C.C.

9. Mr. R. W. Gery, Emm.

16. Coll. Regal.

23. Coll. Trin.

30. CAROLI I. REGIS DECOLL.

- Feb. 6. Coll. Joh.
13. Mr. Cardale, Pet.
20. Mr. J. Hyde, Pem.
27. Mr. Hooper, Corpus.
- Mar. 6. Mr. Symes, Jes.
13. Coll. Regal.
20. Coll. Trin.
27. Coll. Joh.
- Apr. 3. FEST. PASCH.
10. Mr. J. Graham, Regin.
17. Mr. Daniel, Clar.
24. Mr. Clayton, Cai.
- May 1. Coll. Regal.
8. CONCIO AD CLERUM.
15. Coll. Trin.
22. FEST. PENTEC.
29. CAROLI II. REGIS REST.
- June 5. Mr. Chichester, Magd.
12. Mr. Banick, Regin.
19. Mr. Pixell, Clar.
26. REGIS ACCESS.
- July 3. COMMEN. BENEFACT.
10. Mr. Ayre, Cai.
17. Coll. Regal.
24. Coll. Trin.
31. Coll. Joh.
24. Mr. Mellvill, Pet.
25. FEST. S. MARC. Mr. A. Veasey, Pet.
- May 1. FEST. SS. PHIL. ET JAC. Mr. Green, Jes.
8. Mr. Fennell, Regin.
12. FEST. ASCEN. Mr. Newby, Joh.
15. Mr. A. Browne, Joh.
22. FEST. PENTEC. Coll. Joh.
23. FER. 1^{ma}. Mr. Tylecrab, Joh.
24. FER. 2^{da}. Mr. Andrews, Em.
29. Mr. Perkins, Pet.
- Jun. 5. Mr. Ollivant, Trin.
11. FEST. S. BARNAB. Mr. Studd, Cai.
12. Mr. Engleheart, Cai.
19. Mr. Hubbersty, Regin.
24. FEST. JOH. BAPT. Mr. W. Corbet, Trin.
26. Mr. Dowell, Pet.
29. FEST. S. PET. Mr. Styche, Joh.
- July. 3. COMMEN. BENEFACT.
10. Mr. Rose, Joh.
17. Mr. Huet, Joh.
24. Mr. Butler, Joh.
25. FEST. S. JAC. Mr. Nicholls, Pet.
31. Mr. Whyley, Trin.
- POSTER. COMB.
- Jan. 1. FEST. CIRCUM. Mr. T. Sheepshanks, Trin.
2. Mr. Barlow, Trin.
6. FEST. EPIPH. Mr. C. Hall, Trin.
9. Mr. Glennie, Trin.
16. Mr. J. Hodgson, Trin.
23. Mr. Maddy, Joh.
25. CONVER. S. PAUL. Mr. Thresher, Joh.
- Feb. 2. FEST. PURIF. Mr. J. M. Parry, Joh.
6. Mr. Kelly, Cai.
13. Mr. Cobb, Cai.
16. DIES CINERUM. CONCIO AD CLERUM.
20. Mr. Cobbold, Cai.
24. FEST. S. MATTHI. Mr. Winder, Corp. Chr.
27. Mr. Durham, Cath.
- Mar. 6. Mr. Welch, Regin.
13. Mr. Butts, Regin.
20. Mr. Bulmer, Jes.
25. FEST. { Mr. Lockwood, Jes.
ANNUNC. { Mr. Woolnough, Chr.
27. Mr. May, Chr.
- Apr. 1. PASSIO DOMINI. Mr. Shelford, Emman.
3. FEST. PASCH. Mr. Turner, Magd.
4. FER. 1^{ma}. Mr. Lafont, Emm.
5. FER. 2^{da}. Mr. Lane, Magd.
10. Mr. T. B. Wilkinson, Cor. Chr.
17. Mr. Gul. P. Spencer, Joh.
- Resp. in Theolog. Oppon.
- Mr. Otter, Jes. { Mr. Haggitty, jun. Clar.
Mr. H. W. Gery, Emm.
Coll. Regal.
Mr. Lucas, Cai. { Coll. Trin.
Coll. Joh.
Mr. Farbrace, Chr.
Mr. Butts, Regin.
Mr. Hurst, Clar. { Mr. Charlton, Sid.
Mr. Mac Donald, Jes.
Coll. Regal.
Mr. Drake, Joh. { Coll. Trin.
Coll. Joh.
Mr. Cheslyn, Chr.
Mr. Morris. . . . { Mr. Fennell, Regin.
Mr. Harris, Clar.
Mr. Brandling, { Mr. Gurdon, Emman.
Joh. { Coll. Regal.
Coll. Trin.
Mr. Wollaston, { Coll. Joh.
Regal. { Mr. Law, Pet.
Mr. Hubbersty, Regin.
Mr. Francin, { Mr. Thornton, Clar.
Clar. { Mr. Kelly, Cai.
Coll. Regal.
Mr. Hasted, Chr. { Col. Trin.
Coll. Joh.
Mr. Lascelles, Chr.
- Resp. in Jur. Civ. Oppon.
- Mr. Clarkson, { Mr. Bennett, Emman.
Jes. { Mr. Drage, sen. Emm.
- Resp. in Medic. Oppon.
- Mr. Cory, Cai. { Mr. Wolloston, Cai.
Mr. Poole, Cai.

THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1831.

- ART. I.—1. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron: with Notices of his Life.* By Thomas Moore. In two volumes. London. Murray. 1831. pp 823.
2. *The National Library.* Conducted by the Rev. G. R. Gleig, and assisted by various eminent Writers, No. 1.—*The Life of Lord Byron.* By John Galt, Esq. London. Colburn and Bentley. 1831. 6s.

WE do not know whether the public is one half so sick as we are of the apparently interminable inquest which has been sitting upon the case of this noble "Martyr of Genius," (as Mr. Moore is pleased to style him,) from the day of his decease unto the present hour. If we thought they were, we should most certainly abstain from the slightest notice of memoir, biography, or dissertation which might have for its object this extraordinary specimen of the human race. If all that has been written about him were collected into one mass, we suspect that it would present to us such a monument of restless idleness as the world has seldom seen. We doubt whether the appearance of the wandering Jew would have caused such an epidemic eruption of morbid curiosity. We know not where to look for an adequate illustration of it, but to the pages of the veracious Hafen Slawkenbergius. The frenzy spread among the good people of Strasburgh, by the stranger's mysterious importation from the promontory of Noses, is the only fit image of our universal fever of inquisitiveness. That the disorder is not yet materially abated seems pretty evident from the volumes now before us, more especially from the work of Mr. Galt. It really is a very curious and instructive phenomenon. A "*National Library*" is prepared for the edification of the people of England, under the conduct of a minister of the national church: and the very first number of the miscellany is, what?—a history of some eventful period, big with the

fate of our civil or religious liberties?—a biography of some brave and elevated spirit, who bore witness to the truth in the midst of persecution and torment? Nothing of all this. The opening article is a life of Don Juan! Other martyrs may, perhaps, follow in their turn: but the “Martyr of Genius” has, of course, the first claim on the admiration of the most intellectual public in the world. This claim being once satisfied, it was to be hoped that the public might have leisure for attending to a “History of the Bible,” and to the labours and the lives of men of whom, the Bible tells us, “the world was not worthy.” What can be more meet and right than that Childe Harold should take precedence of saints and apostles, of confessors and reformers? Do we not live under the dynasty of Intellect? and does not the sound of the sackbut and the psaltery summon us to fall down before the golden perfection which the monarch hath set up? And who is he that shall deliver us if we are disobedient to the mandate?

With regard to Mr. Galt, however, it is but common justice to allow that his adorations are not, by any means, of so servile a cast as those of the multitude collected round the pedestal of this portentous image. He does not attempt to conceal from himself, or the public, that the *fine gold* may conceal a variety of much less precious materials. What the crowd of worshippers will say to this we know not. The fiery furnace is blazing before him; and, perhaps, he may not escape without a slight experience of its fierceness. It is not our business, however, to bind him and cast him in. If his prostrations are not sufficiently humble, we must turn him over to the tender mercies of his brother hierophants, whose faith and zeal appear to be of much more unquestionable purity. For ourselves, we have only to say that the service in which he is engaged does not appear to us very happily adapted to his powers. Among the writers of fiction, indeed, who are now actually swarming about the warm shallows of our modern literature, he holds a rank of no ordinary distinction. Of one of his achievements, in particular, he has ample reason to be proud. With an egotism entirely pardonable, he informs us, that Lord Byron “read his novel of the Entail three times, and thought the old Leddy Grippy one of the most *living-like* heroines he had ever met with.”* We cannot forbear to pause one moment to express our own full and cordial assent to this encomium. We do honestly think that it would scarcely be too much to pronounce this character to be among the most extraordinary creations in the whole range of modern fiction. Our judgment has been formed chiefly from the effect we ourselves experienced from its powers of entertainment. After once be-

* Page 268.

coming fairly acquainted with that most delectable of ancient dames, we never witnessed her *entry* on the stage, without feeling a sort of tickling anticipation of delight; a gentle agitation of the diaphragm, preparatory to its subsequent convulsions. At the very mention of her name our lungs were instantly in readiness to *crow*; just as the pit and gallery are always in readiness to *go off*, the moment that Liston's countenance emerges from the side-scenes, and before one syllable has issued from his lips. The man who would achieve this, can be much better employed than in compiling biography, or spinning a cocoon of quaint and whimsical criticism. Only see how the author of "the Lairds of Grippy" can write, when he quits the element in which he is so thoroughly at home, and ventures into an entirely different region.

"There is no account of any great poet, whose genius was of that dreamy and *cartilaginous* kind, which hath its being in haze, and draws its nourishment from lights and shadows; which ponders over the mysteries of trees, and interprets the oracles of bubbling waters."

A *dreamy* genius is not, perhaps, altogether beyond comprehension. But what in the name of all that is dreamy and fantastical is a *cartilaginous* kind of genius? Again:

"It"—(the 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers')—"was the first burst of that *dark*, diseased ichor, which afterwards coloured his effusions; the overflowing suppuration of that satiety and loathing, which rendered Child Harold, in particular, so original, incomprehensible, and anti-social."

How could any writer think of patching up his composition with these vile rags from the hospital; these

ράκη βαρείας του νοσηλείας πλέα.

And then, just conceive a poem rendered original, incomprehensible, and anti-social, by an effusion of *pus* and *gore*! But this is nothing to what follows. The author is speaking of Lord Byron on board ship.

"He was often strangely rapt—it may have been from his genius; and—had its grandeur and darkness been then divulged—*susceptible of explanation*; but, at the time, it threw, as it were, around him the *sackcloth of penitence*. Sitting amidst the shrouds and rattlings, in the tranquillity of moonlight, *churming* an inarticulate melody, he seemed almost apparitional, suggesting dim reminiscences of him who shot the albatross. *He was as a mystery in a winding sheet, crowned with a halo!*"

Now what on earth can be the meaning of all this? A moody, silent, and somewhat unsociable young man is humming a tune to himself on the deck of a packet: whereupon his companion invests him at once with the sackcloth of a penitent criminal.

In the next sentence, however, the culprit becomes first a spectre, —then a mystery,—enveloped with a winding sheet, with a halo for his nightcap! Will any one be kind enough to render “*susceptible of explanation*” this most “incomprehensible phantasma”—(to use the author’s own words)—which “hovered”—(not “about Lord Byron”)—but about the cranium of his biographer? What would *the Leddy* say to all this? Would she not be more hopelessly lost in it, than ever she was even in “the bottomless pit of Lawyer Pitwinnoch’s consulting room?” We should, truly, desire no better sport than that Mr. Galt himself should furnish us with a picture of the outbreking of her spirit, on hearing any one of her own nephews, nieces, or grandchildren giving vent to such fathomless and most prodigious nonsense!

We must, however, do him the justice to declare, that there is nothing else in the volume quite so bad as this. The work is, nevertheless, deformed, and rendered sometimes insufferably tedious, by a perpetual affectation of saying all manner of fine, and deep, and original things; by a resolution to speculate and analyze through thick and thin, until the ultimate texture of the mind and character of the poet is laid bare to the inspection of the reader. One would imagine that it were possible to trace the whole process of assimilation, through which all the multifarious elements upon which it dieted, were converted into nutriment by this mighty genius. His lordship himself once asked his friend Mr. Thomas Moore whether he did not find that feeding upon beef-steaks made him ferocious? Much in the same spirit his biographer seems to question whether the “murk and the mist, and the abysm of the storm, and the hiding places of guilt,” and a vast many other articles of mental luxury, might not contribute to render his hero a prodigy of all that is *incomprehensible and anti-social*. All that is gloomy or terrible in nature, or in man, is supposed to have been mixed up as it were by a sort of digestive energy, in the mental temperament and constitution of the bard. And the critic appears to be, throughout, so much in the secret of the whole proceeding, that he is continually interrupting his narrative in order to tell us how all this is; how it is that the ingredients of sublimity and grandeur are imperceptibly absorbed into the intellectual system; till we begin almost to fancy that we are on the very point of seeing the process by which a genius may become “dreamy and cartilaginous,” or firm and vigorous, and full of muscle and tendon. The end, however, usually is, that we carry away with us about as much satisfaction and instruction as we should from an anatomical lecture which should attempt to follow the fibres of the bullock’s rump

into all the recesses and labyrinths of the animal economy, and to show that the inevitable result must be toughness of sinew, and bloodthirstyness of temper.

But what shall we say to good Master Thomas Moore—most Corinthian of Poets—most silvertongued of advocates and apologists—most delicate and velvet-fingered manipulator of tender characters? In sober verity we at first hardly knew how to trust ourselves within the sound of his syren cadences. We felt that as if it would be needful for us to guard our credulous facility against the smoothness of his cajoleries, especially whenever he appeared to be more than usually “graceful and humane.” Happily, however, our vigilance and caution turns out to be much less needful than we had anticipated. It is true that he has poured out, in vindication of his friend, many a sentence of most sonorous melody, in ambitious imitation of a certain celebrated orator, the founder of that noble art which “makes the worse appear the better reason.” But then, with matchless effrontery, or infatuation, he has provided us, in abundant measure, with the most infallible of all antidotes to this “delicious poison.” The correspondence, and the journals, and the secret memoranda of the hero, are perpetually confronting themselves with the pleadings of his apologist. The documents of the advocate are eternally giving the lie to his sophistry. The features and attributes of the client are constantly peeping forth, in most sinister contrast with the florid graces of his devoted rhetorician. And what is the inevitable result of all this, but to render indelible the very worst impressions which the public have ever received respecting this extraordinary being? If time was beginning to spread its moss over the characters which speak of his infamy, here is a sort of old (or middle-aged) Mortality, with his hammer and his chisel, to pick it out, and deepen the letters, till they challenge every eye by their sharpness and freshness. And who can rise from their perusal without a full persuasion that genius has rarely been seen in more degrading combination with selfish and odious passions. It is to no purpose whatever for Mr. M. to insinuate, that, in favour of high talent, darkness may, now and then, be put for light, and light for darkness, without any very mischievous compromise of the truth. Every one who hears him will instantly recollect the words wherewith Boswell was once smitten down by Samuel Johnson, when he endeavoured to palliate the infidelities of a married woman;—“Never accustom yourself, Sir, to confound right and wrong; the woman’s a whore, and there’s an end on’t.” Even so, (while our liberal biographer is showing us that men of great intellectual powers are naturally haunted by ungovernable passions, and that stupendous genius may be allowed to

confer some sort of privilege and immunity on atrocious wickedness)—even so will the facts and the records here produced, compel every honest man to exclaim, nearly in the words of Samuel Johnson—"the man's a profligate, and there's an end on't." That there was in his original nature much that is amiable and generous, it might be unjust and absurd to question. But the hideous part of his history is, that he outlived this better portion of himself, just as other people outlive their frailties and their faults; nay, that he seemed, at last, with the frightful perverseness of a maniac, to cauterize or cut away whatever was healthful in his system, and carefully to preserve whatever had been touched by the leprosy or the gangrene. He appeared to get more and more ashamed of virtue as he grew older; till, in his latter days, he used her as his bye word. "As ugly as virtue" was, in his mouth, a description of all that is homely and repulsive. The form of every thing that is morally beautiful and grand, indeed, never ceased to live in his mind; just as perfection lives in the imagination of any other artist. But in his own person, he came to shrink from the imputation of respectability and worth, as he would from that of mediocrity and dulness. We have been told, indeed, that there runs throughout his character "*a vein of repentance.*" We can perceive nothing of all this in the pages before us. If he repented of any thing, it was of the weakness of his early prepossessions in favour of what is *just and lovely, and of good report.* He resembled those persons who, receding constantly further from the excellence they once revered, were decorated by some ancient fathers with the unceremonious title of "*the Devil's penitents.*" But let us, with the materials now supplied to us, venture on a rapid survey of the career of this singularly and most unhappily gifted being.

The founder of his family, Ralph de Burun, came with the Conqueror into England; and of this noble lineage the poet is said to have been prouder than of writing Childe Harold. His grandfather was the celebrated Admiral Byron. His grand uncle achieved notoriety by slaying his relative and neighbour, Mr. Chaworth, in a duel, or a brawl; and his father became equally notorious as one of the most selfish and worthless prodigals in the annals of the polite world. He seduced the Marchioness of Caermarthen "under circumstances which have few parallels in the licentiousness of fashionable life. The meanness with which he obliged his wretched victim to supply him with money would have been disgraceful to the basest adulteries of the cellar or the garret. A divorce ensued; the guilty pair were married; but within two years after, such was the brutal and vicious conduct of Captain Byron, that the ill-fated lady died literally of a broken heart, after having given birth to two daughters,

one of whom still survives.”—(Galt, p. 9.) This achievement did not deter Miss Catharine Gordon, of Gight, from venturing on this incomparable Lothairo. She was a lady of honourable birth, respectable fortune, and most execrable temper. She married Captain Byron, and became mother of the poet. Her union was most inauspicious. It was the signal for a general invasion by the creditors of the bridegroom. Cash, Bank-shares, and fisheries, instantly were swept away. A voracious mortgage was fixed upon the land; and within a year afterwards the estate of Gight was swallowed up whole, or at least with the exception of a small trust in favour of Mrs. Byron, who was thus reduced from affluence to 150*l.* a year. On the 22nd January, 1788, she gave birth to her only child, George Gordon Byron, who, it must be confessed, entered on this breathing world with no very promising omens. His father was a reprobate—his mother was a virago—his maternal inheritance was ruined—and (to complete the evil aspect of his nativity) his fair proportions were curtailed and mutilated. By an accident which occurred nearly at the time of his birth, one of his feet suffered a distortion which no surgical skill could ever remedy.*

His mother was excessively fond of him, but nevertheless, it would seem, tormented him almost beyond endurance. Her passions were often absolutely uncontrollable; and, in her paroxysms, she would sometimes taunt the unhappy boy with his deformity, thus adding venom to the sting of a misfortune which rankled bitterly in his mind till the end of his existence. At eight years old he was violently in love—so violently, that when he heard of the marriage of the young lady many years afterwards, the intelligence nearly choked him, to the horror of his mother, his own astonishment, and the incredulity of every one else. His other emotions were equally vehement; for Mr. Moore tells us that there exists at Aberdeen, to this day, a china saucer, out of which he actually had bitten a large piece, in a fit of rage, during his childhood.

In 1798 his granduncle died, upon which his mother removed with the young Lord to Newstead Abbey, which then presented an aspect of grievous desolation. After the fatal affray with Mr. Chaworth, the old peer had retired from the world, and fallen into a strangely eccentric, and unsocial course of life. During his latter years, his sole companions consisted of a colony of crickets, whose allegiance and fidelity he is said to have won so completely, that, at the death of their patron, the despairing rep-

* It is, however, the opinion of Mr. Millengen, that the defect was congenital.—*Memoirs on Greece*, p. 143.

tiles quitted the premises, in a body, chirping out, we may suppose, "*Eamus omnes execrata civitas.*" Worse than all this, he converted the estate into an inheritance of ruinous litigation, and consigned its grounds to a state of neglect which rendered them unfit for any but crickets to inhabit. What, therefore, with a vixen of a mother,—a mad capricious savage for his predecessor,—and a dilapidated property,—together with a keen sense of the honours of high ancestry, it must be confessed that his lot was cast in an atmosphere and a soil much less happily fitted for the cultivation of the gentler qualities, than for the development of those moody eccentricities which afterwards separated him from his country, and almost from his species.

It may as well be noticed here, once for all, that his unfortunate lameness was probably at the bottom of those waters of bitterness which were in after life perpetually overflowing in his character. The anguish and humiliation occasioned by this deformity were such as he never had magnanimity enough to overcome. In one of his own memoranda, he describes the horror and mortification which came over him, when his mother, in one of her fits of passion, called him a *lame brat*. The same agony was constantly breaking forth throughout the rest of his days. It may be said that he never forgave Nature or Providence this fatal injury. It was one main, though secret cause, which armed his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him. He felt it as other people feel a wrong. It kept him, we are persuaded, in an almost perpetually *vindictive* frame of mind. It was the *thorn in the flesh* sent, like the messenger of Satan, to buffet him incessantly, and against which, unhappily, he was not provided with any defensive or antagonist principle. Other men, of no sluggish temperament, have been known to disregard their own personal blemishes, and even to convert them into occasions of merriment: and whenever this is the case, it is always considered as an indication of something amiable or noble in the character of the sufferer. It is hailed as a palpable victory over selfishness and egotism. But God help the man who is visited with any such defect or infirmity, if the necessity of perpetually shining in the eye of the public happens to enter into his scheme of happiness! Such a man is sure to be at the mercy of looks, and whispers, and shrugs, and monosyllables. He lives the life of a martyr without the spirit of a martyr; and the consequence must naturally be, that he will never be thoroughly at peace with himself or with mankind.

In 1799, Byron was sent to school at Dr. Glennie's, at Dulwich, his mother having removed to London for the benefit of the best advice for his lameness. The schoolmaster often found the

parent more difficult to manage than the boy. Two years afterwards he was sent to Harrow, "as little prepared," says Dr. Glennie, "as it is natural to suppose from two years of elementary instruction, thwarted by every act which could estrange the mind of youth from preceptor, from school, and from all serious study." But here we must pause a moment, that we may not lose the benefit of Mr. Galt's speculations. Having first remarked that the childhood of Byron was not remarkable for any symptoms of generous feeling, and that "silent rages, moody sullenness, and revenge, are the general characteristics of his conduct as a boy," he proceeds to enrich the world with certain ingenious speculations on the mental character of the poet.

"Genius," he tells us, "of every kind, belongs to some innate temperament, and is an ingredient of mind more easily described by its effects than its qualities. It is as the fragrance, independent of the freshness and complexion, of the rose; as the light in the cloud; as the bloom on the cheek of beauty, of which the possessor is unconscious, until the charm has been seen by its influence on others; it is the internal golden flame of the opal; a something that may be abstracted from the thing in which it appears, without changing the quality of the substance, its form, or its affinities."

It is to be presumed that the reader, by this time, has a very distinct and vivid conception of what is to be understood when we talk of genius. If not, he must be pronounced to be absolutely metaphor-proof: and in that case we can do nothing for him. If, however, the above figures have duly discharged their office, it can hardly be doubted that they will enable him easily to see his way to Mr. Galt's *obvious* conclusion.

"I, therefore,"—(that is, *because* genius is like the fragrance of the rose, and the bloom of beauty, and the light on the cloud, and the flame of the opal)—"I, *therefore*, am not disposed to consider the idle and reckless childhood of Byron as unfavourable to the development of his genius; but, on the contrary, inclined to think that the indulgence of his mother, leaving him so much to the accidents of undisciplined impression, was calculated to cherish associations, which rendered them, in the maturity of his powers, ingredients of the spell that ruled his memory."

From all which, it clearly appears how thankful we ought to be that Lord Byron was a spoiled child, since otherwise, peradventure, he might have turned out a spoiled poet. With the profoundest gratitude, therefore, to the capricious fondness of his parent, we proceed with our tale.

At Harrow, according to his own account, Lord Byron was unpopular, capricious, turbulent and rebellious; impatient of continuous drudgery, but collecting large and various stores of information, by desultory exertion; reading *when* no one else

read, and *what* no one else thought of reading; betraying, to all appearance, the embryo powers of an orator rather than a poet; passionate alike in his friendships and aversions; but throwing out occasional flashes of magnanimity and heroism. In 1803, during his schoolboy days, he was seized with another violent fit of love, being the *third* affair of the heart with which he had been visited. The object of this attachment was Miss Chaworth, the heiress of Annesly, in the immediate neighbourhood of Newstead. The young lady was two years older than himself, and was but little impressed by the attention of her juvenile admirer. His manners were then rough and odd, and, combined with his personal defect, and his lack of years, rendered his passion hopeless, if not absolutely ridiculous. He, one night, overheard the damsel saying to her maid, "do you think I care any thing for that lame boy?" This speech, as may well be imagined, was like a shot through his heart. Though the hour was late, he instantly darted out of the house, and scarcely knowing whither he ran, never stopped till he found himself at Newstead. One would suppose that this was a chilling blast, strong enough to extinguish the hottest passion. But it was not so. There is reason to believe that the fire was in his heart for the remainder of his days. "Our union," he says in one of his memorandum books, "would have healed feuds in which blood had been shed by our fathers; it would have joined lands broad and rich; it would have joined at least *one* heart, and two persons not ill matched in years;—and—and—and—what has been the result?" The result, if we are to believe him, was, that *her* marriage was anything but a happy one; and that his early disappointment gave a darker and more cheerless colouring to his whole existence.

There is something at once ludicrous and frightful in the accounts preserved to us of his own temper about this period, especially when brought into collision with that of his lady mother. The explosions produced by the encounter of these hostile elements were occasionally quite terrific. Each, it seems, was fully aware of the presence of the electric principle in the other: and as a proof of this, it is told, that one evening, after a tempestuous eruption of tremendous violence, each party went, privately, to the apothecary, anxiously inquiring whether the other had been to purchase poison, and cautioning the vendor of drugs on no account to attend to such an application, if made. On one occasion, the poker and tongs became the winged messengers of the maternal wrath, and nothing but a precipitate retreat could save the filial cranium from fracture. Of his residence at the university little is known that is eminently worthy of remark. It is said that he kept a bear, as a sort of satirical emblem of certain venerable personages

levant and couchant in those retreats. Of his pursuits and recreations at this period of his life, however, this much at least is clearly ascertained ;—that they betrayed a most incredible coarseness of taste. To use his own language, “ the flash and the swell ” seem to have exercised a most ignoble dominion over his fancy. Cock-fighting, pugilism, pistol-firing, and revelry, were the things which formed the chief solace of this haughty patrician. There was, even then, a taint of lowness about his pleasures, which we know not how to describe, but by applying to them the technical appellation of *verminism* ; and which indicated a grossness and a rankness, at strange variance with that sensitive delicacy which has, sometimes, been described as the prevailing attribute of his character. It was at the university, too, that he surrendered up his faculties to the predominance of a well-known atheist and libertine, before whom, he confesses that his own genius stood rebuked, and whom, in one of his letters he describes as formed “ to display what the Creator *could* make his creatures,” as having “ the stamp of immortality in all he did or said,”—and the loss of whom he regarded as a bewildering dispensation, enough of itself to shake our trust in Providence ! In 1807, he quitted Cambridge without any emotions of regret or gratitude ; nay, with feelings of bitter aversion and contempt, if we may judge from a letter to his friend Mr. Harness, written afterwards, in 1809, in which he speaks of the university as an *injusta noverca* and an old beldam ! It is not easy to imagine any thing much more despicably absurd than this eruption of petulance. For Lord Byron, of all persons in the world, to make such a complaint, must surely “ have required impudence at least equal to his other powers.” It is tolerably well known that his “ Beldam Stepmother ” was the never-failing object of his contumely and insult during the whole of his residence. What might be the wrongs she inflicted on him it would puzzle the keenest ingenuity to divine, unless they were, that she refused to abandon her usages, or to remodel her institutions, in conformity with his profound wisdom and commanding range of experience. But he appears, very early in life, to have contracted a silly notion that every thing instituted must be wrong—the privileges of the aristocracy, and the *established* latitude of fashionable morality, always excepted.

But, however loose and desultory his intellectual habits may have been, he appears at this time to have amassed a stock of information that would have been extraordinary even for a youth of the most stubborn diligence. This may be learned from a list, scribbled hastily into his memorandum book, of the various writers he had then perused, in various departments of literature. The compass of his historical reading, more especially, is truly sur-

prizing. In divinity he enumerates only Blair, Porteus, Tillotson, and Hooker; "all," he says, "very tiresome." And then he adds, "I abhor all books of religion; though I reverence and love my God, without the blasphemous notions of sectaries, or belief in their absurd and damnable heresies, mysteries, and thirty-nine Articles;" a pretty vigorous *excussion* of all systems, for a mere stripling! The same sentiment is still more largely, though certainly not more powerfully developed in a poem of his dated 29th December, 1806, entitled the Prayer of Nature (vol. i. p. 106, 107) but much too long for insertion here—and also in the following extract from another of his early poems, written, in 1807, and, as it would seem, under the melancholy impression that he should soon die.

“ Forget this world, my restless sprite,
 Turn, turn thy thoughts to Heav’n :
 There must thou soon direct thy flight,
 If errors are forgiven.
 To bigots and to sects unknown,
 Bow down beneath th’ Almighty’s Throne ;—
 To him address thy trembling prayer ;
 He, who is merciful and just,
 Will not reject a child of dust,
 Although his meanest care.
 Father of Light ! to thee I call,
 My soul is dark within ;
 Thou, who canst mark the sparrow fall,
 Avert the death of sin.
 Thou, who canst guide the wandering star,
 Who calm’st the elemental war,
 Whose mantle is yon boundless sky,
 My thoughts, my words, my crimes forgive ;
 And, since I soon must cease to live,
 Instruct me how to die.

1807.”

Both these are, assuredly, most remarkable performances. They exhibit that strange unnatural phenomenon an infidel or sceptical boy. At that early age, as Mr. Moore very justly observes, the passions are, in general, sufficiently disposed to usurp a latitude for themselves, without taking a license from infidelity to enlarge their range. But with Lord Byron, he adds, “ the canker shewed itself in the morn and dew of youth,” when the effect of such “ blastments” is, for every “ reason, most fatal.” With regard to the spirit of “ fervid adoration” displayed in these addresses to the Deity, strangely mingled up with his “ defiance of creeds,” we apprehend it to be much the same thing with that, which is elsewhere termed by Mr. Moore, the “ *poetry of religion* ;” and which is well known to be a feeling entirely compa-

tible with the wildest excesses of self-indulgence. A man may be lifted into extacies by the storied window and the dim religious light, by the pealing anthem and the full-voiced choir—or even by the prodigality and magnificence of visible nature; and the same man may, half an hour afterwards, be found in the gambling-house or the brothel. A man must be degraded almost to the level of a brute if he has no fits of religious emotion, no occasional stirrings within him which speak of something higher and holier than his mere animal nature; and what are these visitings, but *swift witnesses* against him, if he suffer their influences to waste themselves upon his nervous system, instead of taking them into the deepest recesses of his heart? As for the “defiance of creeds,” it generally means neither more nor less than a defiance of the opinions, and a contempt for the understandings of mankind, coupled with a fixed purpose to live after the sight of one’s own eyes and the devices of one’s own heart. Such, most indisputably, was the meaning of the phrase in the present instance. The “spirit of adoration” soon began to “pale its ineffectual fires,” while the spirit of resistance to creeds, and to every moral or mental restraint, continued to grow with his growth and to strengthen with his strength. Where the wind is sown, what but the whirlwind can be reaped? Let the harvest be described by Mr. Moore.

“To have anticipated the worst experiments both of the voluptuary and the reasoner, to have reached, as he supposed, the boundary of this world’s pleasures, and see nothing but clouds and darkness beyond, was the doom—the anomalous doom—which a nature, premature in all its passions and powers, inflicted on Lord Byron.”—p. 184.

The state of his feelings with regard to the university and its studies, and of his *opinions*—if he can be said to have had *opinions*—respecting the national *superstition*, will be seen from the following letter:—

“To Mr. Dallas.

“SIR,

Dorant’s, January 21st, 1808.

“Whenever leisure and inclination permit me the pleasure of a visit, I shall feel truly gratified in a personal acquaintance with one whose mind has been long known to me in his writings.

“You are so far correct in your conjecture, that I am a member of the University of Cambridge, where I shall take my degree of A. M. this term; but were reasoning, eloquence, or virtue, the objects of my search, Granta is not their metropolis, nor is the place of her situation an ‘El Dorado,’ far less an Utopia. The intellects of her children are as stagnant as her Cam, and their pursuits limited to the church—not of Christ, but of the nearest benefice.

“As to my reading, I believe I may aver, without hyperbole, it has been tolerably extensive in the historical; so that few nations exist, or

have existed, with whose records I am not in some degree acquainted, from Herodotus down to Gibbon. Of the classics, I know about as much as most schoolboys after a discipline of thirteen years; of the law of the land as much as enables me to keep 'within the statute'—to use the poacher's vocabulary. I did study the 'Spirit of Laws' and the Law of Nations; but when I saw the latter violated every month, I gave up my attempts at so useless an accomplishment;—of geography, I have seen more land on maps than I should wish to traverse on foot;—of mathematics, enough to give me the headache without clearing the part affected;—of philosophy, astronomy, and metaphysics, more than I can comprehend; and of common sense so little, that I mean to leave a Byronian prize at each of our 'Almæ Matres' for the first discovery,—though I rather fear that of the Longitude will precede it.

"I once thought myself a philosopher, and talked nonsense with great decorum: I defied pain, and preached up equanimity. For some time this did very well, for no one was in *pain* for me but my friends, and none lost their patience but my hearers. At last, a fall from my horse convinced me bodily suffering was an evil: and the worst of an argument overset my maxims and my temper at the same moment, so I quitted Zeno for Aristippus, and conceive that pleasure constitutes the *το καλον*. In morality, I prefer Confucius to the Ten Commandments, and Socrates to St. Paul, though the two latter agree in their opinion of marriage. In religion, I favour the Catholic emancipation, but do not acknowledge the Pope; and I have refused to take the Sacrament, because I do not think eating bread or drinking wine from the hand of an earthly vicar will make me an inheritor of heaven. I hold virtue in general, or the virtues severally, to be only in the disposition, each a *feeling*, not a principle. I believe truth the prime attribute of the Deity; and death an eternal sleep, at least of the body. You have here a brief compendium of the sentiments of the *wicked* George Lord Byron; and, till I get a new suit, you will perceive I am badly clothed. I remain," &c.,—vol. i. pp. 134, 135.

This precious epistle is illustrated by a sage and ample commentary of the biographer. Its odious flippancy upon sacred subjects, Mr. Moore is half disposed to palliate as a little sally of sportiveness, prompted by a design to astonish and *mystify* his prosy correspondent and adviser, Mr. Dallas. He addresses himself with more solemnity, to the task of vindicating the language of scorn and aversion with which it assails the university; and he seems to find great comfort and contentment in the recollection that this feeling of distaste for his "nursing mother" was entertained by his Lordship, in common with some of the most illustrious names of English literature. Milton hated not only Cambridge, but the very fields in its neighbourhood. Gray describes it as a place full of doleful creatures. The bigotry of Oxford was visited with the cool contempt of Locke: and Gibbon spat forth upon her the blistering venom of his malignity.

All this is exceedingly consolatory; and the triumph is heightened by the facts, that Dryden had but little veneration for the university; and by the opinion of Bishop Hurd, that Addison was spoiled for a poet by "his constant and superstitious study of the old classics." Besides, Shakspeare and Pope, Gay and Thompson, Burns and Chatterton, &c. &c. attained their eminence without instruction or sanction from any college whatever. All which, we are told, demonstrates clearly, that a sort of inverse ratio may exist between college honors and genius, and "that a large subduction must be made from the sphere of that nursing influence which the universities are supposed to exercise over the genius of the country."

Now how it is that Mr. Moore, could thus give himself over to work all manner of imbecility with greediness, and to talk like a crude, ignorant, and shallow boy, utterly transcends our powers of comprehension! Certain highly-gifted individuals, it seems, have been known to vent some splenetic and hasty sentences against their Alma Mater; and these "follies of the wise" are to sanctify the petulance of all-talented young gentlemen, and to arm them with a license to rail against discipline to the end of time! Again, to estimate highly the influence of the Universities over the national mind, is nothing better than a vulgar error; for, is it not undeniable that there are at least half a dozen great poets who never were at any University at all? Is it possible that the writer could be blind to the ignominious stolidity of all this pitiable drivelling? Has he yet to learn that Universities would still be exceedingly useful and valuable, even if it could be shown that they are not the best of all seminaries for the formation of poets; and that factious, moody, and self-willed young men may be intolerable nuisances, even though Milton and Locke may have despised authority, and spoken evil of dignities?

But we must hasten to the period which brought Byron before the public, and placed him eventually among the most splendid names of English literature. In 1808 came forth the "Hours of Idleness, by a Minor." The merciless and wanton chastisement of the Northern Inquisitors soon followed; and, assuredly, the soundest horsewhipping could not have roused the youthful patrician to more deep and deadly resentment. "A friend, who found him in the first moments of excitement, inquired anxiously if he had received a challenge—not knowing how else to account for the fierce defiance of his looks." The agony of the moment demanded immediate relief. The wrathful *minor* accordingly called for claret, and swallowed three bottles to his own share! This, however, was only a transient mitigation of the anguish. Nothing could effectually assuage it but deeds of vengeance. He

sat down to his satire, composed twenty lines, and—"found himself considerably better"! The blow he had received was like that of the hammer on the detonating pulvil. It brought out the fiery element that was latent in his composition; and the explosion which followed was heard throughout the realm. The critics had soon reason to repent of their rash severity; and, what is still more remarkable, the poet himself lived to repent of his revenge! On a copy of the satire, now in the possession of Mr. Murray, he afterwards wrote with his own hand the following sentence:—

"The greater part of this satire I most sincerely wish had never been written; not only on account of the injustice of much of the critical and some of the personal part, but the tone and temper are such as I cannot approve.

"Diodati, Geneva, July 14, 1816."

His satire, smart and successful as it was, afforded but slender promise of the wonders that followed it. The secret of his own strength was at that time probably unrevealed even to himself. It was amid influence of foreign scenery and manners that he first began to explore the depths of his genius. Mr. M. does not suffer him to depart on his wanderings without some fifteen pages of exceedingly diffuse and whimsical meditation. He gives us much grave speculation on the disappointed loves of the school-boy—a disaster probably experienced by some nine schoolboys out of ten—and much profound research respecting the revolution which was now taking place in the character of his hero. All this is treated with nearly as much solemn prolixity as if the progress of a national revolution, or the vicissitudes of a great empire, were the subject of investigation. The case of Lord Byron (if we are to trust his biographer) is precisely exhibited by Shakspeare's fancy, of "sweet bells jangled out of tune." His early disadvantages and mortifications had turned the original harmonies of his character into discord; his very virtues and excellencies ministered to the violence of the change. The ardour that burned through his friendships and loves, now fed the fierce explosions of his indignation and scorn; and—and—a great deal more to the same purpose. In all this we are able to discern little but the workings of intense egotism and undisciplined passion; and we suspect that many others will be tempted to the same view of the matter when they see the result of all this furious fermentation, exhibited to us as it is by Mr. Moore himself, when he tells us, that the "martyr of genius" was hurried at last, "*by his hatred of hypocrisy*, and his horror of all pretensions to virtue, into the still more dangerous boast and ostentation of vice." It

is, in the first place, but a poor symptom of true vigour and elevation of mind, when a man fancies (as Lord Byron seems to have fancied) that the world is in a sort of conspiracy against him: and, as for *hatred of hypocrisy*, why, truly, the phrase is a phrase "of exceeding good command;" eminently serviceable and full of excellent "accommodation," whenever we get weary of the restraints of virtue. We have then only to look upon those who maintain a form of righteousness and godliness, while they deny the power thereof: and what shall we do to avoid the guilt of that odious masquerade? what, but cast away both the form and the power together? We shall then be no hypocrites, but brave and gallant spirits, superior to vile artifice and contemptible dissimulation. And who can grudge that such spirits should obey the noble energies inherent in their very composition?

"Thou, Nature, art their Goddess! to thy law
Their services are bound: wherefore should they
Stand in the plague of custom?"

It is needless to dwell on the peregrination of the bard. The pilgrimage of Childe Harold is known to all the world. It gives Mr. Moore, however, another opportunity for some very fine writing, of which the following is a specimen:

"Having traversed Acarnania, the travellers passed to the Ætolian side of the Achelous, and on the 21st of November reached Missolonghi. And here,—it is impossible not to pause, and send a mournful thought forward to the visit which, fifteen years after, he paid to this same spot,—when, in the full meridian both of his age and fame, he came to lay down his life as the champion of that land, through which he now wandered a stripling and a stranger. Could some Spirit have here revealed to him the events of that interval,—have shown him, on the one side, the triumphs that awaited him, the power his varied genius would acquire over all hearts, alike to elevate or depress, to darken or illuminate them,—and then place, on the other side, all the penalties of this gift, the waste and wear of the heart through the imagination, the havoc of that perpetual fire within, which, while it dazzles others, consumes the possessor,—the invidiousness of such an elevation in the eyes of mankind, and the revenge they take on him who compels them to look up to it,—*would* he, it may be asked, have welcomed glory on such conditions? would he not rather have felt that the purchase was too costly, and that such warfare with an *ungrateful* world, while living, would be ill recompensed even by the immortality it might award him afterwards."—vol. i. pp. 211, 212.

We confess that there is a good deal more in all this than has ever been dreamed of in our narrow and antiquated philosophy. For instance, we doubt whether we correctly apprehend what can be meant by "the waste and wear of the heart through the ima-

gination, and the havoc of the perpetual fire within, which, while it dazzles others, consumes the possessor." We are apt to surmise that this is an audaciously dithyrambic version of the plain fact—stated by the biographer himself elsewhere—that "all that was bad and irregular in the nature of this individual burst forth together with all that was most energetic and grand." If his imagination had power to waste his heart, it probably was because it was lighted up by the "*strange fire*" of unhallowed passions. The flame of genius seldom destroys or injures the shrine in which it burns, unless it be nourished by some ingredients of most deadly and corrosive quality. Minds of the very highest order experience but little of this internal *havoc*. Whenever tempestuous desires are united with mighty powers of conception, we may indeed reasonably expect volcanic heavings, and "lava floods," and all those terrible phænomena which minister so amply to the eloquence of Mr. Moore. But we do not believe that the most fervid poetical temperament is ever fatally adverse to the peace of its possessor, unless combined with elements of a pernicious and explosive nature. What did Shakspeare or Milton know of the devastation of those hidden fires which, we are required to believe, converted their late countryman into a perpetual holocaust, and sent up a lurid flame which consumed the poet himself, while it shed a disastrous splendour on the world? We, for our parts, are obstinate in our persuasion, that in the present instance the waste of heart is easily accounted for. When this man was admitted, if we may so speak to the apocalypse of his own intellectual domain, the sight raised within him no thought of gratitude to the giver; and the blessing was then, as might be expected, turned almost into a burning curse. He discovered the secret of his capacities, but he did not discover the use to which they should be consecrated. We heartily wish that the present generation would learn what that use is, from one whose title to instruct them can never be questioned, even by the most insane and superstitious of Lord Byron's fire-worshippers.

"These abilities," says Milton, "are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed; and are of power to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility—to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in a right tune—to celebrate, in glorious and lofty hymns, the throne and equipage of God's Almightyness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought, with high providence, in his Church—to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ—to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime—in virtue amiable or grave—

whatsoever hath passion and admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune, from without, or the wily subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within—all these things, with a solid and treatable smoothness, to paint out and describe; teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight—to those, especially, of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed,)—that, whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed!"*

Such are the oracles which came forth from the sanctuary of the heart of Milton. Is it possible that the age in which we live can be so villainously degenerate as to listen, with these words of sanctity ringing in their ears, to the periods of an effeminate and fantastic sophistry!

But the most prodigiously impudent and absurd sentence, in the paragraph above cited from Mr. Moore, is that in which he speaks of the warfare of the poet with an *ungrateful* world! We should be glad to learn what Lord Byron did for the world, for which he did not receive from the world the most ample and generous retribution? The world heaped admiration and renown upon him in full and prodigal measure; and if gold had been his object, the liberality of the world was sufficient to have raised him from indigence to affluence. It is true that when he wantonly spurned at all that the best and wisest of mankind hold sacred, the voice of loud reprobation was lifted up against him; and the cry which deepened at his heels may have raised within him a spirit of proud and almost ferocious defiance. But though he was, at last, villainously out of humour with the world, and in fiery wrath against his own country more especially, nothing (we are persuaded) ever entered his head so immensely ridiculous as to charge the world with *ingratitude*. This strain of "poor, unmanly, melancholy" whining, was reserved for his biographer; and if the defunct bard were to chastise the indiscretion of his friend, by *haunting* him a little, as he is said to have threatened to *haunt* his valet, old Fletcher, it would be a very proper punishment for coupling his name with so much wretched imbecility.

Lord Byron, having solemnly abandoned the vocation of authorship, and having repeatedly expressed his utter contempt for a life of scribbling, as compared with a life of action, returned to England in an agony of impatience—to print! The success of his lampoon had persuaded him that satire was his *forte*; and he

* Milton on Church Government, book ii.

was languishing to be prosperously delivered of a poor paraphrase of Horace's Art of Poetry, which he had completed during his late travels. He was preserved by Apollo, in the shape of Mr. Dallas, who promised him immortality if he would but publish Childe Harold. For some time he stoutly resisted, being smitten with parental infatuation in favour of his satire, and with deep distrust of the merit of his stanzas. At length he consented to the anonymous appearance of the poem, and the effect was, (to use his own expression,) that "*he awoke one fine morning and found himself famous.*" From that moment he was numbered among the grandest luminaries in the firmament of our modern literature—a wandering star of lurid and most disastrous brightness, whose appearance was

——— "as a planetary plague, when Jove
Will o'er some high-iced city hang his poison
In the sick air."

The appearance of Childe Harold instantly threw open to him all the saloons of fashionable voluptuousness, and all the haunts of political liberalism. The brilliant world of dandyism and licentiousness was disclosed before him. He entered, of course, "nothing loath:" and, for a time,

" ————— he followed
The sugared game before him ;"

unchilled, indeed, by the "icy precepts of respect," but not without frequent disturbance from fits of insufferable weariness and disgust. By these he was driven occasionally back into the solitude which he naturally loved, and from which he continued to fling, with careless profusion, a succession of splendours which kept the world perpetually on the gaze. The period of his familiarity with the Paradise of Folly, into which his fame had introduced him, was an important one in his history. It was in this limbo of "vain and transitory things," that he seems chiefly to have wrought himself into that bitter contempt for his species, that scornful and incurable disbelief of the reality of virtue, which was at length engrained into his whole constitution, and became, as it were, "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh." It is melancholy to think, that the mysteries of fashionable and patrician life should have made him an accomplished adept in the vile freemasonry of this heartless scepticism. In the world of dukes, and duchesses, and exquisites, and exclusives, and senators, and statesmen, it was, that he contrived to collect the materials of his eternal libels on human nature, and to prepare his genius for tricks of audacity and desperation which finally made him "an astonishment" and, almost, "a curse." One thing, however, is

truly remarkable; that, although he steeped himself to the very lips in the dissoluteness of the circle around him, he never appears to have deeply imbibed the spirit of its elegance and refinement. He never lost the "twang of the borrachio" which he contracted in his earlier years. It was said of Socrates that he resembled the Sileni,—certain grotesque figures, which, on being opened, were found to inclose images of the Gods. Alas! we fear the case was grievously reversed in the instance before us. The exterior was, in an eminent degree, courtly and engaging; but there was a grinning satyr within; a lurking goblin of impurity and grossness; a low, fleshly, ruffian sort of incubus, that sat mocking at the show of refinement and dignity without. In plain round terms, his whole history affords us too much reason to believe that, with him, the impress of gentleman never descended very deeply below the surface. With all his bitter contempt for vulgarity,—that is, for the affectation of *shabby-genteelness*,—there is little doubt that he had, at bottom, a sneaking kindness, if not an inveterate passion, for coarseness and *blackguardism*, respecting which he observes, in one of his letters,* that "it comprehends wit, humour, and strong sense, at times." And hence it is that, with so much haughtiness and fastidiousness, there never was, perhaps, a character with so little of genuine dignity and delicacy.

We pause here a moment to notice an event to which Mr. Moore attaches great importance, if we are to judge by the unmerciful length at which he has been pleased to relate it. "Can none remember?—yes, we know all must,"—the tremendous critico-martial encounter at Chalk Farm, hitched into rhyme by the provoking pleasantry of the Noble Satirist. Relative to this matter, some correspondence, of rather a polemical cast, ensued; and the whole of it is here printed, for the purpose of honouring the good sense, self-possession, and manly frankness of Lord Byron. We do not profess to be judges of such affairs: but, in our simple apprehension, the matter might have been settled in two words. Instead of this, a circuitous and wary correspondence takes place, conducted according to the most approved forms of the world's conventional diplomacy. Fortunately, the event was bloodless. The heroes approached, each through an admirable series of parallels. "Their hearts were mighty, their skins were whole, and burnt sack,"—or, at least, abundance of good companionship,—"was the issue." The high contracting parties exchanged assurances of their most distinguished consideration. From that time Lord Byron and Tom Moore were sworn brothers; and an

* Vol. ii. p. 478.

intimacy was struck up, which has eventually invested the latter with the office which is now his delight, his glory, and—we may reasonably presume—his gain.

In one of Lord Byron's letters to another correspondent, this year, we have a magnificent specimen of his qualifications for judging on questions connected with religion or the Scriptures.

"I have gotten," he says, "a book by Sir W. Drummond, entitled *Œdipus Judaicus*, in which he endeavours to prove the greater part of the Old Testament an allegory, particularly Genesis and Joshua. He professes himself a theist, and handles the literal interpretation very roughly. I wish you could see it. Mr. W. has lent it to me; and I confess, to me, it is worth fifty Watsons!"

Of course, it was worth fifty Watsons to him, or to any man who, like him, loved darkness better than light. It was better, not only than fifty Watsons, but better than the whole army of mighty intellects who have done valiantly in behalf of the Truth; better than the Halls, and the Taylors, and the Barrows, and the Bacons, and the whole host of them put together. The performance of Sir Wm. Drummond, it is well known, was scarcely outdone in extravagance by the wildest absurdities of the Rabbinical writers; and it soon fell into contempt and oblivion. But it was a laudable effort to establish freedom of thought, and therefore it threw into the shade the prodigies of erudition, and of eloquence, and of reasoning, which had been lavished for ages in the cause of *superstition*! This incredible sally of impudence and folly, be it remembered, is addressed to a gentleman designed for *holy orders*; and it finds a place in a publication put forth by an intimate of the Noble Genius, with the express purpose of disabusing the public mind of its prepossessions to his disadvantage. All this irresistibly reminds us of the text, "Let the dead bury their dead;" and not only bury them, but pronounce their funeral oration, and embalm their memory, and hand down their excellence to the imitation of a grateful posterity; yea, let them do this, after that very fashion, of which a noble specimen is to be found some pages onward.

"The world," says the biographer, "had yet to witness what he was capable of when emancipated from this restraint"—(the *prejudices* of society). "For graceful and powerful as were his flights, while society had still a hold of him, it was not till let loose from the leash that he rose into the true region of his strength"—(the region peopled with Cain, Don Juan, &c.); "and though, almost in proportion to that strength was, too frequently, the abuse of it, yet so magnificent are the very excesses of such energy, that it is impossible, even while we condemn, not to admire."—vol. i. p. 351.

Why, aye,

————— “ e’en let the Devil
Be, some time, honoured for his burning throne.”

For the controul imposed upon him by the “ meddling world” during his confinement within *its rules*, he partially and imperfectly indemnified himself by pouring out the secrets of his spirit in his Journal, which was to him as a confidential and familiar friend, and afforded him vast relief when his soul was labouring with the *magnanimities* of impiety. And this is the fashion in which, as appears from his *log-book*, (as he terms it,) he communeth with his own heart :

“ All are inclined to believe what they covet, from a lottery-ticket up to a passport to Paradise,—in which, from description, I see nothing very tempting. My restlessness tells me I have something within that ‘ passeth show.’ It is for Him, who made it, to prolong that spark of celestial fire which illuminates, yet burns, this frail tenement ; but I see no such horror in a ‘ dreamless sleep,’ and I have no conception of any existence which duration would not render tiresome. How else ‘ fell the angels,’ even according to your creed ? They were immortal, heavenly, and happy as their *apostate Abdiel* is now by his treachery. Time must decide ; and eternity won’t be the less agreeable or more horrible because one did not expect it. In the meantime, I am grateful for some good, and tolerably patient under certain evils—*grace à Dieu et mon bon tempérament.*”—vol. i. p. 455.

Again—

“ To-day responded to La Baronne de Staël Holstein, and sent to Leigh Hunt (an acquisition to my acquaintance—through Moore—of last summer) a copy of the two Turkish Tales. Hunt is an extraordinary character, and not exactly of the present age. He reminds me more of the Pym and Hampden times—much talent, great independence of spirit, and an austere, yet not repulsive, aspect. If he goes on *qualis ab incepto*, I know few men who will deserve more praise or obtain it. I must go and see him again ;—the rapid succession of adventure since last summer, added to some serious uneasiness and business, have interrupted our acquaintance ; but he is a man worth knowing ; and though, for his own sake, I wish him out of prison, I like to study character in such situations. He has been unshaken, and will continue so. I don’t think him deeply versed in life ;—he is the bigot of virtue (not religion), and enamoured of the beauty of that ‘ empty name,’ as the last breath of Brutus pronounced, and every day proves it. He is, perhaps, a little opiniated, as all men who are the *centre of circles*, wide or narrow—the Sir Oracles, in whose name two or three are gathered together—must be, and as even Johnson was ; but, withal, a valuable man, and less vain than success and even the consciousness of preferring ‘ the right to the expedient’ might excuse.”—*ibid.* p. 58.

The exquisitely ludicrous comparison of Leigh Hunt to the

men of the grand Rebellion almost indemnifies one for the worthless and puerile cant about "*virtue, that empty name,*" and so forth. Shades of Pym and Hampden, look from your present abodes, and contemplate your antitype in the sage and poet of Coccagne!

Let us take another specimen of these comfortable and high-minded soliloquies:

"I wonder how the deuce any body could make such a world; for what purpose dandies, for instance, were ordained—and kings—and fellows of colleges—and women of 'a certain age'—and many men of any age—and myself, most of all!

'Divesne prisco et natus ab Inacho,
Nil interest, an pauper, et infimâ
De gente, sub dio moreris,
Victima nil miserantis Orci.

* * * *

Omnes eodem cogimur.'

"Is there any thing beyond?—*who* knows? *He* that can't tell. Who tells that there *is*? He who don't know. And when shall he know? Perhaps, when he don't expect, and generally, when he don't wish it. In this last respect, however, all are not alike: it depends a good deal upon education,—something upon nerves and habits—but most upon digestion."—vol. i. p. 500.

Much in the same spirit of almost fiendish mockery is a good deal of his *communing* with his friend and biographer, whom he appears to have used quite as uncereemoniously and confidentially as he did his Journal: for instance—

"I have also, more or less, been breaking a few of the favourite commandments; but I mean to pull up and marry,—if any one will have me. In the mean time, the other day, I nearly killed myself with a collar of brawn, which I swallowed for supper, and indigested for I don't know how long. All this *gourmandise* was in honour of *Lent*; for I am forbidden meat all the rest of the year,—but it is strictly enjoined me during your solemn fast."—vol. i. p. 540.

"My great comfort is, that the temporary celebrity I have wrung from the world has been in the very teeth of all opinions and prejudices. I have flattered no ruling powers; I have never concealed a single thought that tempted me. They can't say I have truckled to the times, nor to popular topics (as Johnson, or somebody, said of Cleveland), and whatever I have gained has been at the expenditure of as much *personal* favour as possible; for I do believe never was a bard more unpopular, *quoad homo*, than myself. And now I have done;—'*ludite nunc alios.*' Every body may be d——d, as they seem fond of it, and resolved to stick lustily for endless brimstone."—vol. i. p. 541.

Here again be "excesses of energy which it is impossible, even while we condemn, not to admire!!!"

The log-book, however, has occasionally better things than these. For example, we find there the following very just *censura* of Lewis's Monk.

"Redde"—(the poet was sometimes ambitious of spelling better than his neighbours)—"Redde a good deal, but desultorily. My head is crammed with the most useless lumber. It is odd that when I do read, I can only bear the chicken broth of—*any thing* but Novels. It is many a year since I looked into one (though they are sometimes ordered, by way of experiment, but never taken) till I looked yesterday at the worst parts of the Monk. These descriptions ought to have been written by Tiberius at Caprea—they are forced—the *philtred* ideas of a jaded voluptuary. It is to me inconceivable how they could have been composed by a man only twenty—his age when he wrote them. They have no nature—all the sour cream of cantharides. I should have suspected Buffon of writing them on the deathbed of his detestable dotage. I had never redde this edition, and merely looked at them from curiosity and recollection of the noise they made, and the name they have left to Lewis. But they could do no harm, except * * *

Here, we suppose, there follows something in the MS. quite unfit to be *redde* or uttered. It may be remarked here that these mysterious *lacunæ* are of very frequent occurrence, both in the extracts from the log-book and the correspondence. They are often found where the writer seems advancing towards the regions of blasphemy or obscenity; and, in such cases, our conductor generally brings us just to the "*fauces graveolentis Averni*," but, very wisely and humanely, does not suffer us to step into the pestilential gulf.

The following passage is worth citing, as recording a curious fact, and containing a just observation.

"Allen (Lord Holland's Allen—the best-informed and one of the ablest men I know—a perfect Magliabecchi—a devourer, a Helluo of books, and an observer of men) has lent me a quantity of Burnes's unpublished, and never-to-be published, Letters. They are full of oaths and obscene songs. What an antithetical mind!—tenderness, roughness—delicacy, coarseness—sentiment, sensuality—soaring and grovelling, dirt and deity—all mixed up in that one compound of inspired clay!

"It seems strange; a true voluptuary will never abandon his mind to the grossness of reality. It is by exalting the earthly, the material, the *physique* of our pleasures, by veiling these ideas, by forgetting them altogether, or, at least, never naming them hardly to one's self, that we alone can prevent them from disgusting."—vol. i. p. 469.

This remark shows how deeply, even at that early age, Byron had studied the *philosophy* of vice. The above fragment contains the best explanation that, perhaps, can be given of the anomalous and monstrous union which sometimes we see exemplified of gross sensuality with the highest powers of intellect. It is

impossible to peruse it without recollecting the admirable and almost prophetic felicity, with which the same sentiment has been expanded by the author of the *Night Thoughts* :—

“ The fact notorious, nor obscure the cause,
We wear the chains of Pleasure and of Pride.
These share the man, and these distract him too.
Pride, like an eagle, builds among the stars ;
But Pleasure, lark-like, nests upon the ground.
Joys shared by brute-creation, Pride resents,
Pleasure embraces. Man would both enjoy,
And both at once : a point how hard to gain !
But what can't Wit, when stung by strong desire ?
Wit dares attempt this arduous enterprise.

* * * * *
Wit calls the Graces the chaste zone to loose,
Nor less than a plump god to fill the bowl.
* * * * *

Pleasure and Pride, by nature mortal foes,
At war eternal, which in man shall reign,
By Wit's address patch up a fatal peace,
And hand in hand, lead on the rank debauch,
From rank, refined to delicate and gay.
Art, cursed Art wipes off the indebted blush
From Nature's cheek, and bronzes every shame.
Man smiles in ruin, glories in his guilt,
And Infamy stands candidate for praise !”—*Night v.*

One more dip into the log-book !

“ Last night I supped with Lewis ; and, as usual, though I neither exceeded in solids or fluids, have been half dead ever since. My stomach is entirely destroyed by long abstinence ; and *the rest* will probably follow. Let it : I only wish the *pain* over. The ‘ leap in the dark ’ is the least to be dreaded.”—p. 460.

Such are the feelings with which a being—gifted with powers which must have continually spoken to him of immortality—could stand upon “ this bank and shoal of time,” and look upon the stupendous ocean of eternity that surrounds it ! And then—think of the self-denial which this scorner of human virtue could exercise, in order to avoid the horrors of obesity. He could *entirely destroy his stomach by abstinence* rather than endure the slightest loss of personal activity and grace. And yet he had always a sardonic sneer in readiness to wither the *hypocrisy* which could cant and prose about counting all things as loss compared with that hope which is the only anchor of the soul ! Of a truth, the martyrs of incredulity are but a feeble and unsteady folk when brought to the stake of common sense. And fitly, indeed, are they rewarded, even *here*, for the base fidelity they show to their

cause. If any one doubts this, let them learn it from our biographer.

"Finding Lord Byron," says Mr. Moore, "invariably lively when we were together, I often rallied him on the gloomy tone of his poetry, as assumed; but his constant answer was—(and I soon ceased to doubt of its truth)—that, though thus merry and full of laughter with those he liked, he was at heart, one of the most melancholy wretches living."—vol. i. p. 356.

The truth is, that he knew nothing of what Jeremy Taylor calls the "*perpetual festivities*" of a heart at peace with itself. Hence the volcanic fires within, and the superficial bloom and verdure without. This contrast was afterwards very clearly discerned by one who was most interested in observing it, as will appear from a fragment of his own:

"People have wondered at the melancholy which runs through my writings. Others have wondered at my personal gaiety. But I recollect once, after an hour in which I had been sincerely and particularly gay, and rather brilliant in company, my wife replying to me when I said (upon her remarking my high spirits), 'And yet, Bell, I have been called and mis-called melancholy—you must have seen how falsely, frequently?'—'No, Byron,' she answered, 'it is not so: at heart you are the most melancholy of mankind; and often when apparently gayest.'"—*Moore*, vol. i. p. 649.

This is the blessedness of him who has, on one hand, a genius that can work miracles at his capricious bidding, and, on the other hand, passions that laugh at all restraints, divine and human! These are the wages of the adventurer who takes service with those noted and inseparable brethren, Sans-loy, Sans-foy, and Sans-joy!

It was thought by several of Lord Byron's friends that matrimony afforded him the only chance of deliverance from this vile society. He seems to have thought so himself; for he says, somewhere in his *log-book*—"a wife would be the salvation of me." It was hoped, at least, that marriage might do for him what a *legitimate* despotism sometimes does for a nation harassed and torn to pieces by a rapid succession of revolutionary tyrannies. That he thought the experiment, at all events, worth trying, is evident from the fact, that he had once already offered his neck to the yoke of wedlock. He had, actually, been a suitor to Miss Milbanke, the present Lady Byron. But his hour was not yet come. The lady, with every imaginable assurance of friendship and regard, had declined the proposal. She had, however, accompanied her refusal with the expression of a wish that their correspondence should be continued—alas! *periculosæ plenum*

opus aleæ! For, as his lordship shrewdly observed, *friendship*, with young ladies, is but love full-fledged, and only waiting for a fine day to fly. This intercourse of *friendship* was kept up for about two years; during which period the sentiment had been gaining strength of pinion for its adventurous and most disastrous flight. At last, the critical moment arrived, and in Sept. 1814 the lady was addressed with a renewed offer of allegiance. The circumstances which led to this step shall be described by Mr. Moore.

“A person, who had for some time stood high in his affection and confidence, observing how cheerless and unsettled was the state both of his mind and prospects, advised him strenuously to marry; and, after much discussion, he consented. The next point for consideration was—who was to be the object of his choice: and while his friend mentioned one lady, he himself named Miss Milbanke. To this, however, his adviser strongly objected,—remarking to him, that Miss Milbanke had at present no fortune, and that his embarrassed affairs would not allow him to marry without one; that she was moreover a learned lady, which would not at all suit him. In consequence of these representations, he agreed that his friend should write a proposal for him to the other lady named, which was accordingly done; and an answer, containing a refusal, arrived as they were, one morning, sitting together. ‘You see,’ said Lord Byron, ‘that, after all, Miss Milbanke is to be the person;—I will write to her.’ He accordingly wrote on the moment, and as soon as he had finished, his friend, remonstrating still strongly against his choice, took up the letter,—but on reading it over, observed, ‘Well, really, this is a very pretty letter;—it is a pity it should not go. I never read a prettier one.’ ‘Then it *shall* go,’ said Lord Byron, and in so saying, sealed and sent off, on the instant, this fiat of his fate.”—*Moore*, pp. 580, 581.

Now is not this, we would ask, a right merry-conceited and most delectable scene? What might not be made of it, in the hands of an artist of any dramatic powers? A young gentleman wants to be married. His guide, philosopher, and friend, for the time being, violently remonstrates against his choice, because the lady has plenty of learning in possession, but fortune only in expectancy. The lover, however, sits down and writes; his sage and faithful counsellor, retaining all his objections to the person addressed, nevertheless gives his sanction and approbation to the dispatch; and Miss Milbanke is invited to become Lady Byron because—it is a pity that a *pretty letter* should not go!—Could the genius of urbane comedy have suggested a happier incident? How shall the laughter-loving portion of the most discerning public in the world express their obligations to the candour and impartiality which has furnished them with it;—and this, too, in magnanimous disregard of certain *tragic* reminiscences which the

scene must inevitably call up in the minds of some surviving individuals? For ourselves, if we could imagine any thing to heighten the comic interest of the *situation*, it would be to have placed the lady behind a skreen, where she might have witnessed the extremely pleasant consultation which was to dispose of her future destinies; and then, to exhibit the enviable feelings of the noble adventurer, on being consigned—(as, in that case, he most undoubtedly would have been consigned)—for the second time, to the long list of rejected aspirants! The affair, however, was ordained to have a different termination.

“On the day of the arrival of the lady’s answer, he was sitting at dinner, when his gardener came in and presented him with his mother’s wedding ring, which she had lost many years before, and which the gardener had just found in digging up the mould under her window. Almost at the same moment, the letter from Miss Milbanke arrived, and Lord Byron exclaimed, ‘If it contains a consent, I will be married with this very ring.’ It *did* contain a very flattering acceptance of his proposal, and a duplicate of the letter had been sent to London, in case this should have missed him.”—*Memoranda, Moore*, vol. i. p. 582, note.

The following is one of the various letters in which he announces his success. It would be amusing and laughable enough, if one could but dismiss all recollection of the sequel.

“TO THE COUNTESS OF ———.

“Albany, October 5, 1814.

“DEAR LADY ———,

“Your recollection and invitation do me great honour; but I am going to be ‘married, and can’t come.’ My intended is two hundred miles off, and the moment my business here is arranged, I must set out in a great hurry to be happy. Miss Milbanke is the good-natured person who has undertaken me, and, of course, I am very much in love, and as silly as all single gentlemen must be in that sentimental situation. I have been accepted these three weeks; but when the event will take place, I don’t exactly know. It depends partly upon lawyers, who are never in a hurry. One can be sure of nothing; but, at present, there appears no other interruption to this intention, which seems as mutual as possible, and now no secret, though I did not tell first,—and all our relatives are congratulating away to right and left in the most fatiguing manner.

“You perhaps know the lady. She is niece to Lady Melbourne, and cousin to Lady Cowper and others of your acquaintance, and has no fault, except being a great deal too good for me, and that *I* must pardon, if nobody else should. It might have been *two* years ago, and, if it had, would have saved me a world of trouble. She has employed the interval in refusing about half a dozen of my particular friends, (as she did me once, by the way,) and has taken me at last, for which I am very much obliged to her. I wish it was well over, for I do hate bustle, and

there is no marrying without some;—and then, I must not marry in a black coat, they tell me, and I can't bear a blue one.

“Pray forgive me for scribbling all this nonsense. You know I must be serious all the rest of my life, and this is a parting piece of buffoonery, which I write with tears in my eyes, expecting to be agitated. Believe me most seriously and sincerely your obliged servant,

“BYRON.

“P. S. My best rems. to Lord * * on his return.”—*Moore*, vol. i. pp. 583, 584.

Byron was now a doomed man: and his friend and biographer, —who had long entertained such sanguine hopes of the transforming efficacy of wedlock,—began to look forward with dismay to the consequences of the irrevocable step, very soon after the poet had resolved upon it. He was assailed, he tells us, with certain doubts and misgivings as to the fitness of the gifted man for the matrimonial tie, under any circumstances whatever; and, was “filled with a foreboding anxiety as to his fate, which the unfortunate events that followed but too fully justified.” And the discovery of Childe Harold's disqualification for “the calm affections and comforts which form the cement of domestic life” seems to have led to a still wider range of speculation; the result of which is, that “men of the higher order of genius” have, in all ages and in all countries, been found to labour under a similar sort of inaptitude. The most illustrious sages, we are reminded, have all lived single lives; married poets have seldom been happy in their homes; and, to the most conspicuous instances of this infelicity—Dante, Milton, Shakspeare, and Dryden, “we have now to add, as a partner in their destiny, a name worthy of being placed beside the greatest of them—Lord Byron.” What may be the authority for numbering Shakspeare among the *victims* of matrimony, we are unable to divine. But however that may be, Shakspeare and his mighty brethren together, supply Mr. Moore with materials for no less than eight quarto pages of most mellifluous and solemn disquisition; the moral of all which is, that intellectual mediocrity is one of the indispensable ingredients of conjugal bliss! Surely, it is a pity that these profound meditations did not occur to him, for the benefit of his noble friend, before he joined in urging him to a matrimonial adventure, and in representing such a measure as affording the best hope of reclaiming him from those eccentricities which are incident to the planetary path of every distinguished genius! As it is, the speculations of the biographer are not a little curious. At first, he is persuaded that domestic peace is the pole star which is to regulate the course of this mighty intellect. But no sooner does he find that this hope is treacherous,

than he resolves that his hero shall, at least, be ruined in good company. He accordingly ransacks all literary history; and his researches are rewarded with the seasonable and consoling discovery, that many a renowned adventurer has made shipwreck of peace and happiness in the same perilous navigation?

With these illustrious authorities for the domestic infelicity of genius, we are duly fortified and prepared for the issue of the adventure in question.

“Accordingly, at the end of December, accompanied by his friend, Mr. Hobhouse, he (Lord Byron) set out for Seaham, the seat of Sir Ralph Milbank, the lady’s father, in the county of Durham, and on the 2d of January, 1815, was married.”

The poetical history of this event is as follows:—

————— “I saw him stand
Before an altar with a gentle bride;
Her face was fair, but was not that which made
The Starlight of his Boyhood;—as he stood
Even at the altar, o’er his brow there came
The self-same aspect, and the quivering shock
That in the antique Oratory shook
His bosom in its solitude; and then—
As in that hour—a moment o’er his face
The tablet of unutterable thoughts
Was traced,—and then it faded as it came,
And he stood calm and quiet, and he spoke
The fitting vows, but heard not his own words,
And all things reel’d around him; he could see
Not that which was, nor that which should have been—
But the old mansion and the accustom’d hall,
And the remember’d chambers, and the place,
The day, the hour, the sunshine, and the shade,
All things pertaining to that place and hour,
And her, who was his destiny, came back,
And thrust themselves between him and the light:—
What business had they there at such a time?”*

Moore, vol. i. p. 599.

The above visionary representation of the matter is here “introduced historically,” as closely agreeing with the *prose* account of the same affair in the Memoranda of the bridegroom, in which he describes himself

“as waking, on the morning of his marriage, with the most melancholy reflections, on seeing his wedding-suit spread out before him. In the same mood he wandered about the grounds alone, till he was summoned for the ceremony, and joined, for the first time on that day, his bride and her family. He knelt down—he repeated the words after the clergyman; but a mist was before his eyes—his thoughts were elsewhere; and

* The Dream.

he was awakened by the congratulations of the by-standers, and found that he was—married !”

About a month after this most joyous enterprize, we find him writing thus from Seaham.

“ Since I wrote last I have been transferred to my father-in-law’s, with my lady, and my lady’s maid, &c. &c. ; and the *treacle-moon* is over, and *I am awake, and find myself married*. My spouse and I agree to—and in—admiration. Swift says, ‘ no wise man ever married ;’ but, for a fool, I think it the most ambrosial of all possible future states.

“ I wish you would respond, for I am here *oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis*. Pray tell me what is going on in the way of intrigue, and how the w——s and rogues of the upper Beggar’s Opera go on—or rather go off—in or after marriage ; or who are going to break any particular commandment. Upon this dreary coast we have nothing but county meetings and shipwrecks ; and I have this day dined upon fish, which, probably, dined upon the crews of several colliers lost in the late gales. But I saw the sea once more in all the glories of surf and foam—almost equal to the Bay of Biscay, and the interesting white squalls and short seas of Archipelago memory.

“ My papa, Sir Ralpho, hath recently made a speech at a Durham tax-meeting ; and not only at Durham, but *here*, several times since, after dinner. He is now, I believe, speaking it to himself (I left him in the middle) over various decanters, which can neither interrupt him, nor fall asleep, as might probably have been the case with some of his audience.”—“ I must go to tea : d— tea ! I wish it was Kinnaird’s brandy, and with you to lecture me about it.”

Now here we must pause, for one moment, to contemplate the glorious liberty wherewith the sons of genius are made free from the yoke which hangs about the neck of quotidian and prosaic respectability ! Of the dissolute levity of this epistle we say nothing ; but here is a man, received with confidence and hospitality by the father of the woman whose feelings he is bound by every tie to spare and to respect ; and yet, within *a little month*, he is found making himself merry, with his familiar friend, at the expense of his unsuspecting host. But this, it may be said, is nothing more than a transient sally of humour, or of spleen, bursting out in the unrestrained flow of confidential and private correspondence. Well—on this point we are all liberality and acquiescence ! Be it even so. But what, then, shall we say of the violation of this privacy and confidence ? What shall we say of this exposure, which, while the widow is still surviving, holds up the deceased parent to public derision ? We do not ask the world to abide by the sentence of ancient and censorious dotards like ourselves ; but we appeal to every man, every woman, and every child, brought up with the commonest feelings of delicacy and kindness, whether they can contemplate this disclosure without

indignation? Can any thing be well more unmanly, more heartless, more ungenerous?

It will be some relief to introduce here, from the "Detached Thoughts" of Lord Byron, certain very diverting recollections of his acquaintance with the interior of a theatre—a dangerous episode in the life of a married man.

"When I belonged to the Drury Lane Committee, and was one of the Sub-Committee of Management, the number of *plays* upon the shelves were about *five* hundred. Conceiving that amongst these there must be *some* of merit, in person and by proxy I caused an investigation. I do not think that of those which I saw there was one which could be conscientiously tolerated. There never were such things as most of them! Mathurin was very kindly recommended to me by Walter Scott, to whom I had recourse, firstly, in the hope that he would do something for us himself, and secondly, in my despair, that he would point out to us any young (or old) writer of promise. Mathurin sent his Bertram and a letter *without* his address, so that at first I could give him no answer. When I at last hit upon his residence, I sent him a favourable answer and something more substantial. His play succeeded, but I was at that time absent from England.

"I tried Coleridge too, but he had nothing feasible in hand at the time. Mr. Sotheby obligingly offered *all* his tragedies, and I pledged myself, and notwithstanding many squabbles with my Committed Brethren, did get 'Ivan' accepted, read, and the parts distributed. But, lo! in the very heart of the matter, upon some *lepidness* on the part of Kean, or warmth on that of the author, Sotheby withdrew his play. Sir J. B. Burgess did also present four tragedies and a farce, and I moved Green-room and Sub-Committee, but they would not.

"Then the scenes I had to go through!—the authors, and the authoresses, and the milliners, and the wild Irishmen—the people from Brighton, from Blackwall, from Chatham, from Cheltenham, from Dublin, from Dundee—who came in upon me! to all of whom it was proper to give a civil answer, and a hearing, and a reading. Mrs. * * 's father, an Irish dancing-master of sixty years, called upon me to request to play Archer, dressed in silk stockings, on a frosty morning, to show his legs (which were certainly good and Irish for his age, and had been still better)—Miss Emma Somebody, with a play entitled 'The Bandit of Bohemia,' or some such title or production—Mr. O'Higgins, then resident at Richmond, with an Irish tragedy, in which the unities could not fail to be observed, for the protagonist was chained by the leg to a pillar during the chief part of the performance. He was a wild man, of a savage appearance, and the difficulty of *not* laughing at him was only to be got over by reflecting upon the probable consequences of such cachinnation.

"As I am really a civil and polite person, and *do* hate giving pain when it can be avoided, I sent them up to Douglas Kinnaird—who is a man of business, and sufficiently ready with a negative—and left them to settle with him; and as the beginning of next year I went abroad, I have since been little aware of the progress of the theatres.

* * * * *

"Players are said to be an impracticable people. They are so; but I managed to steer clear of any disputes with them, and excepting one debate with the elder Byrne about Miss Smith's *pas de*—(something—I forget the technicals), I do not remember any litigation of my own. I used to protect Miss Smith because she was like Lady Jane Harley in the face, and likenesses go a great way with me. Indeed, in general, I left such things to my more bustling colleagues, who used to reprove me seriously for not being able to take such things in hand without buffooning with the histrions, or throwing things into confusion by treating light matters with levity.

* * * * *

"Then the Committee!—then the Sub-Committee!—we were but few, but never agreed. There was Peter Moore, who contradicted Kinnaird, and Kinnaird, who contradicted every body: then our two managers, Rae and Dibdin; and our secretary, Ward! and yet we were all very zealous and in earnest to do good and so forth. * * * furnished us with prologues to our revived old English plays, but was not pleased with me for complimenting him as 'the *Upton*' of our theatre, (Mr. Upton is, or was, the poet who writes the songs for Astley's,) and almost gave up prologuing in consequence."—*Moore*, vol. i. pp. 631—633.

We have neither the right nor the wish to dwell in any detail upon the disastrous issue of Lord Byron's matrimonial experiment. The solution of the whole affair probably is, that his lady, after living a twelvemonth with him, became strongly impressed with the belief that he was scarcely in a state of mental sanity; and that, under the influence of this persuasion, she conceived herself justified in consulting her own peace and safety; and that she accordingly effected her retreat from him by what, when unexplained, might have the appearance of a sort of stratagem. There probably was enough in his demeanour to produce an impression that his mind had lost its equilibrium. He confesses, himself, that the confusion of his affairs, and the consequent disorder of his health and distraction of his mind, frequently drove him into excess, and disqualified his temper for comfort; and he further allows, that something is to be attributed to his strange and desultory habits, brought on by his early release from discipline and restraint. One eruption of his "perturbed spirit" is mentioned by Mr. Moore as having powerfully aided the suspicion that his faculties were in a state of dislocation. In a fit of vexation and rage, brought on by some of those humiliating embarrassments to which he was almost daily exposed, he took a favourite old watch, which had been his companion from boyhood, and had gone with him to Greece, furiously dashed it on the hearth, and ground it to pieces among the ashes with the poker! In this paroxysm of almost frantic violence might be discerned a strong symptom of alarming and habitual excitement; and it may easily be imagined that a few

more explosions, at all resembling this, might render his society absolutely intolerable to a woman of refined notions and habits, unless she happened to be gifted with nerves of steel. Her own representation of this matter is now before the public, and is printed by Mr. Moore in the Appendix. The upshot of it may be stated in two words. Either Lord Byron was mad, or he was not. If he was mad, he could not be a very comfortable sort of person to live with. If he was not mad—and if Lady Byron was to consider his past conduct as that of a person in his sound mind—nothing (she avows) could induce her to return to him, and place herself once more in his power. What the particulars of that conduct were, she has thought it proper to abstain from describing. She has declined, as she had a most unquestionable right to decline, the obtrusive and impertinent cross-examinations, which have been administered to her through the press, relative to the merits of the case between herself and her husband. She has confined herself chiefly to the solemn assertion, that, whoever may have been to blame in the affair, her own parents stand entirely clear of imputation; and she has been prompted to break silence at all, solely by her desire to vindicate their memory from insult. With regard to the causes of the separation, she has contented herself with printing the following letter from her professional friend and adviser, Dr. Lushington:—

“ MY DEAR LADY BYRON,

“ I can rely upon the accuracy of my memory for the following statement. I was originally consulted by Lady Noel on your behalf, whilst you were in the country; the circumstances detailed by her were such as justified a separation, but they were not of that aggravated description as to render such a measure indispensable. On Lady Noel's representation, I deemed a reconciliation with Lord Byron practicable, and felt most sincerely a wish to aid in effecting it. There was not on Lady Noel's part any exaggeration of the facts; nor so far as I could perceive, any determination to prevent a return to Lord Byron: certainly none was expressed when I spoke of a reconciliation. When you came to town in about a fortnight, or perhaps more, after my first interview with Lady Noel, I was for the first time informed by you of facts utterly unknown, as I have no doubt, to Sir Ralph and Lady Noel. On receiving this additional information, my opinion was entirely changed: I considered a reconciliation impossible. I declared my opinion, and added, that if such an idea should be entertained, I could not, either professionally or otherwise, take any part towards effecting it. Believe me, very faithfully yours,

“ STEPHEN LUSHINGTON.

“ Great George Street, Jan. 31, 1830.”—*Moore*, vol. ii. p. 816.

We will give no utterance to the various surmises which irresistibly rush into the mind on the perusal of this letter. Thus

much, however, at least, is evident—that either Lady Byron was guilty of most flagitiously deceiving her legal advisers—which is absolutely incredible—or, that the friends of Lord Byron, if they have the slightest regard for his memory, must never stir this question more while they live!

For ourselves, forbearing all further inquiry into the causes of Lady Byron's separation from her husband, there is, nevertheless, one question which we are irresistibly impelled to ask, though we fear it will be thought most detestably illiberal; namely, what right had any man so deeply involved in pecuniary difficulties to engage in matrimony at all? It appears, from Mr. Moore's own statement, that "on Byron's arrival in London, in December, 1814, he found his affairs in so utterly embarrassed a condition as to fill him with some alarm, and even to suggest to his mind the *prudence* of deferring his marriage." 'The *prudence* of deferring it! We should rather say, the imperative and irresistible duty of deferring it—unless, indeed, the lady, on a full and frank disclosure of circumstances, should generously choose to insist on an immediate completion of the engagement. But, in our judgment, the peculiar turpitude of the transaction lies much deeper than this. For our lives we cannot understand how a ruined man can dare to propose an alliance with any woman on earth, whether an heiress or not, without first telling her that he *is* a ruined man. Now it is evident from the tenor of the narrative before us, that at the very time of his offering himself to Miss Milbanke, Lord Byron must have distinctly known that this, or something very like this, was his own condition. He knew that his affairs had long been falling into a state of almost desperate confusion. We therefore ask, with all dutiful submission to more youthful and enlightened minds, how it was that he, or any honourable man, could endure the thought of committing the woman of his choice and attachment, even to the chance of all the misery and all the humiliation incident to such a state of things? And when, at last, he fully learned the ruinous extent of the evil, we should like to know the process by which he contrived to satisfy himself that he was not behaving almost like a scoundrel, in going to the altar without making known to the other parties the whole reality of his condition, and leaving to them the option of a postponement or dissolution of the contract? The consequences of his rushing into new and heavy responsibilities, with all this load of debt about his neck, is formidably, but very justly, described by his devoted biographer. "His marriage (from the reputation, no doubt, of the lady being an heiress) was, at once, a signal for all the arrears and claims of a long accumulating state of embarrassment o explode upon him. His door was almost daily beset by duns,

and his house nine times during that year in possession of bailiffs." And what other earthly result was to be expected? Is it credible that the "thriving wooer" himself can, at any moment of his wooing, have been wholly blind to the futurity which awaited his success? Can he have supposed it possible that the faintest rumour of his prosperity would fail to environ him with the *Αλαστορες* of Law and Justice, and (to use his own expression) "to shiver his household gods around him?" And yet, with these certainties before his eyes, he invites a virtuous, exemplary and happy woman to share his destinies, and to stand exposed to "the slings and arrows of his own outrageous fortune!" We care not one single rush whether the man who does this be an illustrious bard, or the most empty-headed walking gentleman, who burdens and afflicts with his leaden presence the routs and the club-houses of the metropolis. It is the vilest and stupidest of all despicable cant to tell us that grand and capacious faculties are to exempt a man from the dominion of those rules, the breach of which exposes all the ordinary sons of men to contempt and reprobation. If any obscure individual were to carry into the daily transactions of human life such principles as these, or rather, such utter disregard and oblivion of all principles, what would be his portion but ignominy and scorn? But the aristocracy of rank and of genius, it seems, are to pursue their glorious trajectory far beyond the disturbing force of all vulgar moralities:

"Nam vos Trojugenæ vobis ignoscitis; et quæ
Turpia Cerdoni, Volesos Brutosque decebunt!"

All the world knows the tempest which burst on the head of "the martyr" on his rupture with his wife. The winds of obloquy seemed to be let loose to fight against him from every corner of the heavens. In the first place there was the deep-mouthed indignation of wise and virtuous men. The cry, however, it may be allowed, was probably much aggravated by the yells of envious, malignant and despairing mediocrity, and by the vile yelpings of low ill-nature and reptile uncharitableness. But, however that may be, the clamour at last became utterly intolerable, and drove the illustrious delinquent from his *ungrateful* country, secretly exclaiming, perhaps, like Coriolanus to the Roman rabble,

"Ye common cry of curs—I banish you!"

Mr. Moore has judged wisely in abstaining from any further allusion to these particulars. Time and justice, he conceives, are doing more in favour of Lord Byron's character, than could be effected by any gossiping details. We should apprehend, that, of the two, Time is by far the better friend to his Lordship's memory. "Who now asks," says Mr. Moore, "whether Dante

was right or wrong in his matrimonial differences? or by how many, whose fancies dwell fondly on his Beatrice, is even the name of his Gemma Donati remembered?" Why, then, should any friend of Lord Byron deny him the benefit of the same softening influence which melts down the fiery colours and harsh lineaments of distant greatness? Why will they not leave his character to rest, and be content to let nothing but his genius fly abroad? Why will they persist in dragging him once more before the bar of public inquisition, and provoking examination into his misdeeds, by pleadings like the following:—"During the lifetime of a man of genius, the world is but too much inclined to judge him rather by what he wants than by what he possesses"—(as if any thing could supply the place of virtue!)"—"and, even where conscious, as in the present case, that his defects are among the sources of his greatness, to require of him, unreasonably, the one without the other. If Pope had not been splenetic and irritable, we should have wanted his Satires; and an impetuous temperament, and passions untamed, were indispensable to the *conformation* of a poet like Byron." Why then, would to Heaven, we say, that his *conformation* had never taken place at all! The curse of his example never can be redeemed by the splendour of his genius; nay, the curse and the splendour, in this case, unhappily go together; for the genius has here been too often employed to perpetuate the pestilence of the example. Really, if poetry cannot spring up in a soil that is not blasted by volcanic fires, and scorched by "*lava floods*;" if it languishes and dies under the sunshine of goodness and of piety; if it cannot live and ripen under the milder influences which gladden our homes, and shed peace and comfort *about our path and about our bed*; if this be so, it were devoutly to be wished that all Christian states, like Plato's republic, should be purged for ever of this pernicious growth. It were better that poets were banished from the land, if it be true that "the materials of order and of happiness" are not to be found in a bosom from which genius is constantly pouring forth its rivers of flame! But all this is not true. Poetry is not a Moloch, which demands the sacrifice of all that is dearest and most sacred to the human heart. Genius is not a gift for which a man must necessarily *exchange his own soul*. To talk thus, is to slander the highest endowments of our nature, and, in truth, but little less than to blaspheme the Giver of them. It was, literally, no more necessary to the poetical triumphs and achievements of Byron that he should be an infidel, or a scoffer, or a libertine, or a bad husband, than it was that he should be an incendiary or a buccaneer. Vice, it is true, may, for wise and unsearchable reasons, be sometimes invested with the splendours

of genius; but how does it follow from this, that vice and genius have any native elements in common with each other? Satan, we know can assume the attributes of an angel of light; but how does this impeach the purity of those bright Intelligences, those celestial Sanctities and Virtues, which surround the throne of Omnipotence?

We are accustomed to hear a great deal of the cant of hypocrisy, and the cant of bigotry, and prejudice; but we think it may very safely be averred, that the cant and the pedantry of liberalism are, to say the least, quite as intolerable. If, however, there must be canting, we do not see why the men of liberality should, on this occasion, have it all to themselves. We shall accordingly produce a sample of that commodity, which we hope will be found at least as palatable as that which has been, so elaborately, prepared for us by Thomas Moore.

“ Strong links and mutual sympathies connect
The moral powers, and powers of intellect.
Still these on those depend by union fine,
Bloom as they bloom, and as they fade decline.
Talents, 'tis true, gay, quick, and bright, has God
To virtue oft denied, on vice bestowed :
Just as fond nature lovelier colours brings
To paint the insect's than the eagle's wings.
But, of our souls the high-born loftier part,
Th' ethereal energies that touch the heart,
Conceptions ardent, labouring thought intense
Creative Fancy's wild magnificence,
And all the dread sublimities of song,
These, Virtue, these to thee alone belong.
These are celestial all; nor kindred hold
With aught of sordid or debasing mould.
Chilled by the breath of Vice, their radiance dies,
And brightest burns when lighted at the skies.
Like vestal flames to purest bosoms given,
And kindled only by a ray from heaven.”*

And so much in answer to the raptures of Thomas Moore;

“ Nay, an he'll mouth, we'll rant as well as he;”

and, as we trust, somewhat more to the purpose. For our own part, we fear not to avow that, in our judgment, the highest glories of *creative* fancy belong not to Childe Harold. The brightest heaven of *invention* he never climbed. Mr. Galt has said very truly, though in his odd and quaint manner, “ No characteristic action distinguishes one of his heroes from another;

* Mr. C. Grant.

nor is there much dissimilarity in their sentiments. They have no individuality. They stalk and pass in mist and gloom; grim, ghastly, portentous, mysterious shadows; entities of the twilight; weird things, like the sceptred effigies of the unborn issue of Banquo." All this sameness, and monotony, and indistinctness, is the consequence of his inability to penetrate into the various depths and recesses of human character; and he who is unable to do this, has no title to the very first honours of genius. He may read and transcribe nature, as she has impressed herself on the face of the material creation; or he may trace the lines and furrows which have been *ploughed* into the character by the force of the more impetuous and keen emotions; but he has never been initiated into those *greater mysteries* which impart to the mightiest adepts almost the stamp and aspect of divinity.

The second of Mr. Moore's ponderous volumes is devoted to that portion of Lord Byron's life which followed his separation from his wife. Its opening discovers this rejected husband "driven by the excommunicating voice of society to an exile which had not even the dignity of appearing voluntary." He had often felt a sort of perverse gratification in representing himself as a being formed in a different mould from other men; as having the elements so strangely mixed in him, that he "could neither love the world, nor the world him." He now found, with rankling mortification, that the world was abundantly ready to take him at his word; and he accordingly went forth from his country bristling all over with fierce resentment; resolved that, like a coiled hedgehog, he would present nothing but his prickles to the nostrils and the jaws of his persecutors. In this comfortable mood it was that he visited the plain of Waterloo, and climbed the "giant-snouted crags" of Switzerland; but he found that "the mountain-palaces of nature" could afford no asylum to a haunted heart;* and during this period it was that the perilous stuff which weighed upon his bosom vented itself in the third canto of *Childe Harold*, and the unearthly mystery of *Manfred*. For some time he lingered in the vicinity of Geneva, where he endured with wondrous tractability a good round scolding from the Staël, on the desperate absurdity of attempting to stand at bay against the opinion of the world. This searching exhortation did so far "unbend his noble courage," that he actually signified to a friend in England his readiness still to be reconciled to his lady. The attempt failed. His words of peace were suffered to fall to the ground—(additional proof of her bitter sense of injury and outrage)—and they sprung up again, it would appear, in the

* Galt, p. 219.

shape of armed and vindictive feelings. From the moment of this repulse may, probably, be dated the commencement of a process, in the mind of the wanderer, more deep and rancorous than ever he had yet experienced. With the eruptions of that unholy fire, the world is already too well acquainted; and we conceive that, except among the veriest fanatics of his party, there cannot be a question respecting the atrocity of his vengeance. To us it appears to bear the mark of the most cowardly brutality. He spared not to assail his lady and her family with every form of contemptuous derision and malignant insult. They were the perpetual subjects of his sarcasms and his rhymes; and this, too, even at a time when he was living on the property of the woman whose peace and happiness had been wrecked by her connection with him. For, he it remembered, that though he formed to himself the resolution never to lay a finger on her fortune, this resolution he had not the integrity or fortitude to keep. He reserved for his own use one half the produce of the estates, which, in her right, he could legally command, after the death of Lady Noel. Is genius, we ask, to consecrate enormities like these? Is it to release a man from the obligation of acting, not merely with the honesty of an ordinary citizen, but with the spirit and dignity, and courtesy of a gentleman? Is it not treason to society to speak of such things in any language but that of the austere reprobation?

The life of his Lordship at Venice is matter of general notoriety. Every one knows the ostentatious aversion which he there professed for the society of his countrymen. For this feeling there might, perhaps, be some faint excuse. The sight,—nay, the very thought of an Englishman, was sure to environ him with painful and humiliating reminiscences, from which he might pardonably shrink. But then, there was something insufferably disgusting in the tone of insolence with which he avowed his “utter abhorrence of the travelling English,” and in the denunciations of their stupidity and coarseness which are prodigally scattered over his correspondence. It is not, perhaps, quite so generally known that in this “Sea-Sodom,”—as he himself entitles it,—he broke out into a course of degrading profligacy which even he is said to have afterwards contemplated with loathing, if not remorse. If this, however, was imperfectly known before, Mr. Moore has taken most exemplary care that it shall be distinctly understood now. He has assumed some credit for the very laudable self-controul wherewith he has abstained from all notice of the affairs of gallantry which solaced the leisure of his Lordship during “the witching time” of his early popularity in England. He is, however, extremely anxious that the world should duly

estimate the value of this sacrifice : and he, accordingly informs us, that he has been prompted to it solely by a delicate regard to living reputations, and to that "*peculiar sense of decorum in this country, which makes the mention of such frailties hardly a less crime than the commission of them.*" He does not, however, hesitate broadly to avow, that he *very deeply regrets the hard necessity which imposes this forbearance!* The disclosures in question, he conceives, are devoutly to be desired, inasmuch as they would help to illustrate "*the strange history of his Lordship's mind in one of its most interesting chapters!*" Fortunately, the world is not condemned to a total loss of the edification and delight to be derived from the contemplation of his Lordship's softer moments. His life in Venice happily furnishes another *interesting chapter*, abounding in similar instruction, against the publication of which, Mr. Moore conceives, no injunction whatever can be reasonably apprehended. In foreign countries, it is comfortable to know, a different standard is applicable to the morality of females. What is wrong in England, is not so *very wrong* in Italy. They there, as Lord Byron himself informs us, leave the word *not* out of the seventh commandment; and, accordingly, with perfect "*gaiety of conscience,*" let heaven see the tricks which they dare not actually show their husbands. All this was exceedingly convenient to the hero; and it is no less to his biographer, since it relieves him from all scruples towards the frail individuals involved in these little affairs; or at all events, "*whatever delicacy we may think it right to exercise in speaking of their frailties, must be with reference rather to our views and usages than theirs.*"* Nothing in the world can be more clear and satisfactory! As the people of the Continent have a different and much more agreeable edition of the Decalogue than ourselves, it would be the extravagance of prudery for any Englishman to refuse himself the benefit of its various readings; or for any historian to abstain from presenting us with a distinct view of its inestimable and manifold advantages. Under these favourable circumstances, therefore, and "*availing himself of the latitude thus allowed him,*" Mr. Moore has abandoned all his former reserve, and has given, "*with but little suppression,* the noble poet's letters relative to his Italian adventures. To throw a veil over the irregularities of his private life would be to afford but a partial portraiture of his character—to rob him of the advantage of being himself the historian of his own errors—to deprive him of the softening light thrown round such transgressions by vivacity and fancy—by passionate love of beauty and strong

yearning after affection." To be sure, some little danger might, at first sight, be apprehended to the youthful imaginations of weak brethren or sisters, from the seduction of such an example; but these alarms will be found, on examination, to be quite unworthy of any liberal or enlightened understanding; especially when we look upon the barricadoes of tough gossamer and impenetrable muslin which have been raised by our cautious and exemplary moralist, between the virtue of his readers, and the perilous influence of his hero's achievements:

"They," says he, "who would dare to plead the authority of Lord Byron for their errors, must first be able to trace them to the same palliating sources,—to that sensibility, whose very excesses showed its strength and depth,—that stretch of imagination, to the very verge, perhaps, of what reason can bear without giving way,—that whole combination, in short, of grand but disturbing powers, which alone could be allowed to extenuate such moral derangement, but which, even in him thus dangerously gifted, were insufficient to excuse it."—p. 52.

We hold it impossible to be sufficiently grateful for the incomparable moral safety lamp which our philosopher has here so skilfully and so considerately constructed for us, and by which he has contrived to throw a sort of ingenious wire-gauze round the flame which he exhibits, thus securing to us the benefit of light, without the danger of combustion! We do trust that all grandmothers and maiden aunts will now toss to the winds their apprehensions, lest the fire-damp of youthful fancies should burst into explosion from the contact of this perilous and subtle element. The most nervous of moralists must perceive that the precautions of our conductor have rendered such a crisis plainly impossible. Let all approach, then, and contemplate, without scruple or alarm, the splendours of that "interesting chapter in the history of the Poet's heart and mind" which exhibits his intoxicating successes, first with the vixen wife of a Venetian shopkeeper, and then with a ferocious trull, the wife of a baker, a virago of Amazonian strength and stature, who preserved her ascendancy by knocking her rivals down, and whom her illustrious lover himself could keep in order only by calling up the keenest lightnings of his eye! It would, indeed, have been lamentable if this most didactic exhibition should have been suppressed. Nothing can possibly be more authentic than the materials for it. The details are furnished by the immortal genius himself. The whole history of his *bonnes fortunes* is recorded by his own hand, at prodigious length, and, evidently, with a lively relish of self-complacency and triumph: and they are given, by his chronicler, almost with religious fidelity, always excepting an occasional *hiatus*, excellently calculated to keep curiosity alive, and imagination active. The

whole, we can assure our readers, is quite worthy to be preserved in cedar—together with the memoirs of that incomparable Aspasia, the renowned Harriette Wilson! So much for this inestimable chapter “in the history of the poet’s *heart and mind*!” So much for this glorious illustration of his vivacity and fancy, his admiration of beauty, and his insatiable yearning after affection! Never, we verily believe, was the cause of vice rendered much more exquisitely ridiculous and contemptible.

These most delectable adventures were followed up by a somewhat more august specimen of adultery; we allude to his intimacy with the celebrated Countess Guiccioli. This young lady was married, or rather sold, at the age of sixteen, to a rich nobleman of Romagna, aged sixty. His Lordship’s unwearied liberality of communication has put us as completely in possession of this affair as it has of his Venetian recreations; and, besides, the Countess herself has been obliging enough to furnish Mr. Moore with a history of it, in the very purest Italian. “For some time,” he tells us, “*she was an Angiolina, and he (the Count G.) a Marino Faliero, a good old man; but young Italian women are not satisfied with good old men:*”—nor any other young women that we ever heard of. But then, other young women have not always the invaluable privilege enjoyed by those of Italy, namely, that of having husbands who, whether old or young, are a sort of trustees to shifting uses; retaining in themselves a legal estate and property in the persons of their wives, while the beneficial interest and usufruct seems to belong to the rest of the world. His Lordship’s residence at Ravenna was rendered exceedingly delightful, partly by the society of this lady, and partly by the opportunity it gave him of indulging his taste for turbulence and revolution. Italy, it will be remembered was, at that time, agitated by the plots of the Carbonari. Elements were abroad in wonderful harmony with the restless temperament of the bard. His time was accordingly pretty much divided between poetry, adultery, and insurrection. He entered deeply into the views and designs of the malcontents, and assisted them largely by his counsels and his purse. And yet, after all, never, it must surely be confessed, since the world began, was there a much more ridiculous or miserable specimen of a conspirator! He knew perfectly well that all letters were opened by the government; and yet the following is the style in which he writes to England:

“Be assured there are troublous times brewing for Italy; *and as I never could keep out of a row in my life, it will be my fate, I dare say, to be over head and ears in it.* But no matter; these are the stronger reasons for coming to see me soon.”—*Moore, p. 305.*

“I have besides another reason for desiring you to be speedy, which is,

that there is THAT brewing in Italy which will speedily cut off all security of communication, and set all your Anglo-travellers flying in every direction, with their usual fortitude in foreign tumults. The Spanish and French affairs have set the Italians in a ferment; and no wonder: they have been too long trampled on. This will make a sad scene for your exquisite traveller, but not for the resident, who naturally wishes a people to redress itself. I shall, if permitted by the natives, remain to see what will come of it, and *perhaps to take a turn with them, like Dugald Dalgetty and his horse, in case of business*; for I shall think it by far the most interesting spectacle and moment in existence, to see the Italians send the barbarians of all nations back to their own dens. I have lived long enough among them to feel more for them as a nation than for any other people in existence. But they want union, and they want principle; and I doubt their success. However, they will try, probably, and if they do, it will be a good cause. No Italian can hate an Austrian more than I do: unless it be the English, the Austrians seem to me the most obnoxious race under the sky.”—p. 316—317.

“I am in the third act of my tragedy; but whether it will be finished or not, I know not; I have, at this present, too many passions of my own on hand to do justice to those of the dead. Besides the vexations mentioned in my last, I have incurred a quarrel with the Pope’s carabinieri, or gens-d’armes, who have petitioned the Cardinal against my liveries, as resembling too nearly their own lousy uniform. They particularly object to the epaulettes, which all the world with us have on upon gala days. My liveries are of the colours conforming to my arms, and have been the family hue since the year 1066.

“I have sent a tranchant reply, as you may suppose; and have given to understand that, if any soldados of that respectable corps insult my servants, I will do likewise by their gallant commanders; and I have directed my ragamuffins, six in number, who are tolerably savage, to defend themselves, in case of aggression; and, on holidays and gaudy days, I shall arm the whole set, including myself, in case of accidents or treachery. I used to play pretty well at the broad-sword, once upon a time at Angelo’s; but I should like the pistol, our national buccaneer weapon, better, though I am out of practice at present. However, I can ‘wink and hold out mine iron.’ It makes me think (the whole thing does) of Romeo and Juliet—‘now, Gregory, remember thy *smashing* blow.’”—p. 334.

“Politics here still savage and uncertain. However, we are all in our ‘bandaliers’ to join the ‘Highlanders if they cross the Forth,’ i. e. to crush the Austrians if they pass the Po. The rascals!—and that dog L——l, to say their subjects are *happy*!—If ever I come back, I’ll work some of these ministers.”—p. 347.

“I can’t say any thing to you about Italy, for the government here look upon me with a suspicious eye, as I am well informed. Pretty fellows!—as if I, a solitary stranger, could do any mischief. It is because I am fond of rifle and pistol shooting, I believe; for they took the alarm at the quantity of cartridges I consumed,—the wisecres!”—p. 359.

“Of the state of things here it would be difficult and not very pru-

dent to speak at large, the Huns opening all letters. I wonder if they can read them when they have opened them; if so, they may see, in my MOST LEGIBLE HAND, THAT I THINK THEM DAMNED SCOUNDRELS AND BARBARIANS, and THEIR EMPEROR a FOOL, and themselves more fools than he; all which they may send to Vienna, for any thing I care. They have got themselves masters of the Papal police, and are bullying away; but some day or other they will pay for all: it may not be very soon, because these unhappy Italians have no consistency among themselves; but I suppose that Providence will get tired of them at last."—p. 382.

Now is it possible for mortal gravity to contemplate all this without being tempted to invoke the spirit of Cervantes? What would that mighty master have given for such a picture of a deep and subtle agitator? Here was a dealer in plots and conspiracies, conscious that the ten thousand eyes and ears of a jealous despotism were fixed upon him, and that not a syllable he penned could escape inspection,—and yet unable to write to his friend or his publisher without some petty explosion of his noble impatience, which might give due notice to the "*scoundrels and barbarians*," of the sedition he was helping to brew within their territories! With an enthusiasm so "stirring, audible, and full of vent," it would have been the consummation of folly to expect any thing else than that which actually happened—namely, that *his savour should be abhorred* by the government under which he was living, and that the land would speedily vomit him forth. Had he been anxious to bring sentence of banishment, ruin, and proscription, on himself and his friends, it would be hard to show how he could have laboured more effectually for the accomplishment of that purpose. But this was one of the incorrigible puerilities of Byron's character. He thought and talked about freedom like a turbulent and contumacious schoolboy. He was always impatient to be acting over again the mutinies of Harrow. The love of liberty never became a healthy principle in his constitution. It was an element which fell into combination with his spleen, and his caprice, and his eagerness for distinction; consequently, instead of diffusing a salutary glow throughout his system and complexion, it was perpetually breaking out into foul and angry eruptions, which betrayed the morbid fermentation going on within. All this while, be it remembered, he was a fastidious patrician,—proud of his birth, and tenacious of his rank and privilege—an aristocrat, not merely to the back bone, but to the very tips of his fingers. He had a positive loathing for all that was plebeian; and was scarcely more proud of the might of his genius, than he was of the smallness, and whiteness, and delicacy of his hands, which he regarded as indications of the

purity and nobleness of his blood.* It is difficult to imagine any thing much more absurd than this monstrous combination of the peer and the radical. Nothing, in truth, could well be more crude than all the imaginings of this extraordinary personage, relative to political subjects: we say imaginings,—for opinions he had none. He had certain impulses and feelings, but no fixed scheme of thought. At one time we find him raving about Napoleon, and predicting his political resurrection, just in the same spirit that a gentleman of the turf bets upon a favourite horse; and finally lamenting his downfall, because, after him, none but fools were left to govern mankind, and because a rod of iron was better than a leaden sceptre. At another time we hear him invoking swift perdition on all existing dynasties, and declaring that nothing would do but an universal republic. And then, again, we catch him confessing that “riches are power, and that poverty is slavery all the world over, and that one sort of establishment or government is no better for the people than another.” It would be idle to ascribe the faculty of judging, upon such matters, to one who was capable of venting such whimsical and silly contradictions. In fact, he was just about as much impelled by hatred of tyranny, and ardour for the cause of national independence, as a fox-hunting squire is carried over five-barred gates by a virtuous abhorrence of vermin, and a tender regard for the poultry-yards of his neighbours. No one who has ever studied his character can doubt that, to him, the whole game was little more than a source of pleasurable excitement. It was poetry reduced to action. It filled his mind with splendid images; it absorbed much of the corrosive inquietude of his nature; it animated him with the hope of a new career of eminence and renown; it afforded him, as he thought, an opportunity of showing the world that, after all, he was born for some higher purpose than that of writing verses. And therefore, probably, it was that, when rebellion lay in his way, he was very glad to take it up. In short, it verily was his good pleasure to take the diversion of insurrection: and he seems to have thought it a matter of profound indifference whether he followed the sport in his own country or any other.

When driven from Ravenna his first migration was to Pisa: and thither the Guiccioli accompanied him, together with her father and brother, who were involved in the proscription, and who, according to the very comfortable “usages” of Italy, were

* “Lord Byron often boasted of his being, at heart, devoutly aristocratical; and confessed that he had completely inherited his mother’s disposition, who, according to him, was, perhaps, the proudest woman in England.”—*Millingen’s Memoirs on Greece*, p. 15, note.

not in the slightest degree discomposed by being domiciled with their fair relative and her illustrious paramour. The removal took place in the Autumn of 1821, and the residence of the noble exile was in the Lanfranchi palace, an ancient and massive structure, of colossal dimensions, and apparently imperishable strength, and which, as might reasonably be expected, was haunted.

"I have got," he says, "into a famous old feudal palazzo, on the Arno, large enough for a garrison, with dungeons below, and cells in the walls, and so full of ghosts, that the learned Fletcher—(my valet)—begged leave to change his room, and then refused to occupy his *new* room, because there were more ghosts in that than in the other."

From this place of perturbed spirits he was soon driven, not by the ghosts, but by powers of flesh and blood, which proved to be much more awkward customers. In consequence of a casual encounter with the guard at Pisa, he found it necessary to remove for a time to Monte Nero, a country house in the vicinity of Leghorn; and it was at this period that he formed his memorable coalition with Leigh Hunt. We have no room to dwell on this Holy Alliance. The whole affair is fresh in the recollection of the public; it is therefore only necessary to state that, from the representations of Mr. Moore, it appears clear that Lord Byron was the original author of the scheme. His motives were, "in the first place, his wish to second the views of his friend Shelley in inviting Hunt to join him in Italy; and, in the next, a desire to avail himself of Hunt's experience, as an editor, in the favourite project of a periodical work." He was in want, it seems, of some such vomitory, for discharging, without restraint, or obstruction, the villainous congestions of spleen, and ribaldry, of sedition and profaneness, that were now habitually forming in his mind. His temper had long been growing more and more intractable and wayward, more impatient of counsel and remonstrance, and more inflexibly resolved on outraging and defying the public opinion. This arrogant wilfulness is perpetually betraying itself in his correspondence, more especially that with his publisher Mr. John Murray, whom he was not always in the habit of treating with very ceremonious consideration. The following is a specimen.

"These (pecuniary) matters must be arranged with Mr. Douglas Kinnaird. He is my trustee, and a man of honour. To him you can state all your mercantile reasons, which you might not like to state to me personally, such as, 'heavy season'—'flat public'—'don't go off'—'lordship writes too much'—'won't take advice'—'declining popularity'—'deduction for the trade'—'make very little'—'generally lose by him'—'pirated edition'—'foreign edition'—'severe criticisms,' &c.

with other hints and howls for an oration, which I leave Douglas, who is an orator, to answer.

"You can also state them more freely to a third person, as between you and me they could only produce some smart postscripts, which would not adorn our mutual archives.

"I am sorry for the Queen, and that's more than you are."—*Moore*, vol. ii. p. 517.

Finding, therefore, that the explosions he prepared did not go off so freely and rapidly as he desired, under the management of his operatives in London, he was glad to set up, on the spot, a sort of infernal machine of his own, into which he might cram all the mephitic and combustible materials he could muster, and keep the match in his own hand. But the inexplicable part of the history is, that he should ever think of Leigh Hunt as a confederate in this high-minded enterprize,—Leigh Hunt,—the very man of whom he had formerly written in the following complimentary language to Mr. Moore!

"Venice, June 1st, 1818.

"* * * * Hunt's letter is probably the exact piece of vulgar coxcombry you might expect from his situation. He is a good man, with some poetical elements in his chaos; but spoilt by the Christ-Church Hospital and a Sunday newspaper,—to say nothing of the Surry Jail, which concited him into a martyr. But he is a good man. When I saw 'Rimini' in MSS., I told him that I deemed it good poetry at bottom, disfigured only by a strange style. His answer was, that his style was a system, or *upon system*, or some such cant; and, when a man talks of system, his case is hopeless: so I said no more to him, and very little to any one else.

"He believes his trash of vulgar phrases tortured into compound barbarisms to be *old English*; and we may say of it as Aimwell says of Captain Gibbet's regiment, when the captain calls it an 'old corps,'—'the *oldest* in Europe, if I may judge by your uniform.' He sent out his 'Foliage' by Percy Shelley * * *, and, of all the ineffable Centaurs that were ever begotten by Self-love upon a Night-mare, I think this monstrous Sagittary the most prodigious. He (Leigh H.) is an honest Charlatan, who has persuaded himself into a belief of his own impostures, and talks Punch in pure simplicity of heart, taking himself (as poor Fitzgerald said of *himself* in the Morning Post) for *Vates* in both senses, or nonsenses, of the word. Did you look at the translations of his own which he prefers to Pope and Cowper, and says so?—Did you read his skimble-skamble about * * * being at the head of his own *profession*, in the *eyes* of those who followed it? I thought that Poetry was an *art*, or an *attribute*, and not a *profession*;—but be it one, is that * * * * at the head of *your* profession in *your* eyes? I'll be curst if he is of *mine*, or ever shall be. He is the only one of us (but of us he is not) whose coronation I would oppose. Let them take Scott, Campbell, Crabbe, or you, or me, or any of the living, and throne him;—but not

this new Jacob Belmen, this * * * * * whose pride might have kept him true, even had his principles turned as perverted as his *soi-disant* poetry.

“But Leigh Hunt is a good man, and a good father—see his Odes to all the Masters Hunt;—a good husband—see his Sonnet to Mrs. Hunt;—a good friend—see his Epistles to different people;—and a great coxcomb, and a very vulgar person in every thing about him. But that’s not his fault, but of circumstances.”—*Moore*, pp. 176, 177.

The man,* be it observed, upon whom his lordship is here pouring out derision and contempt, was the martyr whom he had visited in prison; the worthy whom he had compared to Pym and Hampden; and, finally, the ally by whose aid he was to charge through the embattled columns of obsolete prejudice, and peradventure to bear down before him “the rotten privilege and custom” of all that was held venerable and sacred in the world. It should, however, in all fairness be mentioned that his own account of the project and the confederacy is somewhat different from that which is given by his biographer. In a letter to Mrs. Somebody, the date of which is not given, though he speaks more respectfully of the oracle of Coccagne, he seems, by implication, to disclaim all hope of finding him a valuable and effective confederate, and represents himself as impelled to the scheme mainly by his anxiety to raise up the fallen fortunes of the literary adventurer, and political martyr.

“* * * * * I presume that you, at least, know enough of me to be sure that I could have no intention to insult Hunt’s poverty. On the contrary, I honour him for it; for, I know what it is, having been as much embarrassed as ever he was, without perceiving ought in it to diminish an honourable man’s self-respect. If you mean to say that, had he been a wealthy man, I would have joined in this Journal, I answer in the negative. * * * I engaged in the Journal from good-will towards him, added to respect for his character, literary and personal; and no less for his political courage, as well as regret for his present circumstances: I did this in the hope that he might, with the same aid from literary friends of literary contributions (which is requisite for all Journals of a mixed nature), render himself independent.

* It is entirely alien from our office to enter into any discussion of the conduct of Moore towards Leigh Hunt. We are nevertheless tempted to advert to certain letters addressed by Mr. Moore to Mr. Hunt between the years 1810 and 1814, and which have recently been made public by the latter; and in which it must have been the intention of the writer, either most egregiously to mystify his correspondent, or else to flatter him almost “beneath abhorring.” We take it for granted that these letters are genuine: and, if so, there never, surely, was a much more flagrant instance, either of deliberate mockery, or of crawling adulation. It must remain for the public to pronounce what respect they think due to the moral or literary judgments of the man who could pen such epistles, and yet stigmatize, as he does, a confederacy with his former friend and correspondent, as an unworthy and degrading alliance. For ourselves, we must own that there is, about all this, a savour of turpitude and treachery, whereat our nostrils are in great indignation.

* * * * *

"I have always treated him, in our personal intercourse, with such scrupulous delicacy, that I have forborne intruding advice, which I thought might be disagreeable, lest he should impute it to what is called 'taking advantage of a man's situation.'—*Moore*, p. 629.

We shall abstain from all attempt to unravel the mazes of this poor mystery :

—— longa est injuria, longæ
Ambages.

Thus much, however, appears undeniable,—that the torrent of Byron's genius, which was daily becoming more turbid and impetuous, lost itself, at length, in this dismal swamp.

It was during this glorious coalition, and while Hunt was established at the Lanfranchi Palace, that Mr. Shelley perished in a sailing excursion. His remains, and those of one of his companions named Williams, were cast ashore some time afterwards in a state unfit for removal. It was therefore determined to reduce them to ashes; and preparations were, accordingly, made for that purpose on the sea-shore, between the bay of Spezia and Leghorn.

"You can have no idea," says his lordship, "what an extraordinary effect such a funeral pile has on a desolate shore, with mountains in the back ground, and the sea before, and the singular appearance the salt and frankincense gave to the flame."—*Moore*, vol. ii. p. 609.

Neither can we have any adequate idea of the scene that followed these classic obsequies. It is thus described by Mr. Galt.

"When the duty was done, and the ashes collected, they—(the *mourners*)—dined and drank much together, and bursting from the calm mastery with which they had repressed their feelings during the solemnity, gave way to frantic exultation. *They were all drunk*; they sang, they shouted, and their barouche was driven like a whirlwind through the forest."

We know not whether the silence of Mr. Moore respecting this "dæmoniac revelry" is to be understood as indicative of any doubts respecting the fact, or whether it is to be ascribed to his considerate care for the reputation of his hero. Be that as it may, every one must agree with Mr. Galt, that, short of positive crime, no orgies can well be imagined more outrageously abominable.

The next migration of the exile was to Genoa. The encounter with the military at Pisa, and a subsequent affray between the young Count Gamba with a Swiss servant, had sickened the Tuscan government of its noble visitants; and the whole party were thus compelled to seek for another city of refuge. After some hesitation between Switzerland and Genoa, the latter was

preferred. The Exodus accordingly took place in September, 1822; and, if Mr. Galt's account be correct, must have been sufficiently diverting and fantastical. "The caravan consisted of five carriages, seven servants, nine horses, a monkey, a bull-dog, two cats, three pea-fowl, a barem of hens, books, saddles, and fire arms, with a chaos of furniture;" all followed up by Mr. Hunt, and Mrs. Hunt, and the Masters and Misses Hunt. It seems pretty clear, on all hands, that by this time Byron began to perceive that he had drained the goblet both of literary renown, and of sensual pleasure, nearly to its dregs. The utter and damning failure of the *Liberal* gave him mortifying notice of the one, and the symptoms of premature decay furnished him with irresistible certainty of the other. His constitution had for some time been giving way under the effects of that unnatural mode of life to which he had been driven by his irregular, unquiet, and weary spirit, almost ever since his exile from his country. He seldom rose till a late hour; his vigils were protracted till long after midnight; and his lucubrations were enlivened by frequent and prodigal resort to the excitements of the spirit-flask. This most deplorable fact may be collected from the scattered confessions and intimations of Mr. Moore. It is more directly and broadly stated in the recent publication of Dr. Millingen, whose situation as surgeon to the corps of Suliotes in Lord Byron's pay, furnished him with abundant opportunities of observing his personal habits. This gentleman expressly tells us that his lordship "had unfortunately contracted the habit of drinking immoderately *every evening*. Almost at every page (of his reading) he would take a glass of wine, and often *undiluted Hollands*, till he felt himself under the full influence of liquor. He would then pace up and down the room till three or four o'clock in the morning; and these hours, he often confessed, were most propitious to the inspirations of his muse."^{*} Here, then, we have the melancholy certainty, that one of the finest geniuses of the age had sunk to almost the lowest deep of human degradation, the habit of solitary intemperance; and that the muse that dictated *Don Juan* was little better than a debauched and sottish jade! There is something so dismal in this disclosure, that it almost disarms indignation. It is scarcely possible to imagine a spectacle more saddening, or more appalling, than this most inglorious termination of a career which began so brightly. In his own *Manfred* he speaks of human nature as "half-dust, half-deity;" what can be more miserable than thus to see the mire and dirt gradually usurping upon the deity, and, at last, completely overwhelming and engulfing it?

^{*} Millingen's *Memoirs on Greece*, pp. 9, 10.

The most robust constitution must have ultimately sunk under this frightful course of violence. But there was yet another cause of decay. He was making perpetual inroads on his stamina by the immoderate use of drastic medicine. The two evils which he dreaded worse than death were insanity and corpulence. His apprehensions of the first of these calamities were constantly plunging him into wretched meditation on the suicides which had occurred in his own family; and thus were rapidly destroying the healthful tone of his mind. His abomination of fatness, on the other hand, was incessantly tempting him to measure his wrists and waist, and to keep them within due compass by a course of discipline and diet which was equally fatal to the energies of his body. All these causes conspired to make him, during his later years, perhaps one of the most comfortless of hypochondriacs. Mr. Millingen affirms that he was often plunged into a condition bordering on despair. He had long ago surfeited on all the delights this world has to offer. He "had melted down his youth" in all the varieties of voluptuousness. His manhood had been drugged to intoxication by the *new wine* of popular applause. In spite of himself, his heart must perpetually have been echoing, with sepulchral hollowness, the words of the Preacher—" *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.*" In short, the spirit of life was well nigh gone. What was to be done to work the rapid remainder into something like effervescence and agitation? If any thing could do this, it would be the breath that stirs in the regions of martial and political adventure. This he had already tried in Italy, and it probably afforded him some partial and transient relief. Whither was he to look now for a repetition of the excitement, become of late more than ever necessary to his very existence? At one time his thoughts had been directed towards the South American continent; at another time to Spain; but, at the present moment, Greece seemed to offer precisely the sphere of enterprise which his restless spirit was in need of. He accordingly provided himself with three splendid helmets, formed after the most approved classical model, and "out he went a colonelling" against his old friends the Osmanlis.

It is very curious to see the different aspects under which the same course of action will present itself to different minds.

"In the breeze that now bore him towards his beloved Greece," (chantheth Mr. Moore,) "the voice of his youth seemed again to speak. Before the titles of hero, of benefactor, to which he now aspired, that of poet, however pre-eminent, faded into nothing. His love of freedom, his generosity, his thirst for the new and adventurous,—all were re-awakened; and even the bodings that still lingered at the bottom of his heart but made the course before him more precious from his consciousness of its

brevity, and from the high and self-ennobling resolution he had now taken to turn what yet remained of it gloriously to account."—vol. ii. p. 669.

"It was expected," says the less courtly Mr. Galt, "when he sailed for Greece, (nor was the expectation unreasonable with those who believe imagination and passion to be of the same element,) that the enthusiasm which flamed so highly in his verse was the spirit of action, and would prompt him to undertake some great enterprise. But he was only an artist; he could describe bold adventures and represent high feeling, as other gifted individuals give eloquence to canvass and activity to marble; but he did not possess the wisdom necessary for the instruction of councils. I do, therefore, venture to say, that in embarking for Greece, he was not entirely influenced by such exoterical motives as the love of glory or the aspirations of heroism. His laurels had for some time ceased to flourish; the sear and yellow, the mildew and decay, had fallen upon them, and he was aware that the bright round of his fame was ovalling from the full, and showing the dim rough edge of waning."—*Galt*, p. 274.

Now let us hear his Lordship's own account of the matter to Mr. Millingen.

"Heartily weary of the monotonous life I had led in Italy for several years; sickened with pleasure; more tired of scribbling than the public, perhaps, is of reading my lucubrations;—I felt the urgent necessity of giving a completely new direction to the course of my ideas; and the active, dangerous, yet glorious scenes of the military career *struck my fancy*, and became congenial to my taste. After all, should this new mode of existence fail to afford me the satisfaction I anticipate, it will, at least, present me with the means of making a *dashing exit* from the scene of this world, where the part I was acting had grown excessively dull."—*Millingen*, p. 6, 7.

In August, 1823, he accordingly embarked for Cephalonia, where he lingered for a considerable time, waiting, apparently, until the dissensions of the Greeks should subside into unanimity. He might almost as reasonably have waited until the ruins of the Parthenon should re-arrange themselves into their original symmetry and grandeur. It was during his stay in this island that his life was varied by the curious episode of a series of religious conferences with Dr. Kennedy. It is impossible to regard the efforts of this very worthy and amiable man for the conversion of Lord Byron without sentiments of profound respect and esteem; but it is also quite impossible for us to be blind to the unwelcome truth that he was utterly inadequate to an encounter with the daring, reckless, and irreverent spirit of his catechumen. We greatly fear that, under the show of candour and of patience, the pupil was only mystifying his venerable and simple-hearted instructor. He professed that he, truly, was no enemy to Christianity; that he did not wish to pass his days in unbelief; that he only desired

to ascertain whether or not the Bible contained the will of God; and that, if it could be shown that it did, he must allow that it would become every rational being to take it for his rule of life. All this while nothing on earth was more likely than that the whole of these edifying disputations might have made their appearance in the very next canto of *Don Juan*, if the poet had lived to write it. Instead of suffering the scoffer to dwell upon collateral and comparatively unimportant questions, the Doctor surely should have pressed him home with this text:—"He that is willing to do the will of my Father, shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." Instead of this, he suffered the controversy to run to waste upon points of subordinate moment, far removed from the centre and the core of the grand question; whether, for instance, the Doctor had read Barrow and Stillingfleet; whether Satan was really and literally summoned into the presence of the Deity; what was the true meaning of the word grace; what was the import of such and such a prophecy; what were the merits of the contest respecting predestination, or eternal punishments? All of them matters in which a disputant would be glad to take refuge from the pursuit and urgency of those plain duties, the observance of which is, humanly speaking, absolutely necessary to the success of all our inquiries into deeper matters. But, without further consideration of what the missionary *should* have done, there is one thing most clearly which he *should not* have done; he should not have exacted an audience of twelve mortal hours for the purpose of his demonstrations. The requisition was almost merciless enough to overpower the long-suffering of the maturest Christian on earth: to the patience of a mere inquirer after Christianity it must have been, beyond all reasonable doubt, utterly fatal and destructive.

But to return from the moral regeneration of Lord Byron to the political regeneration of Greece—two attempts, to all human appearance, of about equal promise: when the Liberator arrived at Missolonghi, he found himself in the midst of disturbed and mutinous elements, which a poet might, perhaps, delight to picture, but which no poet except himself could ever have dreamed of controlling. "The whole population," says Mr. Moore, "presented such a fermenting mass of insubordination and discord as was far more likely to produce warfare among themselves than with the enemy." And the person on whom every eye was fixed as the Grand Pacificator and Deliverer was—what?—a man bred in camps, or in cabinets? one practised in military adventure, or regularly trained in the business of political agitation, or graduated in the arduous craft of moulding the conflicting passions, tempers, and interests of men to his own purposes? No-

thing of all this! The Regenerator of Greece had, up to that moment, been, for the most part, a Sardanapalus—a Sybarite—a minion clothed in purple and fine linen, and fitted to dwell only in king's houses—a reed which must be shaken with every wind that blows in the tempestuous climate of faction and revolution. And yet this was the man whom the Greeks were taught to look upon as more than a prophet—a conquering and irresistible Messiah! It can form no reasonable ground of charge against him that he had neither the iron sinews, nor the joints of adamant, nor the case of triple steel, nor the lightning glance of military intuition, nor the depth of expedient and resource,—all of which were indispensable for the effective and successful occupation of the post which he had chosen. It would have been miraculous indeed, if he had emerged from the visionary world which he had long inhabited, thus armed and thus accomplished. The wonder is that it should ever, for a moment, have entered his head that he was formed to plunge into this “wild abyss” of anarchy and confusion, and to buffet his way through the embroilment of its surging fires and conflicting atoms. Yet so it was: and, doubtless, when once he had taken the leap, he summoned all the energies he was master of, and took at once a station and an attitude which bespoke heroic daring and achievement. He burned with military ardour and chivalry—such is Colonel Stanhope's representation of him—and prepared to proceed with the projected expedition against Lepanto, of which he was appointed commander (*ἀρχιστράτηγος*!). But, after all, he appears to have plunged into the adventure less in the spirit of a great and self-confiding leader, than in that of a man who devotes himself to the infernal gods, covers up his head, rushes into the thick of the havoc, and leaves his life a sacrifice. Indeed, he himself confessed as much to Dr. Millingen:—“Would to heaven,” he said, “the day were arrived in which, rushing, sword in hand, on a body of Turks, and fighting like one weary of existence, I shall meet immediate, painless death—the object of my wishes!”

We are miserable judges of military or revolutionary operations, and shall, therefore, abstain from all attempt to detail or to criticise the measures pursued by the leaders of the insurrection. We shall, accordingly, content ourselves with stating that the expedition to Lepanto was abandoned, in consequence of the mutiny and dismissal of the Suliotes, who constituted a chief part of the force intended for that enterprize, and that Byron did not live to witness any other effort. There was one scheme, however, entertained by him, so extravagantly wild, that we are almost disposed to regard it, with Mr. Galt, as an indication that his “part in the world was nearly done,” and “that his mind was passing

from him." His first great step, we have seen, was "from poesy to heroism;" his next was to be from heroism to diplomacy. When Greece had wrought out her deliverance, he was to leave her to settle her own government; he was then to purchase, or build, a schooner, (as if, says Mr. Galt, the means of conveyance were difficult to procure,) and he was to sail to the United States, as ambassador of the Greeks, and to prevail on that very chivalrous and romantic personage, brother Jonathan, to take the lead in recognising the federation of Greece as an independent state. This done, England would be compelled to follow the example; the fate of Greece would be permanently fixed; and she would enter into all her rights as a member of the great commonwealth of Christian Europe. This was the last service he was to perform for her; and a very eminent service he conceived it would be? What the cabinets of Christendom were to be about during the long-protracted struggle, or after the final triumph, he does not appear to have asked himself; neither to have considered whether it was probable that the great powers of Europe would wait to receive their impulse from the other side of the Atlantic.

But the days of Byron were now nearly numbered. In January, 1824, he had been imprudent enough to swim a considerable distance, when the sea was rough and the night cold; and, in the course of two or three days after, he complained of a pain in all his bones, which continued, more or less, to the time of his death. Soon after this, toil, agitation, and disappointment, began to do their work upon his shattered constitution; and on the 15th of February, after a desperate carouse, he was seized with a short but dreadful convulsion fit. The destructive process was completed by another act of imprudence. On the 9th of April, while drenched with rain, and yet in violent perspiration from the exercise of riding, he persisted in returning to his house by water. Rheumatism and fever were the consequence, and it was soon evident, or at least highly probable, that his stamina would give way under the attack. The account of his last days, as given by Mr. Moore, differs in no material particulars from those already before the public. There is one circumstance in the melancholy history deeply deserving of notice. The mind, which was proof against the influences of piety, was here abjectly servile to those of superstition. He was haunted, for instance, by the prophecy of some old spae-wife, that his 37th year would be fatal to him. He recollected, with positive dismay, that he had embarked from Genoa on a Friday—for Friday was always a *dies nefastus* in his calendar. Friday was unfit even for the ceremony of a first visit; nay, he had once sent away a Genoese tailor who brought him home a new coat on a Friday! Bleeding, it is well known, he

obstinately refused till it was too late to be of use, having got a notion that more havoc is made with the lancet than the lance: but, nevertheless, when Medicine was beginning to shake her head at his case, he seemed firmly resolved to appeal from her to Sorcery. He gravely and doggedly desired Mr. Millingen to look him out a very old and very ugly witch, in order that she might ascertain whether he had not been stricken with the evil eye, and might devise some means to dissolve the spell! All this while, religion never seemed to enter his thoughts; or, if it did, it was only to be resisted and repelled. At one moment, Mr. M. heard him say, "Shall I sue for mercy?" Then, after a long pause, he added, "Come, come, no weakness! let's be a man to the last!" Soon after this, he expired. When his remains were examined, the frequent complaint which he had been heard to make of having "an old feel," was clearly interpreted. The ravages of intemperance were then fearfully manifested.* The heart was flaccid, and its muscular fibres pale; the cranium exhibited all the appearances usually incident to advanced age; and the liver betrayed the commencement of those changes uniformly produced by an immoderate indulgence in spirituous liquors. The tenement was in effect prematurely ruinous. Nothing but the most dismal wretchedness could, in all human probability, have been the consequence of a protracted occupation of it.

Thus terminated the career of a man who, beyond all controversy, has made magnificent contributions towards the mere intellectual wealth and grandeur of his country. And yet, in spite of our admiration for all this mental power, we can scarcely give utterance to the painful emotions with which we rise from the contemplation of the whole work before us. On the one hand we have the life, and the deeds, and the correspondence, and the journalizing soliloquies, of one who may really be said to have deified his own ungovernable passions; and on the other, we have the *melliti verborum globuli* administered, even to loathing, by his devoted and almost slavish apologist: and we actually despair of conveying to our readers any conception of the effect produced by this alternation of flavours, otherwise than by requesting them to imagine what would be the operation upon their own palates of a succession of biscuits, hotly and most diabolically peppered, and varied at intervals by a course of unsubstantial and sugared confectionery. We potently believe that the poet himself, if he could now taste the preparation, would turn away from its "luscious vices," after the first yearnings of self-complacency were over. Honey, we believe, has sometimes been em-

* Millingen, p. 143.

ployed for the purpose of embalming and preserving a festering carcase; and it seems to us an apt emblem of the effort here made to sweeten the memory of dissoluteness and impiety. In a merely literary point of view, the merits of the work appear to us nearly on a level with its moral pretensions. In its style, it often strikes us as neither masculine nor feminine. It has neither the manly vigour and simplicity of the one, nor the unaffected sweetness and delicacy of the other. There is a sort of fantastic, unnatural, elaborate falsetto about it, which is often insufferably tiresome. When Mr. Moore was contemplating the life of Sheridan, he was told by Lord Byron that he could find no model for his work equal to Johnson's *Life of Savage*. One would imagine that the biographer had actually placed that pattern before him throughout the present performance; not, however, for the purpose of imbibing the spirit of that incomparable specimen, but with a perverse ambition to avoid all its peculiar excellencies.

We have already adverted to the artifices which have been so prodigally resorted to by Mr. Moore, in order to turn the edge of the public indignation, so long and so relentlessly directed against the character of his hero. We have seen that all his worst aberrations from right have here been generously ascribed to the influence of disturbing forces beyond his controul, or to certain peculiarities inherent in his temper and constitution. His disdainful estimate of mankind is attributed to a noble and innate detestation of hypocrisy; his outrageous defiance of public opinion, to the ungenerous persecution which drove him to desperation, and called up from the depths of his nature a principle of reckless and savage resistance; his range of licence and profligacy to that desolation of heart which came over him, together with the ruin of his domestic prospects, and the "shivering of his household gods"; his habitual scorn for sacred things, to his abhorrence of bigotry and priestcraft, and to his disgust at the unblushing effrontery with which the practice of men too frequently gives the lie to their professions; his distaste for all the decencies and sanctities of life, to the fastidious impatience of a towering and transcendent intellect. These are the topics which, with "most damnable iteration," are perpetually paraded before us throughout this blessed "labour of love"! We hear of nothing but lacerated sensibilities, and withered hopes—of volcanic fires which ravage while they illuminate—and of self-tormenting energies which consume and tear the energumens, while they astonish the world with feats of superhuman strength. In the midst of the "wanton heed and giddy cunning" of this melodious maze of sophistry, a correct and attentive ear may always discern one

cuckoo note—one eternal harping—in odious discord with the severe harmonies of truth. The supremacy of talent above virtue will, after all, be found to be the *subject*, which is decorated and disguised by this tedious *concerto*, and its everlasting *variations*. It is true that, occasionally, the mighty *maestro* will change his hand for a moment; and then a few notes are heard of righteousness, and temperance, and judgment! But one can generally perceive that the voice is, here, faint, constrained, and unnatural. He can never keep up the strain long together. He soon falls back into his old tune; and when he is descanting on the worst excesses of this idol, the whole burden of his song will be found, literally, resolvable into this:—"Not quite correct or defensible, these things, it must be confessed; but then, you know, his stupendous and eccentric genius!" To all which, we presume, the proper *response* may be equally concise:—"Superlative abilities, to be sure; but then, you know, his pernicious abuse and vile prostitution of the gift!"

The correspondence printed in the second volume is described by Mr. Moore as a "costly treasure, equal, if not superior, in vigour, variety, and liveliness, to any that have yet adorned this branch of our literature." These are large words, which the writer of them does not, perhaps, expect to have very accurately measured. They will be found, however, on examination, not to be very much too big for the truth. There is, undoubtedly, in these letters a prodigal exhibition of various talent—a masterly freedom of hand—a wonderful command of the English language—a matchless versatility—and extraordinary powers of entertainment. With the exception of a very large amount of unimportant and worthless scraps—which, however, swell the volume and its price—the collection is evidently the produce of a most original and capacious mind: and yet the perusal of them leaves behind an impression, on the whole, decidedly revolting. The letters are full of a dashing, reckless, desperate vivacity, which sometimes degenerates into flippancy, and sometimes swells into insolence and swagger. They perpetually remind us of the Corsair; "there is a laughing devil in their sneer." They are, moreover, frequently broken by those ominous lacunæ, which we have already remarked in the previous portions of his lordship's correspondence, and which give very intelligible notice that much has been omitted of which this canting, fastidious, hypocritical world is not worthy. Enough, however, is preserved to exhibit the *meteorology* of a mind wayward, capricious, and unmanageable as the elements. His friends, it appears, sometimes attempted to lash these winds, and to chain these waters. But they all found that

“ They might as well go stand upon the beach,
And bid the main flood bate his usual height,”

as seek to controul the current of such headstrong self-will. Whenever they ventured to administer advice, they generally found him ready to

“ Kill the physician, and the fee bestow
Upon the foul disease.”

They repeatedly protested against the shameful licentiousness of his writings, but all in vain. “ ’Tis my vocation, Hal,” was the substance of his reply. If they told him he was voluptuous, he said that he could not help it.

“ As to the cant of the day,” he added, “ I despise it, as I do all its other *finical* fashions, which become you as paint became the ancient Britons.”—“ If they had told me that the poetry (of Don Juan) was bad, I would have acquiesced; but they say the contrary, and then talk to me about *morality*—*the first time I ever heard the word from any body that was not a rascal that used it for a purpose. I maintain it is the most moral of poems*; but if people won’t discover the moral, that is their fault, and not mine.”

Again—

“ You talk of refinement: are you at all more moral? are you so moral? No such thing. I know what the world is in England, by my own proper experience of the *best* of it—at least, of the *loftiest*; and I have described it every where as it is found in all places.”

It was this sort of *refinement* and prudery, he affirmed, which had banished the comedies of Congreve; and which, if tolerated, must cut away half of Ariosto, La Fontaine, Shakspeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, and all the Charles II. writers; in short, something of most who have written before Pope, and are worth reading, and much of Pope himself. When Dryden was censured by Collier for the laxity of his writings, he said with calmness and candour, “ I plead guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine that can be truly accused of obscenity, immorality and profaneness, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, he will be glad of my repentance.” Not so Lord Byron. He roundly appeals to the good old days when profaneness and indecency were fashionable; protests against the degenerate delicacy of the present age; and insists on restoring to literature its ancient privilege of license and depravity. His friends would frequently represent to him the dangerous influence of his writings upon the religious principles of the public; but he replied only by asking, who was ever altered by a poem? Besides, “ he could not understand why he was accused of irreligion; he was no enemy to religion—he thought that people could never have enough, if they had any; he was a

better Christian than the parsons, who were all preaching against him, from Kentish Town and Oxford to Pisa—the *scoundrels of priests*, who do more harm to religion than all the infidels that ever forgot their catechisms.” All this was said by a man whose life was almost one perpetual outrage upon every moral and religious sanction, and whose habitual propensity for mockery was such, that even when he did a generous or charitable act, he used to call it *purchasing a shilling’s worth of salvation!* Nothing could well be more hopeless than the endeavour to make any impression on such a mind by reasoning or expostulation. He had burst away from all the restraints of society, and seemed to feel a sort of rabid delight in making wild sport with “things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth.” We literally do not perceive what there was (except the terrors of the law) to have withheld him, had he been a painter, from publishing the most bestially obscene drawings, if it had happened to “jump with his humour,” or to promise the slightest advancement of his professional renown—for “who was ever altered by a picture?”

There is one extract from his papers which we are satisfied will be perused with the bitterest disgust by every one who has not prostituted his better judgment to a slavish idolatry for mere intellectual power. In December, 1820, he saw the following paragraph in a newspaper:—“Lady Byron is, this year, the Lady Patroness at the Annual Charity Ball given at the Town Hall at Hinckley, Leicestershire, and Sir George Crew, Baronet, the principal Steward.” The occasion which this occurrence offered of venting his vindictive spleen against his wife was too tempting to be resisted. He accordingly solaced himself by the composition of a copy of verses, full, as Mr. Moore tells us, of strong and indignant feeling, every stanza concluding with the words “Charity Ball;” and the train-thought that predominates through the whole may be collected from the two opening stanzas.

“What matter the pangs of a husband and father,
If his sorrows in exile be great or be small,
So the Pharisee’s glories around her she gather,
And the Saint patronizes her ‘Charity Ball.’

“What matters—a heart, which though faulty was feeling,
Be driven to excesses which once could appal—
That the Sinner should suffer is only fair dealing,
As the Saint keeps her charity back for ‘the Ball.’”

Vol. ii. p. 540.

Now the first question which will occur to any reasonable man, on perusing these venomous lines, is this. Is it to be concluded that every woman who is separated from her husband, for no guilt of her own, is bound to alienate herself from all open participation

in benevolent designs, on pain of being stigmatized as a hypocrite and a Pharisee? So much for the affair, as Lord Byron alone is concerned in it. But it may be said that, in this instance, the secret of his resentment was vented only to his deaf paper, and was never uttered to the world; and that, therefore, it was but a harmless expression of his sense of fancied wrong. Well! let this (for a moment only) be allowed. We then have to demand of Mr. Thomas Moore, how he could have the heart to give publicity to any portion of these atrocious stanzas? How is it that he—a gallant man—the poet and servant of the dames—the worshipper of female divinity; how is it that he could endure the thought of thus insulting—we might almost say assassinating—the feelings of a virtuous and high-minded woman? There is, actually, nothing under heaven which could justify, or even palliate, such a disclosure, but the absolute *certainly* that the lady was, from the beginning to the end of their calamitous dissension, the culpable and aggressive party—that she was a heartless prude, a malicious vixen, who had wantonly sacrificed her husband's peace and reputation upon the altar of her own vindictive passions. *Pharisee* and *saint*, indeed! and all because she emerged, for a moment, from the shade of her widowhood, and took the station to which her rank entitled her, in promoting a design for the relief of her fellow-creatures—and this too from a man who spent half the income of her property, when once he could legally lay hands on it. The pages of Mr. Moore have holes and pits enough to bury certain rank abominations, with which the correspondence of his friend must otherwise have infected the imaginations, or revolted the feelings of his readers. How comes it that he was unable to find a hiding-place for this most unmanly and remorseless eruption? Well may we exclaim that the age of chivalry is gone; and that the age of sophisters, and literators, and intellect-mongers has succeeded. This, however, is but one, among a multitude of instances, which show that the biographer is under a sort of fascination—that a spell is upon him—and that his imagination, and all his faculties, *have gone a whoring*, if not after the Mammon of unrighteousness, at least after the Baalim of his friend's sublime but most unhallowed intellectual capacities; and the spirit of this vile idolatry *hath caused him to err; it hath taken away his heart.*

But we are weary of our task, and must bring it to a close. We have little to add, except that, in the estimate of every unperverted mind, the character of Byron must now be a settled point. The events of his life, combined with the extracts from his *log-book* and correspondence, have done his memory this good office. After squeezing out from the mass of these volumes the cloying

juices of Mr. Moore's *confectionry*, there remains a rank savour, such as comes up from the depths of an unsanctified and carnal mind. That the man was miserable it cannot be pleasing to know, though it may be instructive: the fact, however, seems certain, from his own repeated avowals. Let one more clause of his confessions suffice. "I have been reading," he says in his journal, "Grimm's correspondence. He repeats frequently, in speaking of a poet, or of a man of genius in any department, even in music, (Gretry, for instance,) that he must have *un ame qui se tourmente, un esprit violent*. How far this may be true, I know not,"—(we hold it to be most egregious cant); "but if it were, I should be a poet *par eccellenza*; for I have always had *un ame*, which *not only tormented itself, but every body else in contact with it*; and an *esprit violent*, which has almost left me without any *esprit* at all."*

———— "Such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet!"

That he was amply gifted with qualities and graces which fitted him for the brightest sphere of social refinement, is beyond all dispute. But it is also evident that there were elements in his nature which could combine into the worst varieties of grossness and impurity; and one portion of his history seems potently to have exemplified the truth, that

"Lust, though to a radiant angel linked,
Can sate itself in a celestial bed,
And prey on garbage."

Some powerfully redeeming properties he certainly appears to have possessed. He was accessible to frequent visitations of the spirit of gentleness; and there is something in the depth of his attachment to his sister, Mrs. Leigh, and in his breathings of affection towards his daughter, which it is quite a relief to contemplate. He had, it would appear, in an extraordinary degree, the power of engaging the fidelity and good will of his attendants, whom he seems to have treated with uniform kindness and indulgence. For friendship, he professed, like Napoleon, not to have any *genius*; and of the permanence of all such intimacies he held distance and infrequency of intercourse to be the only true secrets. He was in a remarkable degree compassionate and humane; and liberal, sometimes even to munificence. It must nevertheless be stated, that generosity seems to have had much more of his respect than justice. At Ravenna, for instance, his charities were such, that the poor of the place petitioned against his removal; and yet, all this while he had debts at home for

* Moore, vol. ii, p. 423.

which he provided with tardiness, and with acknowledged reluctance. Upon the cause of Greece, it is well known, he was prepared to lavish the whole of his resources. This, indeed, may, partly at least, be considered as a venture for an immortality of heroic renown; and in such a game all subordinate interests are generally sacrificed without much pain or hesitation. It should, nevertheless, be remembered, to his honour, that when once he was among the Greeks, his generosity took every form which might win their affections and advance their interests.

"They soon perceived," says Mr. Millingen, "that he was not a theoretical, but a practical friend to their country; and the repeated acts of kindness and charity which he performed, in relief of the poor and distressed, and the heavy expenses which he daily incurred for the furtherance of every plan and institution which he thought might advance the general good, showed them that he was not less alive to their private than he was to their public interests."—p. 102.

The vagueness and indistinctness of his notions on the subjects of politics and religion is almost pitiable. In politics, agitation seems to have been his favourite principle; no matter what was the cause, provided it were sufficiently turbulent and revolutionary. He had, at one time, a prodigious longing to come over and join the Luddites; and it is not at all clear to us, that, if he were living at this moment, he would not be in Ireland, by the side of that mighty hunter Daniel O'Connell, ready to cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of civil war. It is, indeed, just possible that he may have contrived to persuade himself, that, in yielding to these capricious impulses, he did but obey the promptings of a generous spirit, at mortal enmity with tyranny and persecution; while, in reality, he was only indulging his passion for a *row*, which, by his own confession, always ruled him with an irresistible charm. That he had little of consistent and enlightened zeal for the cause of freedom is evident from the insane violence of his wrath at the final overthrow of Napoleon; the permanence of whose dynasty must have reduced the future liberties of Europe to a worthless and shadowy reversion. Of his *speculations* on religion, (if they can deserve so respectable a name,) it would be almost absurd to speak. To the very last he seemed to be blown about with every wind of opinion.

"To say the truth," he confessed, "I find it equally difficult to know what to believe in this world, and what not to believe. There are as many plausible reasons for inducing me to die a bigot, as there have been to make me hitherto live a free-thinker."—*Millingen*, p. 129.

It is pretty clear that he never attentively studied the evidences of our faith; and it may reasonably be doubted whether he had patience for that or any other painful course of investigation.

And then, what can be more intolerable than to hear a man disclaiming all hostility to religion, while his life and writings were, in spite of loud and incessant remonstrance, such as almost any religion must have condemned? We can scarcely imagine an object more entitled to tenderness—yea, to reverence and honour—than a sincere ingenuous inquirer after truth, whose life, in the main, is right, while his opinions are yet wavering or oblique. But what can be said for an arrogant and scoffing profligate—an apostle of wickedness—a fanatic in impiety—one who labours under a positive incontinence of his infidel opinions, and seems bent on making the rest of mankind parties to his own profaneness? No, no, no: it will never do to number Byron among the amiable victims of involuntary unbelief. Such men have about them a kindliness and candour which will prompt them to keep their torments, for the most part, to themselves. They will never delight in exposing their “wounds, and bruises, and putrefying sores,” to the public gaze. They will take no pleasure in seeing the spread of the infection. They will be anxious to prevent their leprosy from extending itself. They will shudder at the thought of rushing into the midst of crowds hitherto free from the contagion. They will constantly bear in mind that a time may come when the plague shall depart from them; and they will remember that the prevalence of their disease must render the world one vast lazaret-house, one scene of universal despair to themselves, even should they ever be mercifully visited by a season of convalescence. Byron saw and felt nothing of all this. He well knew, indeed, the bitterness of his own heart; but he cared not if its overflowings should carry poison and agony into bosoms, hitherto the abodes of health, and peace, and joy.

That he had in his nature some prime rudiments of greatness it would be absurd to question. There is, however, one indication of genuine grandeur of which he was wholly destitute: he was without that serenity and simplicity which are the surest marks of a commanding spirit. He never exhibited that repose which is among the most awful and sublime symptoms of conscious strength. His mind was in a perpetual state of fermentation and unrest; and, though it may appear a hard and bitter saying, we have very little doubt that a tremendous intensity of selfishness was the principle which occasioned this incessant and boiling commotion. In souls of the very highest order there is little of this “double, double, toil and trouble.” There is nothing in them which reminds us of the cauldron of sorcery, with its vile ingredients and its infernal “gruel.” The might of the ocean depths, in their stern and calm magnificence, is the proper image of such supreme intelligences. There was that in the temper of

Byron which rendered this sublime exhibition absolutely impossible. There were in him such elements of agitation and turmoil as were alike fatal to his happiness and to his glory.

Our words are well nigh ended; and, for aught we can tell, there may be numbers who will be ready to exclaim, that they are just such words as might be expected from "scoundrel priests," or abusive and virulent old wives. Why, it will be asked, this ungenerous and uncharitable blazon of the failings and transgressions of a mighty spirit? Why this ruthless dragging forth of the vices of a great mind from the "dread abode" of the sepulchre? To all who may put this question to us, we shall only reply, by telling them to ask it of his biographer. We could have been well content to admire all that was truly admirable in his writings—to avert our eyes, as much as might be, from all that was odious and pernicious there—to gaze on the dazzling miracles of his genius—and to banish from our thoughts the black and fetid smoke out of which they too often issued forth. We could have been well content to look upward at the blazing glories of the volcano, without a wish to explore the secrets of its foul and sulphurous entrails. We could have been content, in short, to think only of the poet, and to forget the man. But his friend and chronicler was not content to have it so. It is he who has chosen to rake and stir from its depths this noisome Camarina; and since it has been his pleasure so to do, it is the duty of all who tender the public health, to counteract and neutralize its steaming pestilence with the most pungent and drastic fumigations which their moral alchemy can possibly supply. "Peace"* was the only wish which Byron desired to have inscribed upon his tomb; and this wish is denied him by his officious and fanatical admirers. And if they will break his repose,—if they will *disquiet him, to bring him up*,—they must not look to have him greeted as "a spirit of health," at least by those who desire to be, themselves, visited by "airs from heaven." The name of Byron, it is quite notorious, has done more to couple the glories of intellectual might with the abominations of licentiousness and infidelity, than almost any other name that can be produced from the whole range of our literature; and thousands, and tens of thousands have probably sunk, and still are sinking, under the influences of that most disastrous conjunction. And yet, it seems, we have *astrologers, and Chaldeans, and wise men* among us, who loudly invite us to look upon these portentous splendours, as if they betokened little else than peace and joy. What, then, have we to do, but to call back the minds of men from this treacherous wisdom, and to fix them

* "*Implorea pace*" were the words of an epitaph which forcibly struck him in Italy; and he expressed a wish that the same might be adopted for himself.

on the power of Him that *frustrateth the tokens of the liars, and maketh the diviners mad, and turneth their knowledge into folly!*

Of the poetry of Byron we shall forbear to speak. The resources of criticism have already been exhausted upon it. It has exercised the wit of men, and women, and striplings. One thing only we must remark: he has been deliberately pronounced by Mr. Moore worthy to be placed by the side of Shakspeare and of Milton. Now this is a judgment which neither Gods, nor Men, nor Columns will endure for a moment. Shakspeare, without stirring from his native land, or emerging from a very narrow sphere of life, has, actually, "sounded all the depths and shoals" of human passion. He has spoken, too, in the language of every rank and gradation of society, from the sovereign to the artificer and peasant, just as if he had been intimately conversant with every class and variety of men; or rather, as if he had been gifted with the power of summoning their spirits, at will, to inhabit his own bosom: and, having exhausted this world, he "then imagined new." All this implies a faculty of intuition which closely approximates to that of a supernatural intelligence, and places its possessor first among the children of men. And, then, if any one desires to see intellectual comparison rendered striking, even to awfulness, by depth of moral contrast, let him look upon Milton, in the midst of neglect, and poverty, and blindness, giving utterance to words which are fitted to delight the ear of men and angels, and which it would be the burning disgrace of posterity ever to "let die;" and then let them think of the sickening, jaded, and shattered sensualist, in the Capreæ of his Italian exile—rebel to God and slanderer of God's creatures—infesting the world with the outpourings of blasphemy and vice, and courting immortal infamy in the cantos of Don Juan.

ART. II.—*Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati, Native of Ferrara; who, under the assumed Name of Mahomet, made the Campaigns against the Wahabees for the Recovery of Mecca and Medina; and since acted as Interpreter to European Travellers in some of the parts least visited of Asia and Africa. Translated from the Italian, as dictated by himself, and edited by William John Banks, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. Murray. London. 1830. 14s.*

THESE volumes have not quite answered our expectations, and we make the admission with surprise, for by every legitimate canon of Albemarle Street and "The Row," the fact should be widely otherwise. The talents, taste and attainments of the Editor are very generally known and acknowledged; he has devoted an ample

fortune and several years of indefatigable toil to researches by which hitherto, from some unfortunate waywardness or fastidiousness of temper, the Public has been very little allowed to benefit, and for an outbreak of which, therefore, we anxiously looked when we perceived that he was about to commit himself to the Press. Above all he has manifested a correctness of moral tone which guarantees whatsoever he may publish; for it should not be forgotten that in the pestiferous Memoirs with which Mr. Thomas Moore, as a consideration for his posthumous retaining fee, has recently insulted public decency, Mr. William Banks is one of the very few correspondents of the pseudo-sentimental Aretine, whose Biography is there treated, into whose ear he does not venture to pour the confidence of pollution. While Lord Byron, during his expatriation, wrote details of almost naked brothelry to most others with whom he communicated, from his boon companion to his Bookseller, Sir Walter Scott, Mr. Rogers and Mr. William Banks appear to have awed him into respect, and to have raised some barrier against his deluge of corruption. Passing on from the Editor to the Author of these volumes, the latter also is a personage who might be supposed likely to produce an amusing book, for he has in his time seen many diversities of life; and furthermore he is, on his own showing, a pretty considerable rogue—a fact in Bibliography always highly favourable to the one Horatian precept, *delectandi*, whatever it may be to the other, *monendi*. But unhappily the *bi-percolation* which Finati's brains have undergone, first through the strainer of his amanuensis, and secondly through that of his translator, may have clarified, but assuredly has not corroborated them.

Mr. Banks, it seems, was so much pleased with the anecdotes which from time to time he had been in the habit of hearing from his *compagnon de voyage*, that he very naturally supposed others also might feel a similar interest; and while Finati was in England, he urged him to commit his adventures to paper. The proposed task appears to have puzzled the faithful Dragoman, who never had been a proficient in European writing, and whose long disuse of it had now “made him very slow with his pen.” London, however, easily afforded a scribe, Giovanni's Life was dictated into “twelve little copy-books,” and Mr. Banks undertook to translate and prepare it for the Press. After two years' residence in England the excellent Author once more returned to the East; and it is not among the least remarkable signs of the times that, in consequence of the proposed steam navigation to India by the Red Sea, he is about to establish a small Hotel at Cairo—a Heliopolitan Belle Sauvage or Bull and Mouth—for the accommodation of European passengers.

Giovanni Finati was born at Ferrara of respectable parents, his Father being a small landed proprietor; and from ten years of age he was destined, sorely against his inclination, to the Church, under the superintendence of a very sincere and excellent, but extremely bigoted uncle. The gown, however, was not to be his vocation, for in the year 1805 his course was changed into a direction not much more accordant with his choice than that to which he had hitherto been trained, by inclusion in one of Napoleon's conscriptions. His Father with difficulty purchased a substitute, who in due time deserted; upon which the commandant called for Finati's personal services, and he, in order to avoid rendering them, absconded. The course adopted upon the occasion was well calculated to fill the recruiting officer's muster-roll; troops were quartered upon the elder Finati's house, and when his firmness withstood their outrages and extortion, himself and his younger son were thrown into prison, and the family property was confiscated. Giovanni disliked much being a soldier upon compulsion, but he equally disliked compulsory celibacy, fasting, and maceration; and in the alternative now before him, his choice was guided, as he says, by filial duty: he surrendered himself, obtained the liberty of his father and brother, and the restoration of their property, and without being permitted to bid adieu to his family, was marched off to undergo drilling at Milan.

Never as yet having been very deeply imbued with martial ardour, it cannot surprise us that the little which his task-masters forced into him quickly oozed out at his fingers' ends; accordingly when he was stationed during the following year in the Tyrol, finding it an intricate country, he thought it very favourable for desertion, and he returned home. This step renewed the persecution of his family without any corresponding benefit to himself, for being obliged to resort to concealment, he used to lie "in sheep-folds and out-houses with the animals and cattle, and sometimes in ditches and holes in the earth," *glandem atque cubilia propter*. Detection, however, not long afterwards ensued, and he was dragged in handcuffs, with two-and-twenty companions in like misfortune, with all possible circumstance of military rigour, to Venice, where his regiment was then quartered. Napoleon's presence in that City at the moment saved the offender's life, for it was thought a due compliment to that great Captain, that the festivities then celebrating in his honour should not be interrupted by executions. The remission of extreme punishment, however, by no means implied a general condonation, for the criminal's head was shaven on full parade, he was clothed in the dress of a convict, loaded with chains to which was attached an enormous weight, treated with every mark of

contumely, and rigidly confined for two months within the barracks, where he was daily compelled to perform the meanest and most laborious offices.

His regiment not long afterwards was ordered to Spalatro, in Dalmatia, respecting which City Mr. Banks has subjoined, in a note, the following useful memorandum:—

“The name of Spalätro (so famous for the retirement of Dioclesian, and for the ruins of his palace) is pronounced short in the second syllable; and though this may seem contrary both to the sonorous march of the Italian language, and to the quantity of the original Latin name, yet two other examples, exactly analogous, are presented upon the Italian shores of the Adriatic, in the names of Taränto and Otränto, both so pronounced. Horace Walpole has told us that he selected the latter name for his romance only from seeing it upon the map; and as he adopted it rather by the eye than by the ear, it may reasonably be suspected that he would not have chosen it had he been aware how it is pronounced on the spot.”—vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

Finati suffered dreadfully from sea-sickness during his voyage, and while in that pitiable condition he was fastened under hatches, with all his comrades, for two days, the transport meantime struggling with the perils of an Adriatic *Bora*. The skill of the Captain preserved the crew from shipwreck, but Death had glutted himself in other forms, and, when the hatches were again opened, thirty-one corpses were thrown overboard, victims of terror, exhaustion, disease, hunger, or suffocation. On landing at Spalatro, Finati was consigned to the Hospital, in order to undergo a course of military Therapeutics, of which the leading features were neglect, discomfort, and privation.

Thus seasoned, he joined his regiment in its operations against the Montenegrini, insurgents as the French named them, ancient possessors of Ragusa as they avowed themselves; between whom and their foreign oppressors war to the knife was raging. Marmont was the General to whose paternal care they were committed; and, *selon les regles* in these cases, if the Montenegrini captured any prisoners, they first mutilated, and then left them on the mountains to be devoured by wild beasts; and the French, in retaliation, burned every hut, shot every wanderer, and acted on an avowed system of proscription and extermination.

While quartered at Budoa, Finati made the acquaintance of an Albanian merchant, by whose advice he formed the apparently desperate resolution of deserting once more, and endeavouring to gain the Turkish frontiers. Sixteen Italians, including the Serjeant's wife, joined him in this daring enterprize, and all carried with them their arms and accoutrements. After a night-encounter with a French outpost, in which the little band, without harm to

itself, left five of its opponents dead, the fugitives gained the Turkish town of Antivari, and made their story known to the Pasha. Overtures were speedily tendered for their conversion to Mohammedanism, but during three months, that instinct which even in breasts the most ignorant shrinks from the abandonment of original Religious profession, supported their resistance under severe hardships and rigorous persecution. The serjeant at length worn down by suffering recommended conformity in a short homily, the arguments of which, whatever might be their intrinsic value, were strongly seconded by necessity, and did not long meet opposition. The Neophytes were conducted to a Mosque; some prayers and an exhortation, in a language which they did not understand, were pronounced over them; the great distinguishing rite of Islam was postponed till they should become better Theologians; the once intended Ecclesiastic of Ferrara assumed the name of Mahomet, and they were all received as Musulmans; although, concludes the Italian, with either a very simple or else a very sly admission, "I believe most of us continued in our hearts as good Catholics as we had been before."

Thus established as a Renegado, Mahomet was taken into the service of a General Officer—a good-natured young man, who treated him with affection and confidence, and was sufficiently imprudent to admit him even into his Harem. This establishment contained ten handsome inmates, all of different Countries, and "the merriest creatures in the world." Mahomet, as might be expected, fell in love with one of them, Fatima, a Georgian; the intrigue was suspected, and ere long must have been completely revealed; and in order to avoid a *denouement* which would occasion the loss of *three* lives, Mahomet prudently determined to save at least *one*, and fled from Scutari, leaving his mistress and her burden to take their chance. By a singular coincidence he was again assisted by the same Albanian whom he had before consulted at Budoa, and relying upon his friendship, without money to defray his passage, he embarked for and arrived at Alexandria.

During this voyage an Albanian officer persuaded him to enlist in the service of Mahomet Ali, in which he recruited his finances, and continued till a severe fit of ophthalmia disgusted him with Alexandria, and his term of military engagement being completed, he transferred himself to Cairo. There some former comrade induced him once again to resume the sword, and he received the appointment of *Belik-bash*, or corporal, in what might be considered the Pasha's Body-guard. The feud with the Mamalukes was just then at its height, and the troops were ordered to take the field in order to expel the Beys from Egypt. In the course

of this expedition the following characteristic *row* occurred at a *Fishmongers' Hall* on the banks of the Nile:—

“ We had put to shore near Benysouef, and after having dined together at noon in one of the great groves of palm-trees, continued sitting there all the afternoon, and, to pass the time, were amusing ourselves with games of cards and dice; the stakes were trifling at first, but rose as we proceeded, and from playing, at the outset, for paras, we advanced at last to gold;* the interest of course grew deeper in proportion, and before night-fall some had been winners of considerable sums. The losers were now in no temper to leave off, and so, when it grew dark, lanthorns were lighted, and hung from the trees, that the game might be continued.

“ This drew several Arab thieves about us, who crept on little by little close to our circle unperceived, for we of ourselves constituted a little crowd, being from thirty to forty soldiers, and were all so engrossed by our play that we never noticed the strangers, but took for granted that all who were standing or sitting round were our own attendants or the boat's crew; and the light, indeed, which our lanthorns gave was hardly sufficient to have undeceived us.

“ Whilst each was sitting with his little heap of money before him, intent upon the cards, which were dealing round at the moment, some of these roguish interlopers suddenly knocked the lights out, and others at the same instant discharging handfuls of dust into our eyes, snatched up as much of the money as they could lay hold of, and made off with it.

“ In the first moment of surprise none of us knew what had happened, and nothing remained to be seen but our own party. Without entering upon any explanation, or giving time for any, there began a general scuffle, every one in the number supposing himself robbed and insulted by his comrades; all had instant recourse to their arms, which were unfortunately at hand, some stabbing with their dirks, and some cutting with their sabres, and the confusion and bloodshed proceeded so far, that they did not cease till nine of our party lay dead or dying on the ground, and several of the remainder grievously wounded, so that I considered myself fortunate in escaping with only a slight sabre-cut upon the arm.

“ We learned afterwards, from some of the by-standers, when our spirits were calmed and more brought to reason, what it was that had really taken place, and that they had in vain tried to stop our hands in time, and to pacify our misdirected fury at the beginning of the fray.

“ We were filled with shame and remorse; but there was no help for what had happened, so we mourned over our companions, and got them buried.”—vol. i. pp. 95—99.

Of the bloody catastrophe of the Beys, Finati was an eye-witness, though his hand, as he affirms, and as is perhaps more to be hoped than believed, was no partaker in their massacre. Well

* “ Probably a very small Turkish gold coin, called the Rubee, of the value of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. English.”

as this Tragedy is known, and often as it has been described, the reader may not be displeased to receive one more account from an actor in it. When Saim Bey had incautiously accepted for himself and all his adherents the treacherous invitation of Mahomet Ali,

“ the Pasha was not idle in concerting his measures for receiving them.

“ Before dawn upon the Friday named,* the drums were beating throughout the city to call the troops together as for some great parade; few, if any of us, had received any intimation of this beforehand, so that all hurried from their quarters to know what it meant, and were marched off to the citadel as they arrived, and stationed there.

“ No specific instructions were given, but each man was strictly charged, after his arms had been examined, on no account to quit the post assigned him, and to wait there for further orders.

“ The hour of audience was at hand, and a procession of about 500 Mameluke officers, of higher or lower degrees, presented themselves at the gate of the citadel, and went in; they made rather a splendid show, and were led by three of their generals, among whom Saim Bey was conspicuous: when entered, they proceeded directly onwards to the palace, which occupies the highest ground; and as soon as their arrival there was announced to Mahomet Ali and Hassan Pasha, who were sitting in conference together within, an immediate order was given for the introduction of the three Chiefs, who were received with great affability, both Pashas entering into a good deal of conversation with them, and many compliments and civilities passed.

“ After a time, according to Eastern custom, coffee was brought, and last of all the pipes; but at the moment when these were presented, as if from etiquette, or to leave his guests more at their ease, Mahomet Ali rose and withdrew, and sending privately for the captain of his guard, gave orders that the gates of the citadel should be closed; adding, that as soon as Saim Bey and his two associates should come out for the purpose of mounting, they should be fired upon till they dropped, and that at the same signal the troops posted throughout the fortress, should take aim at every Mameluke within their reach; while a corresponding order was sent down at the same time to those in the town, and to such even as were encamped without, round the foot of the fortress, to pursue the work of extermination on all stragglers that they should find, so that not one of the proscribed body might escape.

“ Saim Bey and his two brothers in command, finding that the Pasha did not return to them, and being informed by the attendants that he was gone into his harem, (an answer that precluded all further inquiry,) judged it to be time to take their departure. But no sooner did they make their appearance without, and were mounting their horses, than they were suddenly fired upon from every quarter, and all became at once a scene of confusion, and dismay, and horror, similar volleys being directed at all the rest who were collected round and preparing to return with them, so that the victims dropped by hundreds.

* “ 1st March, 1811.”

“ Saim himself had time to gain his saddle, and even to penetrate to one of the gates of the citadel; but all to no purpose, for he found it closed like the rest, and fell there pierced with innumerable bullets.

“ Another Chief, Amim* Bey, who was the brother to Elfi, urged the noble animal which he rode to an act of greater desperation, for he spurred him till he made him clamber upon the rampart, and preferring rather to be dashed to pieces than to be slaughtered in cold blood, drove him to leap down the precipice, a height that has been estimated at from thirty to forty feet, or even more; yet fortune so favoured him, that though the horse was killed in the fall, the rider escaped.

“ An Albanian camp was below, and an officer's tent very near the spot on which he alighted; instead of shunning it he went in, and throwing himself on the rites of hospitality, implored that no advantage might be taken of him; which was not only granted, but the officer offered him protection, even at his own peril, and kept him concealed so long as the popular fury and the excesses of the soldiery continued.

“ Of the rest of that devoted number thus shut up and surrounded, not one went out alive; and even of those who had quietly remained in the town, but very few found means to elude the active and greedy search that was made after them, a high price being set upon every Mameluke's head that should be brought.

“ All Cairo was filled with wailing and lamentations; and, in truth, the confusion and horrors of that day are indescribable, for not the Mamelukes alone, but others also, in many instances wholly unconnected with them, either from mistake, or from malice, or for plunder, were indiscriminately seized on and put to death; so that great as the number was that perished of that ill-fated body, it yet did not comprehend the total of the victims.

“ For myself, I have reason to be thankful that though I was one of the soldiers stationed in the citadel that morning, I shed none of the blood of those unhappy men, having had the good fortune to be posted at an avenue where none of them attempted to pass, or came near me, so that my pistols and musket were never fired.

“ The strange fact of the leap and escape of Amim Bey, and of his asylum in the officer's tent, reached at last the Pasha's ears, who sent instantly to demand him; and when the generous Albanian found that it would be impossible any longer to shelter or screen his fugitive, he gave him a horse, and recommended him to fly with all speed into Asia, where I afterwards saw him, living in the palace of Suleyman Pasha, at Acre, at the time of my first visit there with Mr. Bankes.”—vol. i. p. 105.

In the pillage which followed this butchery, Giovanni Mahomet

* “ Mengin writes the name *Amyin*, vol. i. p. 292; and what is very strange, though he notices his escape, says nothing of his famous leap, which I have heard from the Bey himself, and which is known to all Cairo, and the spot pointed out to strangers. Sir F. Henniker says of him, ‘ his horse leapt over the parapet like leaping out of a four-pair of stairs window. The horse was killed. The Bey entrusted himself to some Arabs, who, notwithstanding the offer of a large reward, would not deliver him up.’—p. 64. The Bey's own account agreed with the text, and was probably, indeed, the foundation of it.”

assures us that he obtained only a saddle richly mounted in silver gilt, and a slave girl belonging to one of the Beys, whom he almost directly afterwards married; but his honeymoon was interrupted by the necessity of joining the camp at Matarieh, in which troops were gathering for the grand Mecca expedition against the Wahabys. One of the greatest annoyances to which the soldiers were exposed in these quarters arose from the dexterity of the natives in pilfering; and if the following story, to which Finati gives full credit, and which was said to have occurred but the year before that of which he is speaking, may be trusted, it is manifest that the Egyptian Thieves have not deteriorated in knowledge of their art since the time of King Rhampsinitus.

“ While some of the Mamelukes were encamped about Minieh, a thief set his mind upon carrying off the horse and wearing-apparel of one of their Beys, and with this intention contrived, in the dead of the night, to creep, unperceived, within the tent, where, as it was winter time, embers were burning, and showed the rich clothes of the Bey lying close at hand. The thief, as he squatted down by the fire, drew them softly to him, and put them all on; and then, after filling a pipe, and lighting it, went deliberately to the tent door, and tapping a groom, who was sleeping near, with the pipe end, made a sign to him for the horse, which stood piqueted in front. It was brought—he mounted, and rode off.

“ On the morrow, when the clothes of the Bey could nowhere be found, none could form a conjecture as to what had become of them, until the groom, on being questioned, maintained to his fellow-servants that their master was not yet returned from his ride, and told them how he had suddenly called for his horse in the night—which at last seemed to give some clue to what had really happened.

“ Upon this the Bey, anxious to recover his horse, as well as curious to ascertain the particulars, ordered it to be published abroad, that if the person who had robbed him would, within two days, bring back what he had taken, he should not only be freely pardoned, but should receive also the full value of the animal and of the suit of clothes.

“ Relying on the good faith of this promise, and possibly, too, not a little vain of his exploit, the Arab presented himself, and brought his booty, and the Bey also, on his part, punctually kept his word; but since, besides the loss, there was something in the transaction that placed the Bey in rather a ludicrous light, it went hard with him to let the rogue depart so freely, and he seemed to be considering what he should do; so that, to gain time, he was continually asking over and over again fresh and more circumstantial accounts of the manner in which the stratagem had been conducted: the other was too crafty not to perceive that no good might be preparing for him, and began to feel anxious to get safe out of the scrape; he showed no impatience, however, but entered minutely into every detail, accompanying the whole with a great deal of corresponding action, at one time sitting down by the fire, and making believe as though he were slyly drawing on the dif-

ferent articles of dress, so as to throw the Bey himself, and all who saw and heard him, into fits of laughter. When he came at last to what concerned the horse, 'It was,' he said, 'brought to me, and I leaped upon his back;' and so in effect flinging himself again into the saddle, and spurring the flanks sharply with the stirrup-irons, he rode off, with all the money that he had received for the animal in his pocket, and had got much too far during the first moments of surprise for any of the bullets to take effect that were fired at him in his flight, and nothing further was ever heard of him or the horse."—vol. i. pp. 120—124.

In his great dread of robbers, Finati had the misfortune to shoot his *Binbasbee*, or serjeant, mistaking him for a thief, while he was on his knees one morning, before sunrise, at his devotions. He did not discover the blunder till he rushed forward with his sabre to secure the head of his victim, such commodities being paid for at a high price by Tossoon Pasha. The only disagreeable consequence in which this fatal accident involved him was the danger of retaliation by some of the family of the deceased, and from this risk the liberality of his General redeemed him by payment of the estimated *Dyeh*, or price of blood.

The first object of Tossoon Pasha on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea was the capture of Yambo (Jenboa of Ali Bey), which, after a short siege, was abandoned by its inhabitants. The Battle of Jedeed Bogaz occurred some months afterwards; it commenced at dawn, and about mid-day the heat became so intense that each party, by tacit consent, abstained from hostilities, and the soldiers reposed under the neighbouring palm trees. At four in the afternoon the action recommenced, and continued, with alternations of fortune, till two hours after sunset, when by some panic, the Pasha's troops were put entirely to the rout; their camp was untenable, and after burning their tents and equipage, and leaving behind even their military chest, the vanquished fled precipitately to their squadron at Mobrek, and re-embarked. Finati, on the close of the battle, found himself with a single comrade in the very middle of the enemy. After a perilous scramble they disengaged themselves and gained a detached eminence, whence, at night-fall, they perceived all around them the signal fires of the Wahabys, and the broader sheet of flame which testified the destruction of their own camp. To that point, accordingly, they directed their course about midnight, crawling upon all fours whenever they came within sight or hearing of any of the prowlers for booty on the field of battle, and having at length reached the camp unobserved, they seized some provisions and about 400 golden crowns which were scattered among the ashes of the tents, and then hastened to a spring at five miles distance, the whole day, it appears, having been passed without the taste of water. As

it drew near morning they fell in with some stragglers of their own army, but all were equally ignorant of the route to Mobrek, and they separated, as chance or choice directed, in various tracks. The good fortune of Finati guided him aright, and on reaching the coast he plunged into the sea and swam to the nearest vessel, which happened to be that in which Tossoon himself was embarked. A severe illness succeeded the fatigues of this calamitous day, and having obtained leave of absence, not without some difficulty, Finati once again returned to Cairo.

The infidelity of his wife during his absence, and an unexpected letter from the deserted Fatima announcing the birth of a boy, which by an opportune coincidence arrived at the moment of the other discovery, determined him upon the facile Turkish remedy of immediate divorce. Having readily obtained dissolution of his marriage ties, he set in earnest about curing the rheumatism by which he was distracted, and having succeeded in this object by the aid of the good air and water of Cairo, he engaged as assistant to an English cavalry officer employed on a mission for the purchase of horses, and accompanied him with his stud to Aboukir. Meanwhile Mahomet Ali having embarked in person against the Wahabys, had retrieved the ill fortune of his son, and pursuing a career of victory, had secured the person of the weak or treacherous Scherif of Mecca. Reinforcements, however, were wanting for his army, and Finati, again buckling on his sword, sailed to Djedda, and joined Bey Zaim Oglou in the siege of Confûta, a small village southward from that port. It was taken after a murderous conflict, in the course of which the Turkish commander, bent upon extermination, offered 200 piastres for every head or even ear which should be brought to him. In the defence of a spring necessary for the supply of water to this town, which it was resolved to maintain as a military post, Finati was exposed to infinite peril. The guard of which he formed one was overpowered before it could be succoured by the garrison, and the detachment advanced for that purpose being met by the fugitives, who announced that all was lost, hurried back to Confûta.

“For my own part, I had been one of those foot soldiers who had maintained the combat, near the spring, so long as there were any to make head with me, and, when the complete route began, was endeavouring to escape, with a few more, as well as I could; but in the precipitation of flight I lost my shoes in the loose sand, the scorching heat of which soon blistered the soles of my feet to that degree, that I was unable to proceed at all, and was actually flinging myself down in despair, with no other resolution than to die, when by chance one of our cavalry troop passed very close to me—one of those doubtless who in the first hurry of the flight had gone wide of the track, and had just recovered the traces of his companions.

“ His speed was not so great as he probably wished it, for the horse was jaded, yet the sight gave me courage, and I collected strength enough to run after, though I was not able to leap up behind, so that I caught fast hold first of the stirrup, and afterwards of the tail; but the soldier either in his haste mistaking me for an enemy, or thinking that I impeded his escape, turned round, and fired. I had no breath for entreaty, so I only stooped and evaded the bullet, without quitting my grasp, which still served to pull me along. Yet in my rage I had contrived to snatch out my own pistol, and both fired and flung it at him, though quite without effect. I was thus hurried and dragged along for a great many hundred yards, and the incident had certainly the effect of saving my life, for it gave a new turn to my spirits and energies, and I found myself all at once also (though still distant) in sight of Confuta, and with difficulty persevered in crawling thither.

“ All appeared in the utmost confusion, both in the castle and the village, the vessels already swarming with troops, and others wading to them eagerly, or hurrying down with bundles and luggage. There was nobody in a state to be inquired of, or to answer me, so I got to the beach, and there, not knowing what else to do, or which way to turn, followed the example of the rest, and threw my clothes off that I might swim on board.

“ Our commandant's bloody edict had been revoked some time, so that a considerable number of prisoners had been brought in of late, or sent to us from other places, who were embarked on board some of the craft as prison ships, and it so happened that inadvertently I made my way to one of these; but no sooner did I raise my hands from the water against the side, for the purpose of climbing into it, than the Wahabee captives, full of hope and spirits at what they saw, and ready as it seemed to seize their opportunity, or else dreading some violence, struck a blow at me with some sharp and heavy instrument, that brought the blood after it in great quantities. I lost for a time all sense, and can hardly conceive by what lucky accident I was saved from drowning.

“ When, however, I came to myself, I found that I had been drawn up into a vessel that was occupied by my comrades, who had been revenging the outrage upon me, by a brisk discharge of their fire-arms; and, owing to the crowded state of the little prison ship, had done great execution.

“ I lay there so weak, and in such a state of stupor, that I had no part in a last rallying effort which the Bey commandant made to save this important post from the enemy.”—pp. 229—233.

Mahomet Ali at that time was at Mecca, and Finati, on recovery from his wound, finding himself exposed to thirst, hunger, and privation of all kinds, made up his mind that it could not be called desertion if, even without a furlough, he changed his present miserable quarters for those of the Commander in Chief. Throwing therefore his wallet and his waterskin over his shoulder, he set out without farther knowledge of his road than that afforded by the track of some cavalry which had not long before preceded

him. The region through which he passed was destitute of every means of subsistence, his water was soon exhausted, and even when he approached any wells he was deterred from drinking by the pestilential smell and the appearance of dead bodies thrown into them by the Wahabys. One, at length, seemed too deep to have been thus polluted, and forming a rope of his sash, turban, shirt and other clothes, after two hours toil, he filled his waterskin; but though thirst was quenched, he was still exposed to raging pangs of hunger. It was night, the Desert was every where around him, but he pressed forward till daybreak, when perceiving some fires on a neighbouring height he advanced to them in desperation, ignorant whether they belonged to friend or foe, and with the certainty of death if they were kindled by the latter. Fortunately he encountered a company of Bedouin Arabs, was received by them with their proverbial hospitality, and guided to within four hours march of Mecca.

The short account which Finati gives of the Holy City appears in the main to agree with that of the few travellers who have succeeded in visiting it; and the narratives of Mengin, Ali Bey and Burckhardt (*unus instar omnium*) must be so familiar to our readers that we need not interrupt the personal history by stopping at marvels with which the longing eyes of all veritable Hadjis are gratified during their pilgrimage. But a very few days after his entrance into Mecca, Finati formed the bold resolution of introducing himself to Mahomet Ali; accordingly, having got a memorial written in the Turkish language, he took his station before one of the windows of the Pasha's house, with the paper in his hand, much after the manner of Aladdin's mother with her basin of jewels in the Sultan's Divan, and on the sixth day he caught the Prince's eye, and was summoned to his presence. It was then Mahomed Ali for the first time learned the full extent of the disasters at Confûta, which his officers had very imperfectly reported, and he fell, as was very natural to a Pasha of three tails, "into the greatest rage imaginable." This was of little import to Finati, who was amply provided by him with money to make his way to the grand depôt of the Taif, and was instructed to hold his tongue relative to the defeat. Under Tossoon Pasha, whom he now rejoined, he again was present in some unsuccessful engagements, till the arrival of Mahomet himself once more inclined the scale to victory.

After a campaign of triumph, with the prospect of a speedy return to Cairo, a new portion of Turkish military life was to be exhibited to Finati, while he awaited embarkation at Djidda. The Plague was ravaging that town when he entered it, the streets were empty, the shops shut, corpses in every stage of decomposi-

tion were lying on all sides in the public ways, no house in which any person remained alive would admit the new comers, and in those which they seized upon as quarters every inhabitant had been swept away. Nor must we omit one touch from the pen of this unlettered writer, which might almost have been translated from Thucydides, and which sufficiently avouches, if any such avouchment were necessary, that great Historian's fidelity to Truth and Nature. "All compassion and decency," writes Finati, "were at an end, there was no care to bury the dead, nor even so much as to remove them, so greatly had the mortality and terror of contagion spread." "*ὑπερβιαζομένη γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ,*" are the words of Thucydides, "*οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγορίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἰερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως νόμοι τε πάντες συνεταράχθησαν, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς· ἔδαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἡδύνατο.*" Out of eight-and-twenty men of whom Finati's company consisted, only eight survived, he himself, being attacked later than the others, officiated as nurse, and when his own turn came, he attributes his recovery very much to constitutional good spirits. The voyage which succeeded was full of horror.

"It was not till after a delay, however, of five-and-twenty days, passed in these dismal extremities, that we embarked, greatly reduced in numbers, and with few amongst us who were not either actually sick, or still suffering under the effects of this desolating plague: hence the scene on board became dreadful; the want of space, the stench of disease, the restlessness, the complaints, the groans were quite intolerable: many sunk under their sufferings out of pure weakness; many, who had thought themselves cured, relapsed, or were a second time infected, so that nothing was to be seen but agony and death upon the deck and below, and corpses thrown into the sea."—vol. ii. pp. 48, 49.

During the insurrection which ensued at Cairo after Mahomet Ali's return, in consequence of his attempt to introduce European tactics among his troops, Finati appears, for the most part, to have been a quiet spectator. The reason assigned by the discontented for their outrages, presents a curious specimen of popular logic. "If we *must* have the French discipline, let us carry the French system further and have our Revolution also!" For some hours while the City was under pillage, Finati sate peaceably in a coffee-house, but the sight of comrades enriched by plunder at length overcame his stoicism, and yielding to the general impulse he rushed out to obtain *his* share also, and to encounter the following ludicrous disappointment.

"Knowing a particular street in which several of the houses belonged to men of substance, I made for that, and, seeing the door of one of them standing open, I went in, but no sooner had I commenced my search than a thief, who was already there, just touched me in passing, and went

off with both of the pistols out of my girdle, which he drew out so skillfully, that I did not perceive the loss at the moment, though I missed them immediately afterwards. I flatter myself that no better proof will be wanting, that I was no great adept in the profession of plundering, yet I resolved to persist in my scrutiny of the contents of that house, if it were but to indemnify myself for the loss of my arms.

"Little seemed to remain there, excepting a chest, which was large and heavy, and so well secured, that I could not force it open; it made a rattling sound when removed, that gave me a high idea of the value of its contents, but to carry it off alone I found would be impossible; I therefore fetched a comrade, and letting him into the secret, we together hired an Arab porter whom we met with, and putting the load upon his shoulders, promised him two or three piastres for his pains.

"I borrowed one of my partner's pistols, and thus, weapon in hand, we both walked before our prize in triumph, to defend it from the possibility of a rescue, till we got it into a safe place, and dismissed our porter. With what eagerness did we then unite our strength in forcing the lid, when, behold! instead of the plate or dollars which we had promised ourselves, we had carried off a case of the commonest crockery ware, not worth the piasters paid for its transport. My confederate fell to laughing with all his heart, but for my own part, independent of the vexation and disappointment of having plundered to so little account, I felt not a little regret at having lost my pistols, which were mounted in silver gilt, and had cost me a hundred scudi."—vol. ii. p. 67—69.

The time now approached at which Finati's connection with Mr. Bankes was to commence, and he was engaged by a French interpreter of his acquaintance to accompany the English traveller into Upper Egypt in the Autumn of 1815. The suite consisted of the above-named Frenchman, François Barthow, Antonio d'Acosta, a Portuguese; Halleel, an Arab of Alexandria, and Finati himself, and this Tetraglott was housed together with their master in one of the floating arks of the Nile. They ascended to Wadi Halfa, where the second cataract begins, and the chief adventure which Finati records is a luncheon on fried locusts, which tasted crisp and something like shrimps. The voyage down the Nile will be read with interest, as Finati's impressions and descriptions of the wonders which he visited, are corrected and illustrated by brief notes from the pen of Mr. Bankes. Thus, among others, when Giovanni states that at Thebes—

"Our rambles even commenced one morning at daybreak, for there is an old story or superstition, that a sound proceeds from one of the two enormous sitting figures in the plain at the moment when the sun rises, and Mr. Bankes, therefore, chose that hour for visiting them; I need scarcely add that we heard nothing."—vol. ii. p. 94, 95.

Mr. Bankes adds—

"The reader will easily perceive, that the great Memnon statue is

what is meant in this passage; and I am of opinion, that it is by no means impossible that some sound may proceed from it by the variation of atmosphere, since, morning after morning, I have observed that effect produced in the portico at Philæ; where the stones, as they warm or cool, give a crack like that of a panel, or that (to which the ancients compared the statue's voice) of a harp-string."—vol. ii. p. 95, *note*.

While viewing the innermost chamber of the Great Pyramid, Mr. Banks fainted, and lay without sense or motion; the difficulty of dragging him in this state of suspended animation through the steep, low, slanting and tortuous passages which lead to the exterior, was very considerable, nor did he revive till he was brought to the outer air. Seizures of this kind are not uncommon, it is said, in the souterrains of Egypt even among the natives, and in many instances they must be attended with much hazard.

This Nubian expedition lasted four months, and so much were both parties satisfied with each other, that Finati readily engaged to accompany Mr. Banks as Janissary and Interpreter on a journey into Syria. Barthow and Halleel were left behind, and the party now comprised Mr. Banks, Finati, a son of the Sheik of El Arish, who undertook their safe conduct, one mounted Arab and two on foot; and to these were added two young Hanoverians, who importunately petitioned that they might be allowed to profit by the opportunity of visiting Jerusalem, and who, by retaining their European dress and a few Almain habits, occasioned sundry inconveniences. One of them was a veterinary surgeon, the other a cabinet maker; both were on foot, and the former seems to have been the *cuter lad* of the two, and to have profited by an early study of the History of the Old Man of the Sea who so grievously perplexed Sindbad the Sailor.

"So long as our track ran parallel to the Nile, it was necessary to cross frequent inlets of water, the remains of the retiring inundation; and in these cases, while the cabinet-maker paused to take off his stockings, the veterinary surgeon, who was of a slenderer make, would invariably stand upon the watch behind him, and leap on his comrade's back at the moment when he began to wade, the other reproaching him in a surly tone, and muttering all the way, but still always going through with his burden, to the great amusement of our guides."—vol. ii. p. 116, 117.

The hats of the Hanoverians provoked some Arabs near El Arish, who retained bitter enmity against all Europeans from remembrance of Bonaparte's massacre at Jaffa; they presented their muskets, and, but for the timely interference of the young Sheik, would perhaps have massacred the whole party. On their arrival in the town, the Germans, who had access to a case of spirits, drowned the remembrance of their past danger so copi-

ously in brandy, that they afforded an exhibition of much scandal to the Musulman by-standers. For this little indulgence they were afterwards severely punished at Gaza, where Mr. Banks found them, on his return from supping with the Governor, in the utmost distress and alarm, and the whole khan in an uproar. They had been roughly used, their baggage was disturbed and tossed about, and themselves had been menaced with prison, but of the immediate cause of the outrage neither they nor any one else could offer a distinct account. There was little doubt, however, that their inopportune revelry had been maliciously reported to the Gazaites. Some more squabbles, in which they were embarrassed after entering Jerusalem, made their absence highly desirable, and Mr. Banks hiring some mules for their conveyance, sent them back, much against their will, to Acre.

The release of the son of a Bedouin, who was imprisoned in Jerusalem for a robbery of the Aga's camels, was obtained by Mr. Banks's presents and entreaties, and the father, grateful for this benefit, undertook to procure the travellers' safe conduct in the country beyond Jordan. Of the plans, elevations, and views taken at Djerash, and other cities in the Decapolis, we rejoice to state that Mr. Banks holds out a prospect of speedy publication; a measure which more than any other must tend to the tardy exhibition of Mr. Buckingham in true colours. Of that person Finati makes but slight notice, and it is a mark of Mr. Banks's good taste that he has not added a single word.

"This is the journey in which Mr. Buckingham was in our company, bearing, however, no part in it either with his purse or with his pencil; yet this did not prevent all that inconvenience which resulted from it afterwards, both to myself and to my master, who had certainly every reason to have looked for a very different return."—vol. ii. p. 152.

It is scarcely worth while to follow step by step the meagre reminiscences which Finati gives of this deeply interesting route, and we shall await, therefore, Mr. Banks's finished details. One or two detached notices, however, may find place. A night at Tiberias confirmed an assertion with which Dr. Clarke opens one of his chapters: Mr. Banks's party slept in the Church, and were "almost devoured by fleas." "The King of the Fleas," says the first-named most agreeable traveller, "has established his Court at Tiberias." At Tortosa occurred a characteristic incident of Oriental life.

"Whilst we were in the khan there after dark, a Tartar came in and joined us at our supper. He laid a sort of basket down by him, and told us soon afterwards that it contained the head (even offering to show it to us) of that refugee Suleyman Pasha, whom we had conversed with at Acre, which, after strangling him, according to his instructions, he

was carrying back with him to Constantinople to be laid at the Seraglio gate."—vol. ii. p. 180.

This Soleyman had taken refuge, after deprivation of his rank, in the Pasha's Palace at Acre, and he declined, not many weeks before, the advice which Mr. Banks ventured to offer of seeking a retreat in Europe. At Seleucia Finati's engagement terminated, he revisited Aleppo, and Mr. Banks set sail for Cyprus.

After a short interval Finati became attached to the service of Mr. Salt, by whom he was despatched to Upper Egypt, where in Philæ he found Mr. Beechey, Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni, and Captains Irby and Mangles. The proceedings of this strong European party at Abousambal, their countless difficulties, their unwearied labours, and their important discoveries, have been laid before the public in a far better form than that in which the Ferrarese invests them, and will, therefore, require but short notice here. The Nubians whom they employed were worse than useless; and the Englishmen when left to themselves, and especially the two Captains, says Finati, did each the work of ten natives in their own persons. They were engaged, indeed, day after day, from sunrise till after dark, removing the sand with their hands, stripped to the skin, and relieving each other every four hours; their diet meantime was most scanty, from the hope entertained by the natives of starving them out, and frequently consisted only of a meal or two of *dourra*, with an occasional glass of date brandy. After three weeks continued toil, a corner of the door-way appeared, and Finati, one of the slenderest of the company, was the first who crept into the interior of the Temple.

An agreeable summons to rejoin Mr. Banks at Acre soon induced him to quit Egypt, but owing to foul weather during his passage, he found that his master's patience had been exhausted, and that he had made a second tour of the Hauran with another Interpreter, and was now once more in the country beyond Jordan. Chased from Assah by the treachery of the Arabs, swimming a river on horseback for his life, and encountering numberless hardships in his escape, Mr. Banks at length reached Jerusalem in safety, where Finati to his great joy found him in the Latin Convent. The subsequent journey to Petra, the disputes of the rival Sheiks, and the successful progress of the travellers under the protection of Abou Raschid till they tasted the fountain of Wady Moosa, as he had sworn should be done "by the honour of his women," however interesting, defy abridgment as Finati has related them, and we hasten to the *magnum opus* of the whole Work. After a severe fever, which confined him during five weeks at Joppa, Mr. Banks with much secrecy prepared to return to Jerusalem. He shaved his beard, which had been permitted to grow

long, retaining only the hair upon the upper lip, clothed himself in an Albanian dress, and from the *tonsure*, the difference of costume, and the change of countenance produced by illness, became so effectually an altered man, that Finati is confident that he could not any where have recognized him. At nightfall they mounted two hired mules, and took the Jerusalem road from the Convent of Ramah; a new Governor was daily expected in the city, and they readily passed, therefore, for Albanian soldiers going to enlist in his service, a pretext adopted by Finati when some of the guard in the valley of Abougosh insisted that their comrades should stop and take coffee with them. Mr. Banks on this occasion bound up his face and rode on, desiring his companion to represent that he was suffering from acute toothache.

At dawn they reached the Western gate of Jerusalem, and ordering their guide to stay there with the mules, they went round the walls to the gate of St. Stephen, that nearest the Temple of Solomon. There, for the first time, Mr. Banks avowed his intention of entering those forbidden precincts, urging that there could be little chance of detection, as the keepers of the Mosque were not likely to understand Albanian, and it was by no means requisite that an Albanian should speak Arabic or Turkish; that it was not probable any of the soldiery, from whom most risk was to be apprehended, would be found in the Temple; and that as a *pis aller*, the toothache might be resorted to for concealment. Notwithstanding these cogent arguments, Finati confesses that he felt somewhat awkwardly at the declaration, of which during the whole night's journey he had entertained a strong misgiving with a heavy heart. He recollected that the penalty of unauthorised entry to that Mosque was death, not only to the Christian who attempted, but to the Musulman who connived at it; that he himself had already visited it, and was at liberty to do so whenever he pleased; and above all, that Mr. Banks, being an Englishman and a man of substance, would scarcely be visited with extreme punishment in case of discovery, whereas of himself, who was amenable to the Turkish laws and conversant with their Religion and manners, an example would certainly be made. Weighing these considerations, it is scarcely possible not to admit the soundness of the deduction which he advances with somewhat amusing self-complacency; "Let it not be set down to vanity or detraction when I say, that though the scheme was Mr. Banks's own, still when I have heard his courage extolled for it, I have always felt that I deserved a share at least equal."

The completion of this perilous adventure must be given in his own words:—

"Fortunately there was no time for discussion or wavering, and if

not done at once, the feat could not be done at all. St. Stephen's gate opened, my master went in, and I followed, after which I walked side by side with him into the great area of the temple, a noble square, with cypress trees here and there, and a great octagonal platform on steps in the centre, on which stands the edifice itself, the work of the Kaliph Omar. It is covered by a dome, and incrustured on all sides with porcelain glazed and coloured, fitted together into the most ingenious and beautiful patterns. On four corresponding sides of it are four brazen doors.

"We had admired this noble exterior together in silence for some time, when we saw a person wearing a green turban who had the key, and who, as he unlocked one of the doors, asked if we wished to have the interior shown to us for devotion.

"I stepped forwards, and, assenting to this, engaged him in conversation (in Arabic) that he might not remark on my companion's silence, nor ask him any questions. As we entered, however, seeing him disposed to satisfy his curiosity in that way, I boldly ventured to warn him that to a man fresh, as my comrade was, from Scutari, no language but Arnaout could serve, which checked him so effectually, that he took scarce any further notice of him from that time, and I found that I had not hazarded at all too much.

"Eight solid pillars correspond to the eight internal angles of the temple, and serve, with sixteen marble columns disposed between them, to support the dome, and to inclose a space between them, where a huge mass of rock stands up from the marble pavement, quite rough, and is commonly said to hang in the air unsupported, but rests, in fact, partly on two or three very small pillars placed under it, and is partly also still attached to the ground. We were shown also in the pavement itself what are called the gates of Hell and of Paradise, and the place where the skull of Adam was found, and where Cain killed Abel; while the great rude rock in the midst passes by tradition for that on which the angel sat who stopped the plague in the days of King David. At every one of these several sacred spots we both knelt, and offered a few paras. When all had been seen and examined, nothing would satisfy Mr. Bankes, but that he must have the customary certificate of his pilgrimage; we were, therefore, shown by our verger to the foot of a little narrow staircase near the door, and he following in no further, Mr. Bankes thought it a good precaution to bind up his face again as he ascended; and it is perhaps well that he did, for in a little room over the porch we found four Ulemas squatted in a row, who motioned to us that we should sit down, and then served us with coffee, which my comrade with the bandaged face touched only with his lips, I speaking for him and describing his sufferings. A long Arabic writing was then drawn up for each of us, with an enumeration of the holy stations that we had just visited, and was signed and sealed in due form.

"On the delivery of the instrument there was an unforeseen risk of detection, for it is customary to place it out of respect on the crown of the head. Mr. Bankes's hair was fullgrown under his cap, which, had that been lifted off, must at once have betrayed him, so, representing the

inconvenience of disturbing the bandage, I placed both the certificates respectfully side by side on my own shaven scalp.

"My heart bounded within me when we got clear out of the sacred octagon, and the more, since many of the town were now coming into it to pay their devotions.

"My companion, however, persisted still in lingering within the great inclosure, and before he quitted it, visited also the mosque of the Purification (then under repair), formerly a church built by the Frank kings, which Mrs. Belzoni seemed to have confounded with the Temple of Solomon itself, though it only opens to the square.

"The tomb of David, on Mount Sion, is also prohibited ground; and without this the exploit was considered to be incomplete; it became, therefore, our next point, and we entered there and offered our paras. But Mr. Bankes, thinking soon after that he had not observed something with sufficient accuracy, had the imprudence to return with me, much against my wishes, a second time.

"In the mean while the muleteer, whom we had left outside, had strayed in quest of us to that very spot, and had said enough to the keeper of the place to excite his suspicions and rouse his fanaticism, so that we found all discovered, and ourselves in imminent danger.

"It was lucky that we were without the walls and well armed, and the concourse not yet collected in sufficient numbers to lay hands on us. We got instantly on the mules, and, in spite of all remonstrances of our conductor, rode to the desert of St. John, where we lay that night in the handsome convent there, feeding the muleteer, and concealing from the solitary monk there what had happened.

"A long ride next day brought us back first to Ramah, and before night to Jaffa, where our adventure was known to the Turks, all over the town next day, and it was not thought safe for either of us to appear in the streets."—vol. ii. pp. 287—294.

In consequence of this enterprise it became necessary that the offenders should fly the country as soon as possible, and accordingly they took ship for Damietta. During a subsequent visit to Upper Egypt, Finati obtained Mr. Bankes's permission to marry the daughter of a *Berberin*, with whom his matrimonial life, however, extended to not more than four weeks. Shipping obelisks, uncovering temples, lifting mummies, hunting papyri, laying open pavements, copying inscriptions, illuminating catacombs, transcribing hieroglyphics, and other Egyptian pastimes, fully occupied his companions; nor did the time of any of them appear to pass heavily, till, in the district of Succote, 150 miles above the second cataract of the Nile, they were abandoned by their guides, who rode off one morning with every camel belonging to the company. Not one of the party could speak the language of the Country, and they were encumbered with a large provision of baggage. Two asses were all that could be procured from the natives, and, lading these with their stores, they followed them on

foot; a single camel was afterwards substituted for one of the asses, and upon this was mounted a gentleman of the party, Mr. Hyde, too ill to proceed otherwise. In the true spirit of the Country which they were traversing, they availed themselves of all chances, and if they met any animals unladen, they hired or seized them, in the latter case contenting the unwilling owners, whom they compelled to join their company, with ample payment. As they approached Wady Halfa, they had the satisfaction of overtaking and soundly beating the chief of the guides who had deserted them; "it did us all great good," says Finati, "to think that we had our revenge," and with this feat concluded their by no means agreeable new adventure. Soon after his return to Cairo, Mr. Bankes sailed from Alexandria to Trieste.

Finati was afterwards recommended to Sir Frederic Henniker, who proceeded above the first cataract on a shooting party, "attaching himself much less to the antiquities than to the wild fowl of the Nile." We are by no means sure that such also was not the predominant taste of the author himself, for in the account of an expedition to Sennaar, in company with a French draughtsman employed by Mr. Bankes, which occupies the greatest portion of the last chapter of the Work, his own operations appear to have been confined to bagging gazelles. In 1823, he was summoned to England as a witness in the law-suit which arose out of the proceedings at Djerash, and while in our Country he attended a ball at Liverpool, passed several months at Mr. Bankes's seat in Wales, was obliged to take refuge in a shop at Chester from the insult of some troublesome boys, considered Eaton Hall the finest place he saw in the Island, found the theatres in London a great resource, but received far more pleasure from Vauxhall than any other place of public amusement. We may conclude with his own very sensible valediction.

"But I must recollect myself; and, bearing in mind that sights in London have not the same novelty for the reader that they had for me, will here take my leave of him, entreating once more that he will forgive and overlook the many imperfections of this narrative."

One addition we may make to this narrative, that it never appears to have occurred either to Finati himself, or to Mr. Bankes, that the visit to England afforded a favourable opportunity to the former for reconciliation to the Christian Church, and restoration to his native land and family. Perhaps, indeed, both his religious and "filial" piety may have evaporated in the hot climates to which he had been so many years exposed, and he may no longer feel as "good a Catholic" as he did at the moment of his first

apostacy. Be this as it may, he quitted Europe as he returned to it, an adopted Turk, an outcast, and a renegado.

Of the authenticity of these Memoirs we do not entertain any doubt. If either Finati had drawn on his invention or Mr. Bankes were treading in the steps of De Foe, the narrative would be far less sober—perhaps we might say less vapid. It is necessary, however, that we should express this conviction, for we have met with those, before the appearance of the Work, who were quite satisfied that the name of the hero was but an adumbration of Mr. Bankes himself, and that the editor and the author were in fact identical.

ART. III.—*Inquiries concerning the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth.* By John Abercrombie, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and First Physician to his Majesty in Scotland. Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes;—London: Whittaker, Treacher and Arnot. 1830. pp. 435.

It is very justly observed by the author of this work that there is one formidable impediment to the use of the inductive method in metaphysical researches; and that is, the difficulty of accumulating sufficient facts. The philosopher, who sits down to the study of mind, is for the most part confined to a very limited field of observation. He has few mental phenomena before him except those which are supplied by an attentive contemplation of his own intellectual faculties and operations. He consequently is, or at least ought to be, very diffident in ascribing to all the facts thus collected the character of universality. If a physician were compelled to prepare himself for the practice of his profession, or for the office of a medical lecturer, solely by the study of his own personal constitution, it may readily be imagined that his leisure would be but little interrupted by patients or by pupils. And yet it is difficult to see why a similar contraction of the sphere of observation should be at all less unfavourable to the acquisition of mastery in metaphysical science. To this disadvantage, as Dr. Abercrombie remarks, is probably to be attributed the endless and bewildering diversity of opinions entertained by metaphysical speculators respecting the phenomena of mind. The wise men have sat in their studies, deeply engaged in watching the energies, and the caprices, the flights, and the evolutions, of the unseen principle within them: they have done this, perhaps, under the secret influence of some little theory, the magnetic influence of which has been almost imperceptibly deranging the steadiness and regularity of their mental exertions: and,

moreover, they perhaps have been mistaking certain accidental peculiarities and eccentricities in their own intellectual constitution for the results of some uniform and unalterable law of human nature. The consequence has been just what might be expected; prodigious piles of unsubstantial, incongruous, and fantastic architecture; and a most copious scarcity of those stubborn materials out of which alone any durable system of philosophy can be constructed.

Now of all scientific men, there are none, perhaps, who are more eminently fitted than physicians to supply the defect in question. Their profession is one which, in an eminent degree, demands profound sagacity, quickness and felicity of combination, and a most comprehensive grasp of mind. The highest endowments wherewith the intellect of man can be enriched, may find their fullest exercise in this noble department of usefulness; and it is further distinguished by one inestimable advantage, that it calls its followers out into all the varieties of human life. It brings them into perpetual intercourse with their fellow-men. It exhibits to them the constant and mysterious action and reaction by which the mental principle and its material instruments affect each other. It furnishes them with copious illustrations of the philosophy of mind, by making them familiar with its most interesting manifestations. It provides them, in short, with *facts* in greater abundance and variety than any other scientific pursuit can possibly supply. It, therefore, enables them to offer inestimable contributions to the store of those materials which alone can give stability and solidness to metaphysical theories. And, lastly, it allures and stimulates them to the use of these advantages, by the prospect of their application to advancement of their own honour, and to the relief of suffering humanity. The mental emotions—the physician perceives,—are perpetually aiding or counteracting the appliances of his art; the invisible inhabitant within is incessantly influencing, either for good or evil, the corporeal functions by which she maintains her intercourse with the external world. With what intense anxiety and interest, then, must he watch the energies of that secret power, which he can never cease to regard either as a formidable adversary, or an invaluable ally.

But there is another most important consideration which renders it in the highest degree desirable that medical men of commanding reputation should prosecute their professional studies with a constant reference to the advancement of sound metaphysical philosophy;—by so doing, they may confer most signal benefits on the younger members of their profession. By the power of their instructions, combined with the authority of their name, they may be mainly instrumental in rescuing multitudes of youth-

ful aspirants from rushing headlong down the steep where faith and virtue are in imminent peril of destruction. It is perfectly notorious that dangers such as these often closely beset the path of the striplings who are dedicated to the medical profession in any of its branches. Nothing, perhaps, can well be more adverse to the formation of moral and religious habits, or to the discipline and regulation of their intellectual powers, than the circumstances under which their professional life usually commences. At the age of sixteen or seventeen the raw lad "withdraws his hand from the ferula," and his humbler extremity from the scourge, and is suddenly turned loose into the labyrinth of a great city: and there he is to seek him out a dwelling in some obscure and solitary lodging, in which he is to live removed from the blessed influences of home, the salutary restraints of school, or even the lighter controul of academic discipline. It is true that anatomy and medicine are his pursuits, and that there are incomparable lectures regularly given in every department of science connected with those studies. But then it is also true that he may *hear* or he may *forbear*, as seemeth him best. There is no authority to compel his attendance, or to regulate the application of a single hour of his time. If, therefore, his principles are lax and feeble, and his passions impetuous, he may follow the vicious impulses of his nature, in perfect security from all molestation or interference. If, on the other hand, he zealously devotes his time and abilities to the studies of his profession, the dangers which environ him are scarcely less formidable. His industry has its perils as well as his idleness. He is plunged into a fascinating study, which supposes him a man: and he walks the hospitals, and watches the effects of violence or disease on the intellectual and moral energies of the human being; and he pores over the ruins of the mortal mechanism when life has fled from the fabric; and, at last, his thoughts begin to wander into the regions of adventurous speculation on the mysterious subject of his incessant and inquisitive analysis. And, then, the surmise may, perhaps, occasionally flit across him that thought and sensation are nothing more than functions of the brain; and that what we call the phenomena of mind give *no* decided indications of the presence of a distinct and unseen principle which presides over the whole system of corporeal agency. And if it should chance that this glorious hypothesis should be confirmed to him from the professional chair, the question will probably soon be at rest with him; and man, in his estimation, will be no better than, literally, a thing of dust and ashes. When the heart ceases to beat, and the blood to flow, and the nerves and the brain to perform their office, the intellectual being, he will conclude, must perish likewise.

“Thoughts that wander through eternity” there can be none, for there will be no organ to *elaborate* them; no glandular apparatus for their secretion; or, at all events, no mechanical structure from which they can result: and from this discovery, what inevitably follows, but that all religion is an impudent imposture, and that the volume of revelation never could have established its dominion over the human understanding if the science of anatomy had happily reached its present perfection in an earlier period of the world?

Such, it is greatly to be apprehended, is the glorious liberty wherewith the professions of surgery and medicine frequently make their disciples free! And the chance of this blessed emancipation is the greater, if the previous education of the youthful catechumen has been injudicious or imperfect, and if an impatience for distinction should be a leading ingredient in his character. When crudity, and self-conceit, and boyish ambition, are combined in the same individual, they are almost sure to engender a distaste for all plain and salutary truth, and a morbidly voracious appetite for paradoxes—a perfect *bulimia*, which will bolt camels without an effort. The effect of this unnatural feeling need not be described. It usually terminates in the most pitiable of all atrophy. The worser parts of our nature are gorged and pampered by it; but the soul is, ultimately, starved. There is a famine of that which alone can *nourish it up to the fullness and stature of a perfect man*.

The progress towards this consummation of magnanimous folly is often disastrously accelerated by the difficulty—the impossibility it is sometimes called—which the medical student experiences, of attending divine worship. His professional pursuits, we are told, render it absolutely necessary for him to *be instant, in season, and out of season*, and really leave him no *convenient season*, whatever, for rendering to his Maker that *reasonable service*, which is due to him from every accountable being. In a short time, therefore, the sabbath is consigned by him to utter desecration and oblivion—the voice of prayer and thanksgiving is never heard or uttered by him—the words of eternal life, to which he probably had listened in the days of childhood and docility, perish gradually from his thoughts,—till, at last, he is stripped, peace-meal, of the whole armour of God, and is exposed helpless and defenceless to the assaults of the devil or man. Licentious passion, and still more licentious speculation, will thus be left to do their work unmolested. And in this particular, the danger we are frequently assured, with confident iteration, is positively inevitable. The time of the student, when he is walking the Hospitals, can hardly be said to be at his own disposal. His absence from reli-

gious worship, however calamitous, is, in him, entirely blameless. As he cannot go to church, he must be content to catch what fragments of time he can, for the purpose of devotion, in the retirement of his own chamber; that is, to live in perpetual and imminent danger of the total abandonment of religious principle and habit. All this is gravely asserted;—but all this,—in its full extent, at least—we find it extremely difficult to credit. That the profession of medicine, and the course of education for it, must often make unavoidable inroads on the rest and sanctity of the Sabbath day, is obvious and indisputable; but we can scarcely persuade ourselves that it does not, still, leave many opportunities for the public exercise of religion; and for these opportunities if neglected, a strict account will hereafter, most undoubtedly, be exacted. We are satisfied that there are many youthful students who do not neglect them: and to all who do, we earnestly recommend the example of some eminent physician, (whose name has escaped us,) who, in the very height of his practice, never omitted, either on Sunday or week-day, to enter a church, whenever he had an opportunity, and to offer up his devotions there even though his engagements might allow him no more than a few minutes for the purpose. And who can doubt that these morsels and fractions of time, thus improved and consecrated, were graciously multiplied into an effectual provision for his spiritual wants.

But, whatever may be the case with regard to devotional duty, it can scarcely be supposed that a medical education, steadily pursued, will leave the student much leisure for profound researches into the philosophy of the human understanding. It is probable, however, that he may contrive to pick enough—just enough—of this science, to be exceedingly dangerous—just enough to light him into the mouth of the labyrinth,—leaving him to wander, afterwards, by a deceitful and *malignant* glimmering.* Now we can imagine nothing more desirable, for the purpose of counteracting this evil, than a manual which shall exhibit the elements of metaphysical science, in a brief and comprehensive form, which shall prove that such inquiries lead to no conclusions adverse to the loftiest hopes of man; and which shall, at the same time, bring with it the authority of some eminent and honoured name in the Medical Profession. Now this is, precisely, the good office which, in our estimation, Dr. A. has actually rendered to the disciples of that science of which he is himself so distinguished an ornament. In the very moderate compass of one octavo volume, he has placed within the reach of the medical student, as much

* Sub luce malignâ.

sound metaphysic lore as any human being need give a rush to posses, unless he aspires to very high distinction in that peculiar line of investigation. He has divested his researches of all the frivolous trumpery in which the philosophers of former days were often in the habit of disguising their ambitious poverty. He has shown that, in this, as in other sciences, the grand object is to establish the universality of facts, and that science is successful and triumphant in proportion as she approximates to the accomplishment of this object. And, lastly, what is above all praise, he has exhibited philosophy as the handmaid of religion; and has made it manifest that all the rays of knowledge naturally converge towards that one point in which is situated the throne of eternal and heavenly truth. All this he has done, with a degree of mastery which shows the amplitude of his resources; and, at the same time, with that simplicity and modesty which are among the most engaging attributes of every superior mind. He professes not to offer anything which has a claim to novelty or originality.* His avowed object is merely to direct the inquiries of the younger part of his profession "on a subject of great and general interest," and of peculiar importance to the medical inquirer,—namely, the philosophy of mind; and, without formally assuming the character of a moral or religious lecturer, he has made his work auxiliary to the most sacred and majestic of all sciences. He has made it clear that sound metaphysical philosophy is not a knowledge *which puffeth up*: that on the contrary, its legitimate tendency is to chastise the arrogance of human wisdom, and to conduct us to that wisdom which is from above, and which is pure, and peaceable, and rich in all the fruits which can strengthen up the soul into eternal life.

It is a very curious, though rather humbling reflection, that the noblest improvements in metaphysical philosophy have been just to bring us back nearly to the point from which we originally started. If a plain, soberminded, and tolerably intelligent individual, who never heard of metaphysics, were to be asked what his mind was, he would, undoubtedly reply by avowing his utter ignorance. He would tell us that he was conscious of being able to do certain things which are usually called mental acts,—that he could think and reason—and remember—and muse—and resolve: and if he were asked whether he did these things with his body he would burst into laughter; and if then further interrogated as to the *essence* of that part of our being which performs such acts, as distinguished from the corporeal mechanism,—he would say, that he knew nothing under heaven about the matter. Again,—if asked

* Pref. p. 4.

whether he supposed his mind to be like a blank sheet of paper—or like a camera obscura—or like a mirror—or like a store-house—or like a museum—or like a laboratory—he might probably conclude that the mental powers of his examiner were a little out of order. He would feel that the mind can resemble none of these things, any more than it resembles a flute, to which the perverse ingenuity of man had once been tempted to compare it.* Suppose him to be further asked whether he imagined thought or sensation to be produced by the agency of some fine, subtle, ethereal substance coursing up and down the various capillary channels of his animal frame—or, perchance, by the small and almost infinitesimal vibration of the elementary filaments in his nervous system—his opinion of the sanity of the inquisitor would, probably, not be much improved; and he would answer that he could just about as easily imagine thought or perception to be produced by the rushing of water through an apparatus of conduit-pipes—or by the vibrations of catgut stretched over the bridge of a fiddle. Lastly, if he were requested to state what it is that he perceives by means of the organs of sensation—whether, for instance, when he is devouring with his eyes the desirable apparition of a sirloin of beef, he believes that the viand itself is the object of his perception, or that there is admitted into his sensorium an image or representation of it which gives him notice of its presence?—his astonishment at such a question would, no doubt, be at its height: and it is not altogether improbable that he might begin to feel some little impatience to be fairly and safely rid of the company of his very eccentric interrogator.

Now the revolution which late years have effected in the philosophy of intellect has, fortunately, brought us back into the same unsophisticated condition with this honest man. We know literally nothing respecting the essence of the mind: and most of us are now content to say so. The breath of common sense has blown away the thin and unsubstantial finery wherewith our ignorance had for ages been fain to disguise itself. We pretend to no other certainty than this,—that there is a power or a faculty within us, which is totally distinct from all our bodily energies: and that it performs certain operations wholly and essentially different from those which are the result of material organization. The nature of this occult principle we confess to be impenetrably hidden from us. We know it solely by its acts

* We here allude to the well-known fact, that some commentator on Aristotle—we forget who—finding it asserted in his copy that the soul is *αὐλός* (a flute), contrived to hammer out some dozen of marvellous good reasons in support of this assertion: little suspecting that he had been betrayed into all this foolery by the accidental omission of two dots, and that the proposition before him was, simply, that the mind is *αἰὼς*, immaterial!

and functions. We resort no longer to comparisons or similitudes, with the slightest hope that they will help us to detect the latent essence of this mysterious part of our being. If we have recourse to such modes of speech, it is merely for the humbler purpose of illustrating our views of mental action, and of giving life and spirit to our philosophical statements. We perceive that to speak of the mind as resembling anything but itself, must betray us into absurdities quite as monstrous as the ingenious conversion of it into an obœ or a flageolet. We are further satisfied that the act of perception is carried on without the services of any intermediate agent or representative, whether by the name of idea, or species, or phantasm; that, by the constitution of our nature, our bodily organs are susceptible of various affections from external objects; and that these impressions are, by some scarcely explicable process, followed by a conviction that such objects really exist. We, therefore, are content to dismiss the whole assemblage of forms, and images, and shadows, and filmy apparitions, with which the wise men of old had peopled the intellectual region; and to leave the mind in full possession of its supreme, independent, and unincumbered majesty.

It is exceedingly comfortable to contemplate the blessed results of this process of simplification, and to have an accomplished disciple of the modern school,—like Dr. Abercrombie—declaring to us that “all such speculations are now banished from the science of mind, not only as useless and unprofitable, but as attempts to penetrate into mysteries which are beyond the reach of the human faculties, and, consequently, not the legitimate objects of philosophical enquiry.” But,—merciful powers!—by what a process have we been doomed to reach this *terra firma* of common sense! Think of the period between Plato and Hume; think of the labours undergone by the spirit of man, during that immense interval, in the tread-wheel of metaphysical philosophy; think of its incredible struggles to mount,—its occasional hopes that it was gaining some steps upwards,—and the melancholy certainty, that its footing was perpetually sinking beneath it, and that, with all its weariness and painfulness, it remained absolutely stationary. Well!—heaven be praised!—here we are, at length, upon ground which may afford rest to the sole of our foot, and on which we may plant our steps with something like confidence and comfort. From this ground men were originally frightened by the notable aphorism, that the mind cannot act where it is not present, and that, accordingly, it was indispensable that material substances should send forth certain light and shadowy representatives to attend upon the mind;—or that the mind should descend from her state, and leave her mansion in the body, in order to approach and *feel*

after the objects presented to her examination. This formidable maxim has now lost its terrors. There are certain phænomena, such as those of attraction and repulsion, which seem to imply, even in matter, a power to act beyond the limits of its own locality: and, as for mind, the notion that actual contact, or juxta-position, is necessary to its perceptions, we can now, happily, discern to be little better than downright nonsense. The proximity of an object has literally not the slightest intelligible connection with the mere *mental* apprehension of it. What imaginable help can it afford us, in our endeavours to investigate any act of the mind, to say that some superficial figure—some filmy resemblance—is emitted from the object to be perceived, and brought into the intellectual presence chamber? Either mind is material, or it is not. If it is material, we shall then have nothing but the collision of two very slight, but still material substances; which can no more help us to any comprehension of the phenomenon of perception or of thought, than the collision of two cannon balls. If it is not material, all notion of contact is wholly out of the question; and yet, according to the above maxim, anything short of contact must disable the mind from acting,—since it cannot act where it is not present!

One blessed consequence of the demolition of the ideal theories is, that, with them, must inevitably go down that prodigy of *unreason*, which is so apt to haunt our schools of anatomy and medicine, namely, the doctrine of materialism; an hypothesis which as Dr. Abercrombie observes, is “to be treated not merely as unsound, but as being, in its very nature, opposed to the first principles of philosophical enquiry:”—not merely as faulty “reasoning, but as a monstrous logical absurdity.” What do we mean by matter, but a combination of certain properties? and what do we mean when we speak of mind, but a combination of properties without the slightest resemblance to those of material substance? Beyond these properties we, literally, know nothing of either of these substances. What, then, in the name of common sense, can the materialist have in his head, when he asserts the mind to be material? He cannot intend to assert that mind has the qualities of matter; for between their respective qualities there is not the slightest vestige of an analogy. Is it his meaning then, that the essence of mind is the same with that of matter? If so, he must be understood to maintain the similarity of two things, or two natures, respecting each of which he is in the profoundest ignorance: which is much the same as if a person were to go into a room from which light was wholly excluded, and to pronounce the colour of any two objects in it to be precisely the same. The truth is, that nothing but perplexity and defeat is to be

gained by any attempt to explain or illustrate two classes of phenomena so totally different as those of body and intellect, by any reference from one to the other. We are all sufficiently conscious of the utter hopelessness of any such process when applied to the purpose of explaining such phenomena of matter as may be totally dissimilar from each other. If a person, for instance, *not* afflicted with blindness, were to maintain that the colour of scarlet resembled the sound of a trumpet, we should conclude, at least, that darkness had invaded his intellectual vision; or (to use an illustration of Dr. Abercrombie's) if any one were seriously to assure us that "gravity is a species of fermentation," we should very soon give up all thoughts of continuing the discussion with him! What claim, then, can that man have to a hearing who, gravely, tells us that thought arises from a certain combination of matter and motion,—that sensation, or passion, are nothing but the careering of the animal spirits through "the petty cranks and offices of man"—or that all the intellectual functions may be resolved into certain vibratiuncules performed by the elementary chords or fibres of the human frame? If any one were to argue, or rather to dogmatize, in this fashion, we should have an unquestionable right to turn upon him with the assertion that he had inverted the truth; that, instead of mind being a modification of matter, matter, on the contrary, was nothing more than "the result of a particular manifestation of mind." Our proposition would not be a whit more exceptionable than that of our antagonist—perhaps something less exceptionable; for "of all the truths we know," (says Mr. D. Stewart, as quoted by Dr. Abercrombie) "the existence of mind is the most certain. Even the system of Berkley, concerning the non-existence of matter, is far more conceivable than that nothing but matter exists in the universe."

There can be little doubt that the whole scheme of materialism was originally an expedient for evading the difficulty of imagining any substance which should be destitute either of extension or solidity. Difficult enough it undoubtedly is to figure to ourselves any such substance; so difficult, that the contemplation of the difficulty seems often to have suspended all sense or recollection of the embarrassments connected with the opposite hypothesis. It may be hard to imagine the existence of anything which has no *intelligible* relation to space. But then, on the other hand, what can be more grotesque than the result of an attempt to invest the mental essence with the property of occupying space,—and occupying it, too, like matter, to the exclusion of other substances? If mind can do this, it must, of course, have figure and dimension; and moreover, it must be either solid, or fluid, or gaseous; and if so, what end is there to speculations as to its form and magnitude?

Is it regular or irregular? Is it like a sphere or a cube? Is it a foot long or half an inch? Is it simple or compound; elastic or non-elastic? These, and a multitude of other questions, equally rational and instructive, rush into our thoughts, when once we have been tempted to furnish mind with qualities which seem altogether alien from its nature: and by the contemplation of these enormous extravagancies men have been driven into another hopeful refuge of lies, in which they hope to find secure shelter from all difficulty and objection. They have fled to the hypothesis that mind is—*not* a separate substance, endowed with any of the qualities of matter,—but that it is nothing more than the *result of organization*: or, in other words, that thought is the function of the brain. The function of the brain! Now what can be the meaning of this? Does it mean that thoughts are elaborated by the brain, as bile is secreted by the liver? We can comprehend the assertion that the assimilation of the materials of our diet, is the *function* of the gastric organs: the meaning of the proposition is, that those organs have the power of effecting a certain alteration in the arrangement and combination of those materials. But does there live the man who can persuade himself that the phenomena of thought can be the produce or the result of any analogous mechanical or chemical action of the cerebral organ, or the nervous system connected with it? Is it possible to connect with any process of secretion or fermentation, or internal corpuscular action of any kind, the simplest act of memory, or reason, or imagination?—or that all the miracles of genius and invention have emerged out of the soft white substance inclosed in the human skull, by virtue of some sort of secret agitation among its elements? If any one can imagine this—if any one can satisfy himself that the process of thought is analogous to the process of assimilation or secretion—that one part of our bodily apparatus is for making chyle, and another for making reflections and arguments—if any one can compass all this,—we can only say that his brain must have performed its *function* in a manner which we despair of finding exemplified in our own less vigorous organization! But if the materialist should say that he has no such meaning—that he contemplates no resemblance between the action of the brain and that of the stomach, or the liver—and that his hypothesis amounts to no more than this, that to think is the business and office of the brain—why then we have only to remark, that, according to this view of the matter, the brain is neither more nor less than the substance that thinks—in other words, that the brain is identified with the mind, and that thus we relapse into the coarsest hypothesis of materialism. The mind is visible, and tangible, and ponderous. It can be weighed and measured and divided. It can be sliced

and dissected by the knife of the anatomist: and we are just as familiar with it as we are with the lungs or the kidneys.

What is to be gained by all this, even in point of philosophical simplicity, it is far beyond our sagacity to divine. We may take the mental organ, and we may sliver it, and mince it, and inject it, and treat it with acids, and with alkalis, and expose it to microscopic inspection—and all this without making the slightest approach, that we can discern, towards a solution of the mysteries of thought. Do what we may, still “the undiscoverable secret sleeps” within the recesses of the mechanism which our curiosity is incessantly soliciting. And then, too, we are encountered by the very strange and incommodious circumstance, that a large portion of the apparatus which performs these wondrous functions may be removed or destroyed without any perceptible derangement of those functions. It is a well-known and indisputable fact, that half the brain may be turned to water, or to pus, and that, after the organ has been thus laid waste—(that is, according to the hypothesis of the materialist, after a moiety of the mind has been demolished)—the vigour of the mental action will continue unimpaired. Of all the phenomena in the physiology of man, this perhaps is among the most perplexing, whatever hypothesis may be adopted respecting the philosophy of mind: but to the theory of materialism it appears absolutely fatal. If the brain be merely the organ of communication between mind and the external world, it is assuredly most wonderful, that a partial demolition of that organ should be attended with scarcely any interruption of that intercourse. But, if the brain be, *virtually*, the very intellect itself—if the soft substance enclosed within the skull be the very thing that reasons, and remembers—it is still more unfathomably marvellous that it should be able to suffer frightful mutilation, without losing any thing of its original energy.

But although the speculations of the materialist can do nothing to dissipate the shadows which hang over the subject, there is one inestimable advantage which he sometimes claims for them, and which, perhaps, he may deem sufficient to reconcile them to a whole wilderness of absurdities;—it leads, he hopes and trusts, to the inevitable conclusion, that the mind—the thinking faculty—perishes with the dissolution of body. When the corporeal frame returns to dust, the organs of sense, and the organ of thought, must, of course, fall to pieces—and the consequence must be, that death is the end both of sensation and of intellect. Now, comfortable and animating as this conclusion may be, the materialist can hardly be allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of it. Suppose, for one moment, his hypothesis to be just, and that the brain is a substance

so wonderfully fashioned that mental phenomena are the effect of its vital action: what follows from this concession? Are we to conclude that the dissolution of the body would, necessarily, bring inevitable destruction upon what we call the mind?—that the train of intellectual manifestations could never be renewed, with the consciousness of personal identity among them? If the Omnipotent Artificer could once bring together the materials of the brain, and give them an arrangement and a virtue which should terminate in thought, is it to be imagined that he could not by a single volition, in the twinkling of an eye, renew that adjustment, after apparent destruction, together with all its results and consequences? It is, surely, not impossible that there should be a resuscitation of our external frame with all—and perhaps more than all—its original capacities. And if this is credible, why should it be deemed incredible that the power of thought should then be restored to the *body*, if to the *body* such power ever, in truth, belonged? The doctrines of the school in question may doubtless swarm with prodigies of absurdity, and, so far, are most righteously deserving of reprobation. But it is satisfactory to know that they are by no means *quite* so dangerous as certain of their patrons may secretly hope and desire. They can be fatal to none but those who may have formed a low and most unworthy estimate of the majesty and power of the God-head. Whether mind be distinct from matter, or whether matter be all in all—of one thing we may be perfectly assured—that whatever powers or properties matter may have once possessed, it may, after the longest interruption, be made to possess again. The organization which once produced thought may be utterly dissolved, and the same organization may, after the lapse of ages, be re-produced, in all its original perfection, nay, with improvements beyond the reach of our imagination. And if so, why should this hypothesis—even if it could be established—cause us to sorrow as men that have no hope? or cause us to take our ease, as men that have no fear?

It is, in truth, most devoutly to be wished that the young gentlemen who are walking our hospitals, and attending our dissecting-rooms, could be made familiar with just and salutary notions upon these subjects. The pupil who, knife in hand, sits with the human brain before him, may wrap himself up in the consolatory persuasion that he is taking to pieces the mysterious laboratory of thought, and that no power can ever again put the wonderful mechanism together: and then, away go all the disagreeable thoughts of responsibility and future retribution; and, with them, probably, away go all the salutary principles which can make us acceptable to God, or estimable in the sight of man. It is fit that he should know that he may “despair his

charm;" that he has been listening to some "juggling fiend," if he imagines that this sordid hypothesis can afford him any safe retreat from the thoughts of the final inquisition? Let him remember, that if the medullary sort of substance, which he is piercing or carving with his professional steel, *was* ever endowed with the *inherent* dignity of thinking, the same Power which conferred the gift can also renew it. That combination, of which mental energy was the result, may undoubtedly be re-established hereafter. And if this be so, where is the safety, and where the impunity of the individual, by whom those high endowments shall have been abused and prostituted? If the voice of the Archangel shall, in a single moment, reconstruct the man—his brain will resume whatever powers it possessed previously to its dissolution. And if consciousness and thought be the result, what matters it, for this purpose, whether the organ were itself the thinking substance, or the instrument of some distinct and superior faculty?

Before we dismiss the reveries of this precious school, it may be proper to remind the reader that, respecting the function of the brain in sensation, we know nothing more than this,—that a connection between the brain and the nerves is indispensable to sensation of any kind; and that a due impression of external objects on the nerves is a necessary antecedent to correct and distinct sensation. Thus, in the process of vision, there must, first, be a convergence of the pencils of light to points upon the retina, that is, upon the reticulated continuation of the optic nerve; and, secondly, the optic nerve must be in immediate communication with the brain. These are the facts of the case; and when we have stated these facts, we have stated nearly all that we know relative to the visual faculty. What necessary connection there is between the perception of external objects, and the formation of a small picture on that portion of the interior surface of the eyeball, which is continued to the brain, it is quite impossible for us to discern. To say that the mind contemplates, not the object, but its miniature likeness on the retina, is perfectly gratuitous, and affords nothing like a solution of the difficulty; for it will still remain to be shown how it is that mental perception follows the formation of the picture. We further know that the connection between the brain and nerves is necessary to the phenomena of thought: and we have also seen that it is *not* necessary for this purpose that the substance of the brain should remain whole and uninjured, since those phenomena are not always perceptibly interrupted or affected by the destruction of a larger portion of it: from which it would seem to follow, either that the organ may possibly be double, or that there are certain critical regions in it which, if they remain uninjured, will be

sufficient to preserve the requisite connection with the nervous system, even after some of the less important parts are almost obliterated. All this, however, is quite uncertain; and after all, could furnish no support to the system of the materialists: nay, on the contrary, it seems (as we have remarked above) to be fatally adverse to that system. If thought be the result of the whole organization of the brain, we can no more comprehend how the partial obliteration of that organ can leave the powers of thought unimpaired, than we can imagine how a man could feel at ease in his biliary secretions after the destruction of half his liver!

We are told, indeed, that the powers of the mind are found to sympathize wonderfully with certain affections of the brain and nerves; and the decay of those powers, brought on by disease or infirmity, is often confidently insisted on as demonstrating the entire dependence of thought on organization. To our apprehension it demonstrates no such thing. It does not, necessarily, indicate more than this—that the mind holds intercourse with external things by means of a material apparatus,—that this apparatus is (in some manner beyond the reach of our faculties) necessary to all its manifestations—and that, when the apparatus is disordered, the manifestations are, in some cases, weakened and impaired. The apparent ebbings and flowings of mental energy prove no liability to fluctuation or vicissitude in the mind itself, but only in the instrument which, during its abode in this world, seems more or less necessary to its exertion. It is sometimes affirmed that the decay of mental power, as the body approaches to its dissolution, is evidence, that thought and perception are nothing more than the result of corporeal organization. To this it may very obviously be replied, *first*, that the mental power is often bright, in the midst of bodily decay, and continues so to the very last moment: and, *secondly*, that the mind will apparently sink and fail at the approach of sleep, as well as of death; and that it resumes its activity when the organs have been refreshed and invigorated by repose: and even thus it may be with the sleep of death. By that sleep the mind may be cut off from all communion with this world: and the intercourse may be renewed more vividly hereafter, when she shall be endowed with organs of higher refinement and perfection.

The independent existence of the thinking principle is curiously illustrated by Dr. Abercrombie in that part of his work which relates to the influence of disease on the powers of attention and memory.—(pp. 137—156.) The following cases are produced by him to show, what has been adverted to above, that there may be a dreadful extent of cerebral disease without any sensible derangement of the mental functions.

“ While we thus review the manner in which the manifestations of mind are affected, in certain cases, by diseases and injuries of the brain, it is necessary that we should refer briefly to the remarkable instances in which the brain has been extensively diseased without the phenomena of mind being impaired in any sensible degree. This holds true both in regard to the destruction of each individual part of the brain, and likewise to the extent to which the cerebral mass be diseased or destroyed. In another work, I have mentioned various cases which illustrate this fact in a very striking manner; particularly the case of a lady, in whom one half of the brain was reduced to a mass of disease; but who retained all her faculties to the last, except that there was an imperfection of vision,—and had been enjoying herself at a convivial party in the house of a friend a few hours before her death. A man mentioned by Dr. Ferriar, who died of an affection of the brain, retained all his faculties entire till the very moment of death, which was sudden: on examining his head, the whole right hemisphere, that is one half of his brain, was found destroyed by suppuration. In a similar case recorded by Diemberbroek, half a pound of matter was found in the brain; and in one by Dr. Heberden, there was half a pound of water. A man mentioned by Mr. O'Halloran suffered such an injury of the head, that a large portion of the bone was removed on the right side; and extensive suppuration having taken place, there was discharged at each dressing, through the opening, an immense quantity of matter mixed with large masses of the substance of the brain. This went on for seventeen days, and it appears that nearly one half of the brain was thrown out mixed with the matter; yet the man retained all his intellectual faculties to the very moment of dissolution; and, through the whole course of the disease, his mind maintained uniform tranquillity. These remarkable histories might be greatly multiplied if it were required, but at present it seems only necessary to add the very interesting case related by Mr. Marshall. It is that of a man who died with a pound of water in his brain, after having been long in a state of idiocy, but who, a very short time before death, became perfectly rational.”—pp. 153—155.

What shall we say to facts like these? Most assuredly, as Dr. Abercrombie remarks, “ they give no countenance to the doctrine of materialism, which some have presumptuously deduced from a very partial view of the influence of cerebral disease on the manifestations of mind.” In our estimate of the matter, they are, as we have repeatedly stated, absolutely destructive of that theory.

“ They show us, indeed,” continues Dr. Abercrombie, “ in a very striking manner, the mind holding intercourse with the external world, through the medium of the brain and nervous system; and, by certain diseases of these organs, they show this intercourse impaired or suspended; but they show nothing more. In particular, they warrant nothing in any degree analogous to those partial deductions which form the basis of materialism. On the contrary, they show us the brain injured

and diseased to an extraordinary extent, without the mental functions being affected in any sensible degree. They show us farther, the manifestations of mind obscured for a time, and yet reviving in all their original vigour, almost in the very moment of dissolution. Finally, they exhibit to us the mind, cut off from all intercourse with the external world, recalling its old impressions, even of things long forgotten; and exercising its power on those which had long ceased to exist, in a manner totally irreconcilable with any idea we can form of a material function.”—pp. 155, 156.

In speaking of the origin of our knowledge, Dr. Abercrombie remarks, that although, “in a philosophical point of view it is referable only to perception and reflection, yet, *in point of fact*, the knowledge acquired by every individual through his own perception and reflection, is but a small part of what he possesses; and that much of the knowledge which every one possesses is acquired through the perceptions of other men.” And this leads him to consider testimony as entitled to a place among the sources from which we derive our acquaintance with external things; and engages him in a discussion relative to the grounds on which we receive the accounts of the Scripture miracles. Under this head he takes occasion to expose the noted fallacy of Hume, and to show that “in judging of the credibility of a statement, we are not to be influenced simply by our actual experience of similar events, since this would limit our reception of facts to their accordance with those which we already know. We must extend our views much further than this, and proceed on the knowledge, which we derive from other sources, of the powers and properties of the agent to which the event is ascribed.” (pp. 74, 75.) With regard to the sophism of Hume it is, to us, a matter of unspeakable surprise that it should ever have made the slightest impression on any tolerably well-regulated understanding. It is, altogether, a transparent paralogism. It involves a most barefaced *petitio principii*. It amounts merely to this, that miracles are not to be believed simply because they are miracles; for miracles they would not be, if not contrary to general experience. Whether or not there may exist any intellect so peculiarly constituted as to resist the force of *any* evidence that could be produced to establish the occurrence of supernatural events, we shall not undertake to pronounce. But it seems indisputable, at any rate, that the understanding of Hume himself was not of that class; for, in spite of what he says, respecting the impossibility of authenticating miraculous narratives by any human testimony, he distinctly admits

“that there *is* a certain amount of testimony on which he would re-

ceive a statement widely at variance with his own experience ;—as in the hypothetical case which he proposes,—the total darkness over the whole earth continuing for eight days two hundred years ago. The evidence he requires for it is simply the concurrence of testimonies, namely, that all authors in all languages describe the event ; and that travellers bring accounts from all quarters of traditions of the occurrence being strong and lively among the people. On such evidence, he admits that philosophers might receive it as certain.”—pp. 80, 81.

It is true that, with incredible perverseness, Hume excludes from the benefit even of such overwhelming evidence, the case of all others most irresistibly entitled to it, namely, the establishment of a system of religion. Miracles, he allows, *might* be proved by a vast aggregate of testimony, *provided always* they are *not* alleged for the purpose of introducing a scheme of religious faith and practice. If the course of nature is ever to be violated,—says the voice of nearly all the rest of mankind,—it surely must be when the Deity has beneficial and momentous communications to make to his creatures. After all, therefore, it appears that the only legitimate question is, as to the *amount* of testimony which can justly entitle a narrative of preternatural occurrences to confident reception. What then becomes of the assertion that a miracle cannot be established by any human testimony whatever ? And what right can Hume or any other philosopher have to impeach the soundness of an understanding which should be content with a less imposing aggregate of testimony than he has been pleased to require for his own satisfaction ? If the matter is reducible merely to a comparison of probabilities, what sceptic shall dare to laugh at the believers in the miracles of Christianity ? The miracles recorded in the Gospel may, it is true, be improbable enough : but what can exceed the improbability that twelve men should go about the world, with a lie in their right hand, and asserting that these wonders were actually performed. Would not the *unanimity* of their testimony to such *facts*, delivered, as it was, in defiance of the terrors of the whole world, be, itself, of all miraculous events the most astounding, if that testimony were false ? And does not the measure of evidence appear, as it were, to be *pressed down, and running over*, when we recollect, that the Scriptural accounts are met by no *adverse* testimony ? That such is the fact is quite notorious. The performance of the Christian miracles was never once questioned in primitive times. Their pressure was got rid of, indeed, by the allegation that they were the work of sorcery,—a solution of the difficulty very much according to the fashion of those days :—but still the *negative* evidence remains, that the supernatural occurrences in question were universally admitted to have taken place.

In considering this subject, Dr. Abercrombie makes a very just distinction between events that are simply marvellous and those which are miraculous and preternatural; between facts that are explicable by the help of familiar analogies, and facts which appear to be beyond the reach and application of any known principle. In the former case a certain amount of testimony may be sufficient to overcome the sense of strangeness; in the latter, scarcely any testimony will be sufficient, unless it be aided by considerations which contain the elements of high moral probability. An ignorant tropical semi-barbarian, for instance, is told by an European that water may become solid enough to bear a loaded waggon; and he immediately sets down the narrator for an impudent liar. The same tale is told to a comparatively enlightened and considerate inhabitant of the same regions; and he too, perhaps, will hesitate for some time, until his informant has assured him that what he has related is no strange or preternatural thing in more northern countries; that what appears marvellous under the line, is nothing more than the ordinary course of nature nearer to the pole; and that the hardening of liquids by cold is in truth nothing more miraculous than the liquefaction of wax or the fusion of gold by heat. But now let us suppose the stranger to give a different turn to his story, and to assert that a king of his country, being once hard pressed by his enemies, had called upon his God for deliverance,—that his prayers were heard, and that a deep river, which he had to cross, became suddenly as hard as granite, and thus afforded a safe and expeditious retreat for his broken armies,—what reception would this statement be likely to meet with? The ignorant savage, perchance, might be able to swallow it more easily than the other; for untutored minds, though proof against philosophy, are very susceptible of superstition. The better informed person, however, would doubtless be inclined to pause. That nature may exhibit different phenomena in different climates, he might be induced to believe; but that the course of nature and of Providence should suddenly be altered, whether for the relief of a peasant or an emperor, might well appear too astounding for almost any imaginable testimony to establish. If, however, the inquirer could be satisfied by his informant that some grand moral purpose was to be ultimately answered by this interposition of divine power; if, for instance, he were assured that the miracle was connected with some gracious design for the benefit and improvement of the human race,—and if, moreover, the testimony in support of it were ample, both in amount and credibility,—in that case, peremptorily to withhold belief would surely not be the act of wise caution; it would be the very bigotry of scepticism. Again, let us imagine (with Dr. Aber-

crombie and Mr. Erskine), the appearance of a philosopher in ancient Sicily, with the account of the steam engine, such as it now exists in its plenitude of might. The courtiers of Syracuse would listen, perhaps, with an incredulous stare. Not so Archimedes, if he were present at the recital. His familiarity with many of the properties and powers of the elements would enable him to acquiesce in the truth of the account, upon any fair and competent testimony. But what if the narrator had asserted that the Deity, in his especial favour to his native land, had endowed the vapour with powers before unknown; or that an angel had been sent from heaven to aid and direct the ingenuity of man, in giving to the natural force of steam so prodigious an application; both courtiers and philosophers would then, no doubt, begin to think that the stranger was making a very uncivil experiment upon their patience and penetration: and it would probably be vain for him to attempt the removal of that impression, unless he could succeed in showing, to their satisfaction, that Divine Providence had some special and momentous objects in view, in miraculously bestowing upon the world so gigantic a magazine of strength.

In cases like this, however, it has been asserted that a vicious circle is necessarily involved—that the moral considerations are produced to support the credibility of the narrative, and that the miracle is alleged to show the moral importance of the occasion upon which it was wrought. But this is an iniquitous and shallow misrepresentation of the case. There is no circulating argument here. The supernatural interposition—the importance and urgency of the cause for which it is exhibited—and the glorious and blessed character of the truths to be established by it—these form, together, a compound evidence the most powerful, which, on such a subject, can well be offered to the human mind—a triple chord abundantly strong enough to fix us firmly to the anchorage of our hope, and to enable us to defy the wind and the tempest. On this subject, however, we have already expressed ourselves so much at length in a former number of this Journal,* that it would be scarcely pardonable to plunge again into the discussion here. We shall, therefore, only express our gratification in finding our views confirmed by so able an investigator as Dr. Abercrombie: and we do hope that the youthful and free-thinking anatomists will be prevailed upon to do *themselves* the justice of consulting the statements of their teacher, and will apply them to the purpose of rectifying the crudity of their own conceptions on a subject of such infinite importance.

* In our examination of Mr. Penrose's Treatise on the Christian Miracles, vol. i. p. 72, Jan. 1827.

We cannot undertake to follow Dr. Abercrombie throughout his classification of the various modes in which the thinking principle exerts itself, and which he arranges under the heads of Memory, Abstraction, Imagination, and Reason or Judgment. Here, however, as in every part of his work, he exhibits the modesty and candour of a genuine philosopher. He at once tosses overboard the useless question whether the various mental acts of which all men are conscious, are so many different manifestations of the one simple cogitative essence—or whether they are performed, each by some distinct faculty of the soul—just as there is a distinct apparatus for the performance of various functions of the body; whether, for instance, the mind remembers, and abstracts, by a direct and immediate application of its energies—or whether it has distinct capacities for each operation; whether it has a remembering faculty, and an abstracting faculty, in a similar sense to that in which we know that the body has one organ for hearing and another for seeing. To all who have imbibed the genuine spirit of the inductive philosophy, speculations of this nature must appear to be little better than a wanton waste of time and sagacity. We *are* not, most certainly,—and, probably, we never *shall be*,—in a condition to take a single step, with confidence and steadiness, in these bewildering regions of inquiry; and, after all, we are unable to divine what would be the reward of the most successful adventure in such a line of metaphysical discovery. Our object is to examine, and to ascertain, what the mind is able to perform, rather than to discover by what manner of instrumentality its operation may be carried on. If, indeed, we were compelled to adopt some one theory on this subject, we should feel much disposed to lean towards the plainer hypothesis; namely, that the various mental acts are only different manifestations of one simple uncompounded substance. All the operations of mind appear to us, when closely considered, to be so many modifications of thought, rather than the results of the exercise of separate faculties. In speaking of the bodily powers, it would seem strange enough to say that man has a walking faculty, and a climbing faculty, and a dancing faculty, and a pugilistic faculty. A certain aptitude for these various performances he undoubtedly possesses; but then, all such exertions are to be considered as varied exhibitions of muscular energy, not as the effects of certain functions or capacities, essentially distinct from each other. In the same manner the mind, for any thing that we know, may be endowed with something *analogous* to the muscular apparatus of the body; with a power to develope and put forth her energies of thought in a great variety of forms and directions, to which we give the names of remembering, and abstracting, and imagining.

In speaking of these manifestations we may, indeed, find it convenient to use expressions which seem to ascribe them each to some appropriate and separate function. Thus when a man is able to remember accurately and copiously, we may say that his memory is capacious and exact: and thus it is that words, which originally were only employed for our convenience, as servants and ministers, come, in time, to usurp, as it were, the province of masters and dictators,—to give the tone and the direction to our philosophy—and to invest with a substantial and almost independent character each diversity of operation by which the thinking principle displays itself. Language, it has been truly said, is not only the means by which thought is expressed, but it is itself an instrument of thought; and grievously has it often abused the power and influence which belongs to it in that capacity. It is this abuse which, in a great measure, has condemned the human intellect to ages of hopeless and unprofitable drudgery; and strained the mental vision to the very verge of blindness, by incredible tasks of microscopic analysis and dissection. If, for instance, it had so happened that men had always been content to speak of the mind as remembering past events, there probably might have been no question whether or not it accomplished this by the instrumentality of some separate function. But we have given to this mental exertion a distinct and appropriate name—we have called it *memory*;—and having once given it a name, a sort of personification naturally followed; till, instead of using a mere appellation, we fancied ourselves dealing with some distinct mental faculty. The same has been the case with the various other acts of thought; and hence the labyrinth of investigation through which men have wandered in pursuit of these fleeting forms of intellectual power. The day of this baffling and laborious nugacity, as Dr. Abercrombie comfortably reminds us, is now pretty well gone by. We are, in fact, utterly ignorant whether the mind has different powers and functions, or whether it merely puts forth its own simple energies in various modes: and we are, happily, no longer ashamed to acknowledge our ignorance.

The statements of Dr. Abercrombie on the subject of Abstraction are brief but admirably clear—and a very curious subject undoubtedly it is: a subject, which has furnished one of the most astounding, and, we might almost add, one of the most sanguinary chapters, in the annals of the human race! We speak, in common and familiar parlance, of some object generally—of a jackass for instance—without reference to any particular and individual quadruped of that species. Now what mortal could, *a priori*, have imagined it possible, that men should hate, and persecute, and massacre, and torment each other, because they could not all

agree upon the following question,—namely, whether, in so speaking, they merely resorted to a compendious mode of expression, in order to avoid circuitous prolixity of language; or whether their thoughts were fixed on some mysterious, abstract, aboriginal jackass, distinct from every jackass in existence, but, itself, the grand exemplar, and eternal archetype of all the jackasses that ever were created? * And yet it is even so. The above is nothing more than a statement of the point at issue between the schools of the Nominalists and the Realists—a controversy which has often

* The mention of this subject forcibly recalls to our recollection the juvenile iambics of Milton, *de Ideâ Platonica quemadmodum intellexit Aristoteles*. They afford so wonderful an instance of the power of genius in giving splendour and interest to the severest abstractions of philosophy, that the reader will probably not be displeased to have his memory refreshed by the insertion of the lines here :—

Dicite sacrorum præsides nemorum Deæ,
 Tuque O noveni perbeata Numinis,
 Memoria, mater; quæque in immenso procul
 Antro recumbis, otiosa Æternitas,
 Monumenta servans, et ratas leges Jovis,
 Cælique fastos, atque ephemeridas Deûm;
 Quis ille primus, cujus ex imagine
 Natura solers finxit humanum genus,
 Æternus, incorruptus, æquævus polo,
 Unusque et universus, exemplar Dei?
 Non ille, Palladis gemellus innubæ,
 Interna proles insidet menti Jovis;
 Sed, quamlibet natura sit communior,
 Tamen seorsus exstat, ad morem unius,
 Et, mira, certo stringitur spatio loci:
 Seu, sempiternus ille siderum comes,
 Cæli pererrat ordines decemplicis,
 Citimumve terris incolit lunæ globum;
 Sive inter animas, corpus adituras, sedens
 Obliviosas torpet ad Lethes aquas;
 Sive in remotâ fortè terrarum plagâ
 Incedit ingens hominis archetypus Gigas,
 Et Diis tremendus erigit celsum caput
 Atlante major portitore siderum.
 Non, cui profundum cæcitas lumen dedit
 Dirceus augur vidit hunc alto sinu;
 Non hunc, silenti nocte, Pleiones nepos
 Vatum sagaci præpes ostendit choro;
 Non hunc sacerdos novit Assyrius, licet
 Longos vetusti commemoret atavos Nini,
 Priscumque Belon, inclytumque Osiridem;
 Non ille, trino gloriosus nomine,
 Ter magnus Hermes, ut sit arcani sciens,
 Talem reliquit Isidis cultoribus.
 At tu, perenne ruris Academi decus,
 (Hæc monstra si tu primus induxti scholis,)
 Jam jam Poetas, urbis exules tuæ
 Revocabis, ipse fabulator maximus,
 Aut, institutor ipse, migrabis foras!

involved Europe in bloodshed and confusion: as we find compendiously stated in the following paragraph:

“The controversies of these sects we now consider as little more than a matter of historical curiosity; but, for several centuries, they divided the learned of Europe, and were often carried on with an asperity amounting to actual persecution. ‘The Nominalists,’ says Mosheim, ‘procured the death of John Huss, who was a Realist, and in their letter to Lewis, king of France, do not pretend to deny that he fell a victim to the resentment of their sect. The Realists, on the other hand, obtained in the year 1479, the condemnation of John de Wesalia, who was attached to the party of the Nominalists. These contending sects carried their fury so far as to charge each other with the sin against the Holy Ghost.’ ‘The dispute,’ says Mr. Stewart, ‘was carried on with great warmth in the universities of France, Germany, and England, more particularly in the two former countries, where the sovereigns were led by some political views to interest themselves deeply in the contest, and even to employ the civil power in support of their favourite opinions. The emperor Lewis, of Bavaria, in return for the assistance which, in his disputes with the Pope, Occam had given him by his writings, sided with the Nominalists; Lewis the Eleventh of France, on the other hand, attached himself to the Realists, and made their antagonists the objects of a cruel persecution.’”—p. 159, 160.

The question, as Dr. Abercrombie remarks, is one of no earthly importance; and, when disentangled from its connexion with the ancient ideal hypothesis, appears to be one of no sort of difficulty. For example—we say that the three angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. And, since this is asserted, not of any particular triangle, there must, according to the ideal theory, be some abstract triangle upon which the mind is fixed when this proposition is assumed: and, if so, that triangle must be neither right-angled, nor obtuse-angled, nor scalene; for, if it were any one of these, the proposition would not be general! Every one now sees his way clearly out of all this prodigious absurdity. We all perceive that the above is nothing more than a compendious enunciation of this truth,—that if we were to draw triangles, of any sort, to all eternity, we never should be able to construct one to which the property in question would not belong.

We have adverted above to the power which language often usurps, to direct and govern the process of our thoughts and speculations; and the mention of it leads us to remark another artifice by which the same faculty has been often found to abuse the most cautious thinkers. We frequently observe some mental phenomenon which is very difficult of explanation. We, nevertheless, make the attempt; and the result, sometimes, is, that we succeed in framing a more involved and artificial statement of the fact; and then, perchance, we seriously believe that we have given

a satisfactory exposition of it, instead of merely expressing it in a greater volume of phraseology. A notable instance of this is given by Dr. Abercrombie in p. 114. He is there speaking of local associations, and adverting to the freshness and intensity of emotion produced by the accidental discovery of some trifling memorial, strongly associated with a lost and lamented object of affection; and this feeling, he observes, is peculiarly strong, if the memorial has been long lost sight of, and suddenly brought to our notice. This phenomenon some philosophers have thought it incumbent upon them to explain; and their solution is, that, in such cases, actual perception mixes itself up with mental emotion, and gives to it a feeling of reality, and produces, for the time, a kind of belief of the existence of the object of it. All this, says Dr. Abercrombie, is sufficiently plausible: but, after all, what does it amount to, but an expression of the fact itself in other language? The *plain* statement of that fact is, that the sight of the memorial recalls to memory the lamented object, and produces a painful intensity of feeling; the *philosophical* account of it is, that the perception of the memorial mingles itself with the emotion produced, and gives it such vividness and strength, as almost to place that object before us. And what advances have we made, by virtue of this *explanation*, towards a real solution of the phenomenon in question? What substantial difference is there between the plain statement and the scientific analysis of the matter? And yet we do potently suspect, that, if metaphysical philosophy were to be stripped of the honours claimed for all such *expositions*, the process would effect a most grievous reduction of its dignity and amplitude.

If there be any one department of his subject which Dr. Abercrombie has treated with more conspicuous ability than another, it is that which relates to the tendency of the human mind to confide in the uniformity of nature. The inquiry is one of profound interest and vast importance, closely connected as it is with mighty questions which, in all ages, have agitated, and baffled, the curiosity of man. That uniformity of relations, which is exhibited in the agencies and operations of the material world, is capable of being ascertained with comparative facility, and is, on the whole, too obvious to leave our reliance upon it open to much disturbance or molestation. When, however, our researches are extended to the mental and the moral world, the uncertainty begins to thicken, and is often such as to occasion severe perplexity and distress. The uniformity in the succession of phenomena is, there, liable to great and embarrassing interruptions. Irregularities are constantly occurring which seem stubbornly to resist all attempts to bring them within the range of any general principle. The line

of connexion between any given causes and their effects becomes most awfully obscure; and, in a multitude of cases, may be intersected, as it were, by the march of various other causes, of which it may be extremely difficult to trace the direction, or to estimate the power. In his speculations on this class of topics, Dr. Abercrombie strongly inclines to the belief, that there are, nevertheless, certain moral causes,—that is, certain truths and motives,—which have a *tendency* to influence human volition, and human conduct, with a *uniformity* similar to that which is constantly exemplified by the operation of physical agents upon each other. The action of these moral causes, it may, indeed, be said, is liable to frequent and perplexing failures; but so, we are reminded, is the action of physical causes also. Chemical substances, for example, have certain inherent tendencies to affect each other; but these tendencies will be defeated, or greatly weakened, unless their operation takes place under circumstances requisite for their full activity and efficacy. The substances must be brought into contact; they must be at a particular temperature: and they must further be in the proper state of concentration, or dilution. In a manner analogous to this, Dr. Abercrombie contends, moral motives have a *tendency* to act upon the human will; and this tendency is, in its own nature, uniform and invariable. But then, the mind to be acted upon, may be placed in circumstances adverse, and even fatal, to the production of any effect. For want of proper information and discipline, the truth may not be brought into close collision with the understanding,—or its influence may be partially lost and wasted, in consequence of the languor and feebleness of the mental powers—of the defect of vigorous and steady application to the subject,—and, above all, of the want of a healthy condition of mind,—a proper state of *moral temperature*. Whenever circumstances are properly combined, the action of an acid on an alkali is absolutely certain;—and, in a similar manner, Dr. Abercrombie conceives, we might infallibly predict the effect of a given motive upon the mind of man, provided we could once be assured, that nothing would intervene to disturb, or intercept, its natural energy and influence. The failure both of physical and of moral experiments, is ascribed by him to the same cause, namely, the absence of certain conditions, which, in the existing constitution of things, may be required to give due play to the natural tendencies and properties of the agents respectively employed.

This view of the matter is supported by Dr. Abercrombie with consummate dexterity and skill; and his statements exhibit a beautiful example of the felicity with which one science may be employed to illuminate another. He would, himself, however.

we doubt not, be the first to confess, that this exposition of the matter, able and ingenious as it is, fails, like all others that have ever yet been offered, to dispose of all the difficulties involved in this stubborn question. When chemical experiments do not succeed, the manipulator alone incurs the blame; since it was his want of skill or care which failed to place his materials in the needful predicaments, as to quality, concentration, and temperature. But when the influences of moral causes is resisted, a large portion of the guilt attaches, generally, to the moral subject who is proof against their power. And here it is that we begin to be sorely and desperately puzzled. "There is guilt in ignorance," says Dr. Abercrombie, "when knowledge was within his reach; there is guilt in heedless inattention, when truths and motives of the highest interest demanded his consideration; there is guilt in that corruption of the moral feelings which impedes the action of moral causes; because this has originated, mainly, in a course of vicious desires, and vicious conduct, by which the mind familiarized with vice has gradually lost sight of its malignity." All this undoubtedly is so; and all this is told us by that unerring oracle within, which never ceases to admonish us that we are free and responsible agents. But then, here lies the difficulty;—in order that moral causes may not be frustrated in their operation on our will, the mind must be in a proper state for the due reception of their influences: into this state, however, the mind cannot be brought without a previous course of moral discipline and education; and of this previous discipline almost every step may be said to involve the exercise of the will: an act of volition, or a series of such acts, is necessary to bring the man to the requisite moral temperature, and to fix his attention on the motives presented to him: so that we still have an antecedent chain of phenomena to account for, similar to those which we are endeavouring to explain. True it is, as stated by Dr. Abercrombie, "that when a particular desire was first present to the mind of the individual, he had the power to act with a view to its accomplishment; or he had the power to abstain from acting; and to direct his attention more fully to the motives calculated to guide his determination." But what is the application of this power but an exercise of the will? and what, it may still be asked, is the origin of the volition to act or to forbear? The case, therefore, stands thus: Motives will act conformably to their tendencies when the mental condition is right: but this rectitude of mind has itself been produced by precedent acts of the will, themselves the effect of previous motives; these motives, again, must have required a healthy moral state for their effective operation; and that state must have been the result of still earlier volitions. And

thus the series keeps running back, until it is lost in the obscurity of childhood or of infancy, and hides itself from all human curiosity and penetration.

It is this perplexity, perhaps, which has driven moralists and divines to seek refuge in that hypothesis which invests the human will with a self-determining power. This notion Dr. Abercrombie most decidedly rejects, as absolutely incomprehensible. A self-determining power of the will, he maintains to be nothing better than a combination of words without meaning: and it must be confessed that this hypothesis imposes upon its advocates a task of no ordinary difficulty—that of discriminating between an act of self-determination, and an act of volition—"for the will is not distinct from the being who wills; and to speak of an individual as determining his will, is only saying, in other words, that he wills. He wills some act for some reason which is known"—(not always very clearly known)—"to himself. If communicated to another, the reason might not appear a very satisfactory one, but still it is, *to him*, the reason which induced him to will the act; and this appears to be all that we can make of the subject." This account of the matter may, in many instances, be satisfactory enough. But the plague is, that cases are constantly occurring, in which the actions and volitions of the man seem so utterly at variance with *any* intelligible motives, that we are almost forced to the expedient of considering the exercise of the will as an ultimate fact, incapable of explanation. But we are here setting our foot "within the mazes of an inextricable subject," and it is time for us to retire. We shall, accordingly, content ourselves with saying, in the first place, that with respect to what is called the freedom of the human will, and the origin of our volitions, it is, perhaps, impossible to construct any theory which may not be shown to labour under some appalling infirmity; and secondly, that nothing can well be more useless and nugatory than the attempt. Our very nature, in truth, has saved us the necessity of any such discussion. We know, as well as we know our existence, that we are free and moral agents; and this is a conviction which no adverse circumstances can ever wholly obliterate. We may indeed be unable to frame any hypothesis upon the subject which will not be liable to be smitten, by a subtle adversary, *between the joints of the harness*. We may be wearied and puzzled almost out of our senses by the doubtful disputations which have been spun by the worms and spiders of the schools. But what then?—there is one thing which no metaphysical lore can ever perplex—and that is, the dictate of the monitor within us, which tells us, (not, indeed, *how* it is that our volitions originate, but) that they originate in some way or other

entirely compatible with our character as responsible and moral beings.

We cannot quit this subject without expressing our entire agreement with Dr. Abercrombie in his remark, that the term Necessity, as applied to moral phenomena, is neither fortunate nor philosophical; and that something might be gained, in conducting the inquiry, if, for Necessity, we were to substitute Uniformity. Necessity is a dire and forbidding sort of power;

Clavos trabales, et cuneos manu
Gestans ahená :

and metaphysicians or divines may conceive, naturally enough, that she, and her apparatus of adamant, have no business within the domains of intellectual and moral philosophy. The regions of exact and severe science form her legitimate province; and there she may rightfully be allowed to ply her wedges, and her hammer, and her iron bolts, in building up the imperishable fabric of mathematical truth. But she makes wild and smashing work of it, when she brings her ponderous implements into a world whose materials are too delicate for her coarse and rugged operations. Let her, therefore, by all means, be banished from this department of labour. She has, in truth, but a very questionable right, even in the realms of physical science; for of physical relations we know just nothing except their uniformity. We are hardly in a condition to pronounce that the connexion between causes and effects is, in the rigorous and proper sense of the word, necessary; but, much less can we venture to affirm that there is any such strictly necessary connexion between motives and volitions or actions. The very utmost that can rationally be contended for is, that the *tendencies* of certain moral causes are uniform; and it may be reasonably surmised that, if this had always been the language of philosophy, the controversies respecting what is now called Moral Liberty and Necessity would never have spread out into such a vast and worse than Hercynian wilderness.

The present work having been compiled principally with a view to the benefit of Medical Students, is enlivened by the introduction of a variety of instructive and entertaining matter, more peculiarly connected with their professional researches and pursuits. The effect of disease on several of the mental faculties, and the various classes of mental disturbance and alienation, are carefully considered, and illustrated by many interesting examples. Our readers, we are confident, will not be displeased by the insertion of one or two of these very curious cases. In one of

them we have a very curious instance of the partial suspension of memory, in consequence of violence inflicted on the skull by a fall. The patient, who was a surgeon, had been deprived of sense by the accident; on his recovery, he gave the most intelligent directions as to the mode of treatment which his injuries required; but, on hearing the suggestion, that it would be proper to prepare his wife and family for his reception, he appeared to have lost all recollection of being in possession of those blessings. Now if anything in the world could make a man *remember*, these, one would imagine, are the things of all others, to do it: and yet, these were precisely the things which the violence of the blow shook out of his mind. However, the oblivion, in the present instance was, fortunately, not permanent: the sufferer gradually awakened to a sense of his happiness and duty.

In another case we find exemplified a very singular phenomenon of dreaming, from which it would appear that time, in certain instances, is an element almost unnecessary to the illusion.

"A gentleman dreamt that he had enlisted as a soldier, joined his regiment, deserted, was apprehended, carried back, tried, condemned to be shot, and at last led out for execution. After all the usual preparations, a gun was fired; he awoke with the report, and found that a noise in an adjoining room had both produced the dream and awaked him. The same want of the notion of time is observed in dreams from other causes. Dr. Gregory mentions a gentleman, who, after sleeping in a damp place, was for a long time liable to a feeling of suffocation whenever he slept in a lying posture; and this was always accompanied by a dream of a skeleton which grasped him violently by the throat. He could sleep in a sitting posture without any uneasy feeling; and, after trying various expedients, he at last had a sentinel placed beside him, with orders to awake him whenever he sunk down. On one occasion, he was attacked by the skeleton and a severe and long struggle ensued before he awoke. On finding fault with his attendant for allowing him to lie so long in such a state of suffering, he was assured that he had not lain an instant, but had been awakened the moment he began to sink. The gentleman after a considerable time recovered from the affection."—p. 273, 274.

Really after this, it will almost become us to lay aside our scepticism with regard to the journey of Mahomet to heaven, (which began at the moment his pitcher was overturned, and concluded before all the water had run out,) or the case, (which we recollect to have read of somewhere,) of a man who plunged his head into a pail of water, kept it there for *a few seconds*—and emerged with a mind enriched by a complicated visionary episode in his life, extending over a period of *many years*, during which he became a husband, a father, a widower, and, we believe, a grandfather.

Under the head of Somnambulism, some curious phenomena are mentioned, illustrative of the strange manner in which old associations are recalled into the mind, during affections of this sort, and, also, of the temporary power which such affections appear sometimes to confer on the patient of expressing himself distinctly on subjects with which he had, before, shown but an imperfect acquaintance :

“ In some of the French cases of epidemic ‘ extase,’ this has been magnified into speaking unknown languages, predicting future events, and describing occurrences of which the persons could not have possessed any knowledge. The stories seem in some cases to resolve themselves merely into embellishment of what really occurred, but in others there can be no doubt of connivance and imposture. Some facts, however, appear to be authentic, and are sufficiently remarkable. Two females mentioned by Bertrand, expressed themselves during the paroxysm very distinctly in Latin. They afterwards admitted that they had some acquaintance with the language, though it was imperfect. An ignorant servant girl, mentioned by Dr. Dewar, during paroxysms of this kind, showed an astonishing knowledge of geography and astronomy ; and expressed herself, in her own language, in a manner which, though often ludicrous, showed an understanding of the subject. The alterations of the seasons, for example, she explained by saying, that the earth was set *a-gee*. It was afterwards discovered that her notions on these subjects had been derived from overhearing a tutor giving instructions to the young people of the family. A woman who was, some time ago, in the infirmary of Edinburgh, on account of an affection of this kind, during the paroxysms mimicked the manner of the physicians, and repeated correctly some of their prescriptions in the Latin language.”—p. 296, 297.

We should have been better satisfied with the two former of the above cases, if they had been presented to us in language of greater caution. The first of the two, as stated by Bertrand, leaves us under the impression that two persons who knew very little of Latin when they were well, and who never knew it otherwise than imperfectly, nevertheless spoke it very accurately when they were delirious, a fact which, if true, would scarcely be less miraculous than the gift of tongues. The truth, probably, was, that these females were heard to utter a language not their own, which the physician could very distinctly make out to be Latin. The instance, even then, will be sufficiently curious ; but will not overleap the limits of credibility. The case was, doubtless, similar with regard to the astronomical servant wench. Her stores of science may have been very astonishing to those who heard her, and who can have expected to hear nothing of the kind issue from her lips ; but it is a pity that the affair should be so related as to imply that the paroxysm had exalted her scraps and fragments into anything like full and systematic knowledge.

But the most curious and perplexing of all the phenomena, arising out of this species of affection, is that which has sometimes been called a state of double consciousness. It appears that persons who are thus affected, are able to remember circumstances which occurred in a former attack, though all remembrance of the same circumstances was lost during the interval of health and soundness.

“ This as well as various other phenomena connected with the affection, is strikingly illustrated in a case described by Dr. Dyce, of Aberdeen, in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions*. The patient was a servant girl, and the affection began with fits of somnolency, which came upon her suddenly during the day, and from which she could, at first be roused by shaking, or by being taken out into the open air. She soon began to talk a great deal during the attacks, regarding things which seemed to be passing before her as a dream ; and she was not, at this time, sensible of any thing that was said to her. On one occasion, she repeated distinctly the baptismal service of the Church of England, and concluded with an extemporary prayer. In her subsequent paroxysms she began to understand what was said to her, and to answer with a considerable degree of consistency, though the answers were generally to a certain degree influenced by her hallucinations. She also became capable of following her usual employments during the paroxysm ; at one time she laid out the table correctly for breakfast, and repeatedly dressed herself and the children of the family, her eyes remaining shut the whole time. The remarkable circumstance was now discovered, that, during the paroxysm, she had a distinct recollection of what took place in former paroxysms, though she had no remembrance of it during the intervals. At one time, she was taken to church while under the attack, and there behaved with propriety, evidently attending to the preacher ; and she was at one time so much affected as to shed tears. In the interval, she had no recollection of having been at church ; but, in the next paroxysm, she gave a most distinct account of the sermon, and mentioned particularly the part of it by which she had been so much affected.

“ This woman described the paroxysm as coming on with a cloudiness before her eyes, and a noise in the head. During the attack, her eyelids were generally half-shut ; her eyes sometimes resembled those of a person affected with amaurosis, that is, with a dilated and insensible state of the pupil, but sometimes they were quite natural. She had a dull vacant look, but, when excited, knew what was said to her, though she often mistook the person who was speaking ; and it was observed, that she seemed to discern objects best which were faintly illuminated. The paroxysm generally continued about an hour, but she could often be roused out of them ; she then yawned and stretched herself, like a person awaking out of sleep, and instantly knew those about her. At one time, during the attack, she read distinctly a portion of a book which was presented to her ; and she often sung, both sacred and common pieces, incomparably better, Dr. Dyce affirms, than she could do in

the waking state. The affection continued to recur for about six months, and ceased when a particular change took place in her constitution.

“Another very remarkable modification of this affection is referred to by Mr Combe, as described by Major Elliot, Professor of Mathematics in the United States’ Military Academy at West Point. The patient was a young lady of cultivated mind, and the affection began with an attack of somnolency, which was protracted several hours beyond the usual time. When she came out of it, she was found to have lost every kind of acquired knowledge. She immediately began to apply herself to the first elements of education, and was making considerable progress, when, after several months, she was seized with a second fit of somnolency. She was now at once restored to all the knowledge which she possessed before the first attack, but without the least recollection of any thing that had taken place during the interval. After another interval, she had a third attack of somnolency, which left her in the same state as after the first. In this manner, she suffered these alternate conditions for a period of four years, with the very remarkable circumstance,—that, during the one state she retained all her original knowledge, but, during the other, that only which she had acquired since the first attack. During the healthy interval, for example, she was remarkable for the beauty of her penmanship, but, during the paroxysm, wrote a poor awkward hand. Persons introduced to her during the paroxysm, she recognised only in a subsequent paroxysm, but not in the interval; and persons whom she had seen for the first time during the healthy interval, she did not recognise during the attack.

“Of the remarkable condition of the mental faculties exemplified in these cases, it is impossible to give any explanation. Something very analogous to it occurs in other affections, though in a smaller degree. Dr. Pritchard mentions a lady who was liable to sudden attacks of delirium, which, after continuing for various periods, went off as suddenly, leaving her at once perfectly rational. The attack was often so sudden, that it commenced while she was engaged in interesting conversation; and, on such occasions, it happened, that, on her recovery from the state of delirium, she instantly recurred to the conversation she had been engaged in at the time of the attack, though she had never referred to it during the continuance of the affection. To such a degree was this carried, that she would even complete an unfinished sentence. During the subsequent paroxysm again, she would pursue the train of ideas which had occupied her mind in the former. Mr. Combe also mentions a porter, who, in a state of intoxication, left a parcel at a wrong house, and when sober, could not recollect what he had done with it. But the next time he got drunk, he recollected where he had left it, and went and recovered it.”—pp. 298—302.

What can be more bewildering and inexplicable than cases such as these? Two different conditions of mental existence in the same person! A sober consciousness, and a drunken consciousness,—a sound consciousness, and a delirious consciousness,—each broken as it were, into fragments which exactly fit one

another, and, in such a manner, that the one series shall suffer no irremediable disruption by the interpolation, if we may so term it, of portions of the other series! Surely the contemplation of such things ought to make us very humble and very cautious in venturing on theories relative to the operations and the properties of the mysterious guest within us; and to satisfy us that in metaphysics, as well as in geology, he is, at present, the wisest of philosophers, who is the most insatiable of *facts*, and the most unwearied in their accumulation.

In page 324 is an observation so valuable, that we cannot forbear especially to notice it,—namely, that what is called the moral cause of insanity is, often, itself a part of the disease. Thus, for instance, erroneous religious impressions, which are sometimes said to be *causes* of madness, may only be earlier stages of the hallucination. It is not very unusual for certain talkers to charge religion with a considerable portion of the insanity which afflicts mankind. We urgently recommend the above suggestion of Dr. Abercrombie to the attention of those who may be disposed too easily to acquiesce in such representations. Thus, in the case of Cowper, (that most amiable and gentle of human beings, as most Christian men regard him,—that maniacal calvinist and most *coddled* of poets, as he is described by Lord Byron,) there is no sufficient reason to believe that religion was, strictly speaking, the cause of the mental alienation. The individual was constitutionally subject to melancholy: and if it had so happened that religion had never been forcibly presented to his thoughts, it is most highly probable that his unhappy predisposition to insanity would have developed itself in some other form. As it was, his hallucination, almost from the first, had reference to religion; and when it had completely covered over his heaven with sackcloth, people were apt to cry out that religion had *originally* driven him mad. If the phantom, indeed, which haunted him were, at once, to disclose itself, in all its terrors, even to a sound mind, lodged in a delicate and sensitive body, it might, perhaps, be expected to produce hopeless insanity. But the misery of Cowper was, not merely that his religious persuasions were tremendously wrong, but that they acted on a temperament which predisposed him to mental aberration.

But our limits admonish us that we must break off our converse with this candid, sagacious, and benevolent inquirer. We cannot, however, take leave of his work without expressing our reverence for the motives which prompted him to undertake it, and our admiration for the powers which have so nobly redeemed from loss and waste the fragments of time spared him from the distractions of a most extensive practice. For this, be it remembered,

is not the performance of one who has enjoyed ample leisure for excursions into the realms of metaphysic science. His chariot must, probably, have been, for the most part, the *study* in which his meditations were wrought out; and his work, a series of occasional digressions from a career of hurried and anxious professional duty. We cordially wish our exhortations could reach those professional aspirants for whom it was compiled: for we should esteem it a proud distinction if our voice could assist in persuading them to make this volume the companion of their studies, and more especially, to take with them to the lecture, the hospital, and the dissecting-room, the sentiments, nay, if possible, the very words, of his final section, which exhibits a "view of the qualities and acquirements which constitute a well regulated mind." The spirit and essence of that golden chapter will be found in its concluding paragraphs, with which we shall close our extracts.

"The sound exercise of the understanding, therefore, is closely connected with the important habit of looking within; or of rigidly investigating our intellectual and moral condition. This leads us to inquire what opinions we have formed, and upon what grounds we have formed them;—what have been our leading pursuits,—whether these have been guided by a sound consideration of their real value,—or whether important objects of attention have been lightly passed over or entirely neglected. It leads us farther to contemplate our moral condition—our desires, attachments and antipathies;—the government of the imagination, and the regimen of the heart;—what is the habitual current of our thoughts; and whether we exercise over them that control which indicates alike intellectual vigour and moral purity. It leads us to review our conduct, with its principles and motives, and to compare the whole with the great standards of truth and rectitude. This investigation is the part of every wise man. Without it, an individual may make the greatest attainments in science,—may learn to measure the earth and to trace the course of the stars, while he is entirely wanting in that higher department,—the knowledge of himself.

"On these important subjects, I would more particularly address myself to that interesting class, for whom this work is chiefly intended, the younger members of the medical profession. The considerations which have been submitted to them, while they appear to carry the authority of truth, are applicable, at once, to their scientific investigations, and of those great inquiries, equally interesting to men of every degree, which relate to the principles of moral and religious belief. On these subjects, a sound condition of mind will lead them to think and judge for themselves, with a care and seriousness adapted to the solemn import of the inquiry, and without being influenced by the dogmas of those, who, with little examination, presume to decide with confidence on matters of eternal moment. Of the modifications of that distortion of character which has commonly received the name of cant, the cant of hypocrisy

has been said to be the worst ; but there is another which may fairly be placed by its side, and that is the cant of infidelity,—the affectation of scoffing at sacred things, by men who have never examined the subject, or never with an attention in any degree adequate to its momentous importance. A well regulated mind must at once perceive that this is alike unworthy of sound sense and sound philosophy. If we require the authority of names, we need only to be reminded, that truths, which received the cordial assent of Boyle and Newton, of Haller and Boerhaave, are, at least, deserving of grave and deliberate examination. But we may dismiss such an appeal as this: for nothing more is wanted to challenge the utmost seriousness of every candid inquirer, than the solemn nature of the inquiry itself. The medical observer, in an especial manner, has facts at all times before him which are in the highest degree calculated to fix his deep and serious attention. In the structure and economy of the human body, he has proofs, such as no other branch of natural science can furnish, of the power and wisdom of the Eternal One. Let him resign his mind to the influence of these truths, and learn to rise, in humble adoration, to the Almighty Being of whom they witness: And, familiar as he is with human suffering and death, let him learn to estimate the value of those truths, which have power to heal the broken heart, and to cheer the bed of death with the prospect of immortality.”—pp. 433, 435.

We do, most cordially, commend these words of wisdom and of piety to those young men who are destined to the investigation of the vile, and yet stupendous, tabernacle, in which man's immortal spirit is for a while imprisoned. Their business will be to analyze and take to pieces that wondrous and fearful mechanism. They will have to handle joints, and muscles, and tendons, and cartilages; and to trace the prodigality with which the Supreme and Mysterious Intelligence seems to have lavished itself upon the dust—and they will dive into secrets of such marvellous subtlety as almost to indicate their approach to the confines of the immaterial world: but they will find, of course, that the mysterious shore constantly recedes before them, and that, after all, the temple, whose recesses they are exploring, is a shrine without a visible divinity. And, then, the Demon of Scepticism, “familiar toad,” may crouch at their ear, and pour venom into it; till at last they may come to make their faith exactly commensurate with their senses; to believe in nothing which they cannot touch, or taste, or see, or hear, or smell; and even to embrace that prodigy of credulity which confounds the power of thought with the functions of organic life. Their best chance for avoiding the monstrous absurdities of that confession of *unbelief*, will be to undergo the discipline of some enlightened and superior mind: and where can they find a more kind, or a more able preceptor than the man who has here been paternally labouring for their preservation?

One little word more, however, before we close, to the doctors of materialism. Are those gentlemen aware of the unscrupulous manner in which some of their fine things were *stolen*, more than a hundred years ago? Have they never heard that when that "grand inquisitor into nature," the immortal Martinus Scriblerus, was groping for the soul in the pineal gland, he received an epistle from an illustrious company of *Freethinkers*, wherein they triumphantly exposed to him the miserable folly of looking after that *theological nonentity*?" Are they not aware of the masterly skill with which those great men demonstrated that intellect and volition are nothing more than the *result* of certain material combinations, just as meat-roasting is the result of the composition of a jack?—and that, as in the English Constitution, the king never dies, even so in the human constitution, the power of thought never lapses, but is transferred from one set of particles to their immediate successors, in the constant flux and changeableness of our animal structure? Have they no knowledge, or no recollection, of another sublime illustration, derived by the same mighty masters from Sir John Cutler's black worsted stockings, darned repeatedly with silk, till they became silk stockings; and which, supposing them to retain a consciousness of individuality through each successive darning, must have been sensible, as silk stockings, of their identity with the original worsted ones: thus making it clear that the particle A, in any congeries of matter, may not only be conscious, but conscious that it was the same with the particle B which went before? Did not these same wise men place it beyond dispute that thinking beings are determined by the greater momentum of one set of their component particles, just as the House of Commons is determined by a majority of its own members? And, lastly, have they not furnished us with the following distinct account of the process, by which thought is produced,—an exposition so luminous and perfect, that no modern school, that we are aware of, has ever yet been able to go beyond it?

"We proceed now," say these consummate philosophers, "to explain, *by the structure of the brain*, the several modes of thinking. It is well known to anatomists, that the brain is a congeries of glands which separate the finer parts of the blood called animal spirits; that a gland is nothing but a canal of great length, variously intorted and wound up together. From the arietation and motion of the spirits in those canals, proceed all the different sorts of thoughts. Simple ideas are produced by the motion of the spirits in one simple canal. When two of these canals disembody themselves into one, they make what is called a proposition: and when two of these propositional canals empty themselves into a third, they form a syllogism, or a ratiocination. Memory is per-

formed in a distinct apartment of the brain, made up of vessels similar, and like situated to the ideal, propositional, and syllogistic vessels in the primary part of the brain. After the same manner, it is easy to explain the other modes of thinking; as also why some people think so wrong and so perversely, which proceeds from the bad configuration of these glands. Some, for example, are born without the propositional canals; in others, that reason ill, they are of unequal capacities; in dull fellows, of too great a length, whereby the motion of the spirits is retarded; in trifling geniuses, weak and small; in over-refining spirits, too much intorted and winding; and so of the rest.

“We are so much persuaded of the truth of this hypothesis, that we have employed one of our members, a great virtuoso, to make a sort of hydraulic engine, in which a chemical liquor, resembling blood, is driven through elastic channels, resembling arteries and veins, by the force of an embolus like the heart, and wrought by a pneumatic machine of the nature of lungs, with ropes and pulleys, like the nerves, tendons, and muscles. And we are persuaded that this our artificial man will not only walk, and speak, and perform most of the outward actions of animal life, but—being wound up once a week—will perhaps reason as well as”—(*horrescimus referentes*)—“most of your country parsons.”*

To these unrivalled speculations it is not known that even the illustrious Scriblerus himself was ever able to make any reply; and we accordingly apprehend that these great men are entitled to be reinstated in the honours of discovery, and that more recent investigators should not be allowed to run away with all the praise of profoundness, originality, and courage.

* See Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus, c. xii.

ART. IV.—*Lives of the Italian Poets.* By the Rev. Henry Stebbing, M.A. M.R.S.L. With Twenty Medallion Portraits. 3 vols. post 8vo. London. Edward Bull. 1831. Price 1*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*

It is not likely that we shall be misunderstood when we express gratification at receiving an able work not strictly professional, as it is called, from the pen of a Clergyman. By such an occurrence, we are agreeably reminded of those olden, and it may be added, golden times, in which General not less than Sacred Literature flourished under the cultivation of Clerks; an Order which, at present, for the most part, appears to shrink from any avowed pursuit of *Belles Lettres*, deterred perhaps by a not ungrounded fear, that addiction to such studies may be stigmatized by the reigning ascetics as partaking too much of undue secularity. Now, it is to be hoped, that a fit supply of Piety and Learning will never be wanting to our Church for the defence both of its

Faith and its Discipline, whenever such defence is needed; and, perhaps, at no period of our History was the exercise of judgment, vigilance, and activity, more peremptorily demanded from its champions than in the evil days upon which it is our lot to have fallen. But it is on that very account that we deprecate the countless Tomes of small Hagiography, the superfoetation of pigmy Theology,

The much Divinity without a Nœc,

with which the contemporary Press is hourly teeming; and we would gladly see some portion of that effervescence which ferments under every youthful, and even many an adult Cassock, diverted to a safer vent than can always be afforded by the single bung-hole of Ecclesiastical publication.

To speak plainly and quite in earnest, we hold that although no one who has taken upon himself the sacred office can dedicate his thoughts too seriously, too profoundly, and too continually, to the solemn duties which he has vowed to fulfil, although spiritual matters should ever be nearest to his heart and readiest on his lips, yet nevertheless that not all, but on the contrary a very limited proportion of those so engaged have either the vocation or the power of bettering their fellow men, and thereby increasing the glory of their Master, by adding to the already boundless stock of directly Religious writing. For what, in truth, is the result of this sacerdotal monopoly of type, this engrossment of Pica, Paragon, and Primer, in one exclusive *psychodidascalie* service? And we here speak not of those slim and slightly-stitched Pamphlets only which are tossed carelessly to the gale of the moment, but of the portly octavos, the gestation of numerous months, the *longa fastidia* of more perhaps than a single year, upon which their authors fondly hope to base a lasting memorial. A subject to which the most intense anxiety of research, and the keenest sagacity of intellect, has been directed for nearly 2000 years, can scarcely present any branch which has not been often and deeply explored, and how few original minds will be content with the useful but comparatively inglorious task of illustrating and elucidating, of placing in a clearer light, and upholding in a more distinct point of view, facts which others before them have already discovered! Hence it is that an ambitious and aspiring writer, confident of power, covetous of fame, and not finding enough of it for his purpose in a development of the treasured stores, the solid *κειμήλια* of antiquity, dashes headlong after Novelty, lets slip his imagination in the chase of some fleet-footed and glossy-skinned Hypothesis, gallops, at the risk of his own and his neighbours' necks, after an

unsubstantial Fancy, unearthly a Paradox to the distraction of many a wavering spirit, or runs down an established Opinion to the grievous unsettlement of plain, simple, and single-hearted readers.

Instances to our purpose will occur but too abundantly to remembrance, and to specify them here would be both inopportune and invidious. It is far more agreeable, on the other hand, to acknowledge that we still possess, in this our generation, enough Divines of sounder and soberer temper, who have addressed superior talents, learning, and energy, all duly chastised to the severity of their task, not to the dazzling, but idle display of their own subtilty and powers of refinement, but to a masterly avouchment of some decried truth, or a rebutment of some prevailing error. But, *non cuivis*;—and those who cannot or who will not proceed on the same path with equally cautious steps, had far better direct themselves into some one which tends differently, and which may be trodden with reputation to themselves and without peril to others. Nor by so doing are they likely to be separated from their brethren. The Wartons were not less zealous Christians and Churchmen because they were Poets, and Commentators on and Historians of Poetry. No one, unless envenomed by the spirit of Stubbes or Collier, would refuse assent to the truth of Mason's Epitaph—“*Si quis alius, culto, casto, pio,*”—albeit he was a Dramatist; and assuredly that heart must be closed against all kindly feeling which would deny that the gracefulness of Heber's pure, glowing, and exalted Piety was heightened and improved by the continued fervour with which he cherished his early passion for Song, and by his deep imbutition with elegant Literature.

All this, however, looks too much like apology, and as if we were afraid of being scourged in our dreams for reading Virgil and Cicero. We shall, therefore, at once, without further preface, thank Mr. Stebbing for his choice of subject, and briefly comment upon some portions of his treatment of it. He begins, of course, with Dante, the creator and the completer of the Italian Language, the single example in the History of Mankind in which one and the same hand has both given birth to an Art and carried it to its highest perfection; for where has the Tuscan Muse poured herself forth with deeper inspiration than in the notes of her earliest worshipper? On the well-known particulars of the great Florentine's life we need not pause, nor are we inclined to renew, for the ten-thousandth time, any criticism on his unparalleled merits, to which perhaps the most conclusive testimony ever yet offered, was the insensibility of Voltaire. The

few words in which Mr. Stebbing has summed up the character of Dante, and the paragraph in which he shows how little necessity there is, in truth, for the trouble which commentators have misemployed in endeavouring to ascertain some positive source from which he borrowed his first conception of the *Inferno*, are marked with good taste and precision. Let what will have given its particular form to the mould into which Dante threw his magnificent thoughts and sentiments, for those (to which alone, indeed, genuine Poetic originality belongs,) he is self-indebted. Be the foundation what it may, the splendid and immortal superstructure which he has reared upon it is exclusively his own.

“Such was the father of Italian literature: and, in turning to the brief consideration of his works, it may be remarked, that never did the stream of a poet's genius more clearly reflect his character, in all its proportions of light and shade, or good and evil, than Dante's. Did neither memoir, nor bust, nor painting exist, from which to draw his character, the impression left by the perusal of the *Commedia* would bring him before us in all the melancholy and severe majesty of his mind and appearance. We should know how much he had suffered, and how deeply he had felt; that he had been both a lover and a patriot, such as the world rarely sees, and in both characters had had his hopes blighted in the very flower of his age: for, with all the sublimity and learning of his muse, his personal experience and feelings are the ground-work of her operations, and, in her most successful efforts, her materials.”—Vol. i. pp. 60, 61.

“Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, had been long made familiar to men's thoughts, as the three separate states in which each particular vice or virtue would meet with its fitting reward; nor had the doctrines on which this representation is founded been left to influence the minds of the people by the simple force of truth; they had been taught for ages by signs and emblems, and believers had been made to learn rather by the medium of their senses, than the silent arguments of the conscience, ‘accusing or excusing itself,’ what are the rewards or punishments of the future world. The *Commedia*, like other sublime works of genius, embodied the vague but universal spirit of the times when it was written. Its foundations were the popular creed of all Christendom; its supports the deep reasonings and curious subtleties of countless theologians; and the scenes it represents, such as had long formed the dreams of many a monk on Vallombrosa, and perhaps entered into the sermons of every preacher in Europe. A man, therefore, of much less genius than Dante, might have composed a work similar in mere plan and construction to the *Commedia*. The materials were at hand; and as for the ground-work, the existence of romances in which a similar journey through the regions of spirits is related, shows that, by possessing a moderate degree of talent, a writer might easily avoid the mere plagiarism of a plan, by modelling the popular opinion on the subject according to his purpose. At any rate, there seems little reason for believing that an

author like Dante could find himself at all necessitated to borrow his design from any one writer or the other, when he had every facility for being original."—vol. i. pp. 67, 68.

How well Mr. Stebbing has comprehended the spirit of this Poet in two of his minor pieces, will be manifested by the Sonnets which we subjoin. Rarely have any specimens of that most difficult and artificial species of composition been transfused into another Language with so much vigour and elegance.

"A ciascun' alma presa, e gentil core,
 Nel cui cospetto vien' il dir presente
 Il ciò che mi riscrivan, suo parvente
 Salute in lor Signor, cioè Amore.
 Già eran' quasi ch' atterzate l'hore
 Del tempo ch' ogni stella è piu lucente
 Quando m' apparve Amor subitamente
 Cui essenza sembrar, mi dà horrore.
 Allegro mi sembrava Amor' tenendo,
 Mio cor' in mano, e nelle braccia havea
 Madonna involta in un drappo dormendo
 Poi la svegliava, e desto cor ardendo
 Lei paventosa humilmente pascea
 Appresso gir' lo ne vedea piangendo.

"To every captive soul and gentle heart,
 For whom I sing, what sorrows strange I prove!
 I wish all grace, and may their master, Love,
 Present delight and happy hopes impart.
 Two thirds of night were spent, but brightly clear
 The stars were shining, when surprised I saw
 Love, whom to worship is my will and law.
 Glad was his aspect, and he seemed to bear
 My own heart in his hand, while on his arms,
 Garmented in her many-folded vest,
 Madonna lay, with gentle sleep oppress'd;
 But he awoke her filled with soft alarms,
 And with that burning heart in humble guise
 Did feed her, till in gloom the vision fled my eyes."
 vol. i. pp. 9, 10.

"L' amaro lagrimar, che voi faceste
 Occhi miei così lunga stagione;
 Facea meravigliar l'altre persone
 De la pietate, come voi vedeste:
 Hora mi par che voi l'obliereste,
 S' io fusse dal mio lato sì fellone,
 Ch' io no ven disturbasse ogni cagione,
 Membrandovi colei, cui voi piangeste,

La vostra vanità mi fa pensare,
 E spaventami sì, ch' io temo forte
 Del viso d' una donna, che vi mira.
 Voi non dovrete mai, se non per morte,
 La nostra donna, ch' è morta, obliare,
 Così dice il mio core, e poi sospira.

“The bitter tears, my eyes! which once ye shed
 With such a fond and long unchanging woe,
 In many a gentle heart deep wonder bred,
 And bid soft pity in the bosom glow;
 But, ah! I fear that ye could all forget
 Would my heart join you in the felon wrong,
 And let those memories fade which still belong
 To her for whom ye were so often wet:
 Vain wandering eyes! so do I fear your guile
 That much I dread when you her form admire
 To meet one gentle lady's pitying smile.
 Oh ne'er forgetful be, till life expire,
 Of one sweet mistress who untimely died:—
 Thus spoke my heart, and speaking deeply sighed.”
 vol. i. pp. 23, 24.

If the Life of Dante is the History of the Politics of his time, that of Petrarch embraces the whole Literature of the half century which it filled, and upon so vast a field we dare not enter. With his fantastical passion we never found ourselves able to entertain the slightest sympathy; and although, doubtless, the opinion which denies Laura's real existence is wholly untenable, nevertheless, we conceive Petrarch's Love to have been altogether imaginary, to have belonged to the head instead of the heart, and thus far that his mistress was unsubstantial. The Knight of La Mancha, probably, shared the Poet's feelings when *se dió á entender que no le faltaba otra cosa sino buscar una dama de quien enamorarse; porque el Caballero andante sin amores, era arbol sin hojas, y sin fruto, y cuerpo sin alma*. And, accordingly, Petrarch's Sonnets are distinguished far more by delicacy of expression and harmony of language (the secondaries of Poetry) than by vigorous conception or even by genuine pathos. Higher praise no doubt is to be given to several of the *Canzoni*, which we apprehend are much less known in England, and which Mr. Stebbing might be well employed in rendering more familiar to our ears. Voltaire, when translating the commencement of one, and perhaps the most beautiful, of these *Canzoni*,—*Chiare, fresche e dolci acque*, for the benefit of Madame du Châtelet, has plainly evinced that he never read it through; for, of a composi-

tion marked by exactness of rhyme and a fixed stanzaic system, he observes, that it is irregular and without rhyme. Nevertheless, he has done as much justice to the portion of it which caught his eye, as can be permitted by the manifest inferiority of the twanging and nasal French to the liquid and melodious Italian. Sir William Jones has turned the same stanzas into English, but most of that great man's metrical compositions are rather copies of verses than Poetry, and that to which we are now adverting savours strongly of a mere exercise.

The Library which Petrarch bequeathed to St. Mark "with the good will of our Saviour and the Evangelist himself," as the Poet states in his missive to the Senate of Venice, is overrated by Mr. Stebbing, when he calls it "a very valuable and extensive" collection. Valuable no doubt it was, but certainly not extensive. Most of its contents are mentioned by Tomasini in his *Petrarcha Redivivus*, and among them appears to have been that MS. of Cicero's Epistles, in the Poet's autograph, which was his constant companion, and which once by accidentally falling upon him with its massive wooden cover, had well nigh cost him the amputation of a leg. So little did the Venetians deserve his bounty, that scarcely more than two centuries elapsed before, by their neglect, the greater number of these volumes perished. Tomasini found them huddled together in a small apartment in the roof of St. Mark's, partly crumbled to dust, a very natural *dysthanasia* for paper or parchment, partly, by a process which he does not explain, but which may be well worth the attention of Geologists, *converted into stone!*

Saxa, quis hoc credat, nisi sit pro teste vetustas?

Boccaccio, although known to posterity far more generally by his unrivalled but too licentious Tales, claims no small distinction in the annals of Italian Poetry; not so much, indeed, on account of any great Poetical Work which he achieved himself, as for having invented tools which others, who succeeded him, employed for more splendid purposes. His *Theseide*, the only Poem which he kept back from the flames when the study of Petrarch made him despair of his own success, was the first model of that *ottava rima* which afterwards became the general, rich, and stately vehicle for the Italian Epic and Romance. The few who still duly appreciate that noble adaptation by Chaucer in his *Knyghte's Tale*, or the many who bear in their memories Dryden's yet nobler *rifacimento* in *Palamon and Arcite*, will scarcely encounter the perusal of the *Theseide*; notwithstanding the affirmation of the critics that it is the earliest modern Poem of regular structure. For the rest, we may be content with the

judgment passed by one of his Biographers,* *per dire il vero, lo stile volgare in verso non gli fu troppo amico.*

The notice of Lorenzo de' Medici furnishes another vigorous and elegant translation.

“ Lasso a me, quando io son la dove sia
 Quell' angelico, altero, e dolce volto,
 Il freddo sangue intorno al core accolto
 Lascia senza color la faccia mia :
 Poi mirando la sua, mi par sì pia,
 Ch' io prendo ardire, e torna il valor tolto,
 Amor ne' raggi de' begli occhi involto
 Mostra al mio tristo cor la cieca via ;
 E parlandogli alhor, dice, io ti giuro
 Pel santo lume di questi occhi belli,
 Del mio stral forza, e del mio regno honore,
 Ch' io sarò sempre teco ; a ti assicuro
 Esser vera pietà che mostran quelli :
 Credogli lasso ! e da me fugge il core.

“ Ah me ! whene'er that form I chance to view,
 Divine, august, and gracious—round my heart
 I feel through all my veins the cold blood start,
 And from my pale cheeks steal their wonted hue—
 Then, while her looks new pity seem to yield,
 And, valour lost, returning hopes obey,
 Love, in the rays of her fair eyes concealed,
 Finds to my sorrowing heart his secret way.
 And thus he speaks—Even by the holy light
 Of those bright-beaming eyes, I swear to you,
 And by my kingdom's law—my arrow's might—
 That I will never leave thee, and that true
 The pity is which those bright eyes impart,
 Alas ! I trusting heard, and from me fled my heart !”

vol. i. p. 282.

Pulci deserves a more honourable station than to be moored as a cock-boat to the stern of Poliziano. The peculiar humour, and the indefensible freedom of many passages in the *Morgante Maggiore* are barriers against its general popularity. Lord Byron, indeed, most successfully inoculated himself with all the *virus* of its licentiousness ; but in no way can *Beppo* be accepted as a representation of the character of its assumed prototype, and in his direct translation of the 1st Canto of the *Morgante* the Noble Bard is egregiously dull. That singular Poem often reminds us of the grotesque carved work which decorates many of our finest Gothic buildings, where among haloed Saints, crowned Kings, and crosiered Abbots, the wayward fancy of the sculptor has introduced other images inexpressibly

ludicrous, and oftentimes not slightly indecorous. Detach these from their neighbours, and they would be insufferable, yet it must be a truly iconoclastic fastidiousness which would destroy the whole groupe in order to remove the faultiness of some of its members, and it may suffice to throw into as deep shadow as possible such parts as are unfitted for the light. Mr. Frere, in his spirited Cantos *The Monks and the Giants*, very happily caught the rich drollery of Pulci, and yet more happily avoided the contagion of his occasional irreverence and ribaldry. We wish he had received enough encouragement to proceed much further.

In *The Life of Ariosto* we meet with another very pleasing translation.

“ Già mi fur' dolci inviti a empir le carte
 I luoghi ameni, di che il nostro Rheggio
 E'l natio nido mio n' ha la sua parte :
 Il tuo Mauritian sempre vagheggio
 La bella stanza, e 'l Rodano vicino,
 Da le Naiade amato ombroso seggio :
 Il lucido vivaio, onde il giardina
 Si cinge intorno, il fresco rio che corre
 Rigando l' erbe, ove poi fa il molino.
 Non mi si po de la memoria torre.
 Le vigne, e i solchi del fecondo Iacco,
 Le valle e'l colle, e la ben posta torre.

“ Time was when by sweet solitude inclined
 The storied page I fill'd with ready mind ;
 Those gentle scenes of Reggio's fair domain,
 Our own dear nest, where peace and nature reign ;
 The lovely villa and the neighbouring Rhone,
 Whose banks the Naiads haunt serene and lone ;
 The lucid pool whence small fresh streams distil
 That glad the garden round and turn the mill ;
 Still memory loves upon these scenes to dwell,
 Still sees the vines with fruit delicious swell,
 Luxurious meadows blooming spread around,
 Low winding vales and hills with turrets crown'd.”

vol. ii. p. 48.

The story of Sir Walter Scott and the Corporal of the Scotch Greys on the Coronation Morning, which has recently been so well related by Mr. Allan Cunningham, is not without a parallel in the life of the great Italian Poet ; and we give the version of Garofalo in preference to that of Baretti, a writer who, on no occasion which we recollect, has exhibited claims upon confidence, and upon whom we should not be inflicting an inadequate penalty for his many literary sins, if we wished that his employment in Purgatory might be to learn his own Language by the aid of his own Dictionary.

"A singular instance is on record illustrative of the popularity he enjoyed:—being obliged one day to pass over a wild part of the district, the forests of which were known to be the resort of banditti, led by the celebrated chiefs Dominico Marocco and Filippo Pacchione, he was somewhat disconcerted at seeing his path crossed by a large body of armed men coming out of the woods. As he was attended by only six followers, resistance to an attack he knew would be vain. Neither he nor his party, however, encountered any interruption till his servant, who had loitered behind, on coming up, was asked by one of the banditti who the gentleman was that had just passed them. Being answered that it was Ariosto the poet, he immediately spurred his horse forward, and, pulling off his hat as he approached him, said that he was Filippo Pacchione, and was come to apologise for having suffered so great a man as Ariosto to pass him unsaluted."—vol. ii. p. 53, 54.

Another story is told with some humour by Sir John Harrington.

"As he himself could pronounce very well," says Sir John, "so it was a great penance to him to hear others pronounce ill that which himself had written excellent well. Insomuch as they tell of him, how, coming one day by a potter's shop, that had many earthen vessels ready-made, to sell on his stall, the potter fortified at that time to sing some stave or other out of Orlando Furioso, I think where Rinaldo requesteth his horse to tarry for him, in the first book, the thirty-second stanza:—

' Ferma, Baiardo mio, deh, ferma il piede
Che l'esser senza di te troppo mi nuoce.'

Or some such grave matter, fit for a potter. But he plotted the verses out so ill-favouredly, (as might well beseem his dirty occupation,) that Ariosto being, or at least making semblance to be, in a great rage withal, with a little walking-stick he had in his hand, brake divers pots. The poor potter, put quite beside his song, and almost beside himself, to see his market half marred before it was a quarter done, in a pitiful sour manner, between railing and whining, asked what he meant, to wrong a poor man that had never done him injury in all his life. 'Yes, varlet,' quoth Ariosto, 'I am yet scarce even with thee for the wrong thou hast done me, here before my face; for I have broken but half-a-dozen base pots of thine, that are not worth so many halfpence, but thou hast broken and mangled a fine stanza of mine, worth a mark of gold.' There is a great similarity between this story and an anecdote related of Dante, who, it is said, punished a blacksmith and muleteer for a like offence. The temper and fastidiousness of these great men respecting their verses, render it sufficiently probable that the traditions are in both cases correct."—vol. ii. p. 60, 61.

The conclusion at which we should arrive, however, is directly the reverse, that as the anecdote is related of both it was not true of either.

Once again we must cite a translation; it is a quatrain, in which Mr. Stebbing, while very closely adhering to his original in sense,

has far exceeded it in point. The lines are taken from a Satire addressed to Cardinal Bembo, in which Ariosto, in a high moral strain, expresses his wishes concerning the education of his son.

“ Dottrina abbia, e bontà, ma principale
Sia la bontà, che non vi essendo questa
Nè molto quella a la mia stima vale.
So ben, che la dottrina fia più presta,
A lasciarsi trovar, che la bontade.

“ Knowledge and Virtue—these be all his aim,
But first and chief let Virtue homage claim;
Without her, little should I care to find
Knowledge, far easier gain'd, enrich his mind.”—vol. ii. p. 77.

Ariosto manifested great skill in Diplomacy as well as in Poetry; he is said also to have exhibited much personal prowess in battle.

“ He had not proceeded far in his work, when he was interrupted by an invitation from Alphonso, the Duke of Ferrara, and brother of the Cardinal Ippolito, to undertake an embassy to the Pope, Julius the Second. The object of this mission was to avert, if possible, the threatened vengeance of the Pontiff against Ferrara. Ariosto was received at Rome with respect, and obtained a more encouraging answer than had been expected. The Duke, on his return, highly applauded him for the manner in which he had conducted the affair; but the hopes they had conceived from the reply of Julius proved vain, and the Ambassador had hardly delivered his message, when the river Po was seen covered with an armament composed of Papal and Venetian forces. A desperate engagement ensued between the hostile fleet and that which Alphonso immediately sent to oppose its progress. Ariosto was present in the battle, and rendered additional service to his employer, by taking one of the enemy's largest vessels.”—vol. ii. p. 41.

The latter part of this statement, however, cannot be received without considerable hesitation. The reference given by Mr. Stebbing—“ Garofalo”—is too vague to afford us guidance, for we neither know to what portion of any Work, nor indeed even to what Work we ought to turn. We believe that Pigna, in the following passage, is the sole authority for Ariosto's warlike feat. *Il Papa fatto un grosso essercito pose una parte della fanteria in una armata per Po, contra la quale combattendosi egli anchora per la Patria in quel conflitto ritrovar si volle, et valorosamente nella guerra resistendo con alcuni altri Cavaglieri insieme se ritrovò a pigliar una nave ai nimici, ch'era delle piu piene de munitione e la meglio guernita che vi fosse.** There can be no doubt that the incident here

* *I Romanzi*, lib. ii. p. 75.

mentioned is that to which Mr. Stebbing alludes, but there is very great doubt whether it belongs to Lodovico Ariosto the Poet. More than one mention is made in the *Orlando Furioso* of the success of the Ferrarese over the Papal and Venetian armament in the Po in 1509, which, however, was *not* won by a fleet 'sent to oppose its progress,' but by the dexterous arrangement of land-batteries by the Cardinal Ippolito d' Este. The fifteen galleys which were then taken are noticed with Historical precision in Canto III. st. 57. But at the commencement of the XLth Canto, Ariosto positively affirms that he himself was not present at this triumph.

*No'l vidi Io già, ch'ero sei giorni innanti,
Mutando ogn'ora altre vetture, corso
Con molta fretta, e molta a i piedi santi
Del gran Pastore a dimandar soccorso.—St. 3.*

Yet although he did not partake in that glorious day, we learn from the following stanza that three of his family (*tre Ariosti*) did so, and hence may have arisen the belief which ascribes an action, really belonging to another of his name, to him who was so far better known than any of them; for we are not very willing to admit that easy solution which Ginguène suggests, and which is resorted to on most similar occasions, namely, that there were two engagements under almost similar circumstances, and that the Poet shared in one of them. We think, moreover, that if he had in truth assisted in any successful action, a very pardonable consciousness of his own merit, which it would be unjust to call vanity, would have induced him to commemorate it when so many fair opportunities were afforded him; nevertheless he is wholly silent on the subject.

On arriving at Bembo we encounter a statement most singularly incorrect in all its parts, which Mr. Stebbing therefore must entirely recast in his next edition.

"He also completed a work he had commenced some time before, and to which he gave the title of 'Gli Asolani,' from the name of a villa where he resided when he began the poem. It consisted of dialogues on love, and was written in such elegant Latin verse, that many persons believed it to be the fragment of some ancient composition."—vol. ii. pp. 97, 98.

The Dialogues published by Bembo under the title *Gli Asolani* are written in *Italian Prose*, (*Canzoni* being occasionally introduced,) not in *Latin Verse*; and they do not derive their title "from the name of a villa where he resided when he began the Poem," but from a Palace, near the town of Asolo, in which

he finished the *Prose*.* That Palace was presented by the Venetian Signory to Caterina Cornaro, the ex-Queen of Cyprus, after her nefarious dethronement, and in its Gardens is laid the scene of certain conversations supposed to occur during some festivities which celebrated the nuptials of one of the Queen's Maids of Honour. Since, therefore, these Dialogues were couched in Italian, not in Latin, in Prose, not in Verse, were elaborately finished instead of breaking off abruptly, and were dedicated by their author in his own name and as his own production to Lucretia Borgia, Duchess of Ferrara,† any one who "believed them to be the fragment of some ancient composition" could never have taken the trouble of looking at the object of his belief, but must have borrowed somewhere at second-hand a very blundering opinion.

We differ also materially from Mr. Stebbing in his account of Bembo's Historical style. We are first told that when he was appointed Historiographer of Venice he selected "the Commentaries of Cæsar as his model in respect of style" (vol. ii. p. 103), and then a few pages afterwards "the style (in the History) is elegant, but has been very justly found fault with for its close imitation of Cicero."—p. 110. From this estimate (the latter part of which is authorised by Ginguène, (*on admire dans la rédaction Latine, l'élégance de Cicéron*, vol. viii. p. 317) it might be imagined that Bembo interlaced the style of Cicero with that of Cæsar, that is, that he embroidered purple patches of declamation upon a plain, strong, unornamented texture; that he framed his History as Humie would have done, if quitting his own cold and studied simplicity, he had borrowed in every alternate page the deep-mouthed thunder of Johnson, or the glowing imagery of Burke. Bembo, no doubt, was a Ciceronian at heart, for the Roman Orator was the idol of the best scholars, his (Bembo's) contemporaries. While inditing despatches as Pontifical Secretary, he did not scruple to term the Virgin Mary *Dea ipsa*, nor to invite the King of France to a Crusade *per Deos atque homines*; modes of expression, which perhaps may admit of more reasonable defence (if this were the place for the attempt) than either Erasmus or Lipsius is inclined to grant. Still, such language may be called *classical* rather than *Ciceronian*, for it belongs to Roman authors in general, not to Cicero in particular; and we do not believe that Bembo has any where pushed his Ciceronianism to that unwarrantable extent which induced Paolo Cortesi, Longueil, Nava-

* "*Hos sermones quamquam Ferrariæ incepit, Aceli tamen aliquot post annos absolvit, ibique habitos voluit credi: hinc illis nomen factum. Acelum Cypriæ Reginæ Catherinæ Corneliæ, civi suæ, Senatus Venetus, Cyprio ab eadem prius regno auctus, redeunti in Italiam dono dederat.*"—Note by Apostolo Zeno on G. Casa's Life of Bembo.

† This Preface is not always found in copies of the rare first edition, Aldus, 1505.

gero, Calcagnini, and other *ultras* of the Sect, to exclude from their Latin compositions every word unauthorized by Tully. Be this as it may, there is assuredly not a vestige of Ciceronianism, properly so called, in Bembo's History. It is full of *Paganism*; he uses among other similar expressions *persuasio* for *fides*, *ab aquâ et igni interdictio* instead of *excommunicatio*, and he urges the reigning Pope *uti fidat Deis immortalibus quorum vicem gerit in terris*; that is, he prefers a genuine Roman phraseology to one of piebald hue, semi-Latin and semi-Barbarian. But as his Historical model he wisely chose Cæsar, and so far as we recollect, he has in no instance deviated from that writer's style. Any one who will read half-a-dozen pages of the *Historia Veneta* may convince himself of the fact; or if he has not that Work at hand, he may perhaps be satisfied with the evidence of two of the Cardinal's Biographers, both of them intimate friends who enjoyed his familiar confidence. Giovanni Casa writes as follows, *Scripsit, etiam magnâ curâ magnâque assiduitate, civitatis suæ Historiam, nudiusculam illam quidem, est enim Cæsarem imitatus, sed puram imprimis atque illustrem.* And again, Beccatelli, Archbishop of Ragusa, tells us, *non havendo mai esso atteso a scrivere Historie, e parendogli che fra gli scrittori Latini Cesare fu il piu candido e il meglio ordinato, elesse d'imitar lui, e recatolosi innanzi col suo divino giudicio, così bene l'espressa, come hoggidi si vede nelli XII. Libri d'Historie che ha lasciati scritti.*

It is but fair to add that, on a cursory perusal, Lipsius, when writing to Dousa that Letter upon which it is probable that Mr. Stebbing has founded his opinion,* expresses himself with some ambiguity, perhaps not without some confusion; but although he plainly taxes Bembo with Ciceronianism, we think the main objection is directed (so far as his History is concerned) against his exclusive Romanism—*Universa scriptio composita et formata ad ævum priscum, et omnia sic de re Venetâ quasi de potenti illâ re Romanâ.* The acrimony with which the Ciceronian controversy raged in the latter part of the XVth and the beginning of the XVIth Centuries, is a striking instance of the tendency of the Human Mind, when unoccupied by weightier matters, to quarrel even *de tribus capellis*. We ourselves possess a copy of Pietro Justiniani's *Rerum Venetarum Historia*, which might have stood on the shelves of one of the pleasant interlocutors in the well-known Dialogue of Erasmus, and have received its countless erasures from the zealous anti-Ciceronian pens of Bulephorus or Hypologus. Hardly a page occurs in which the diligence of some former owner has not shed ink profusely over some profane Heathenism, and waged a war of extermination against Fate, and

* Lipsii, *Epist. Cent. ii. Misc. Ep. 57.*

Necessity, and every formula which expresses modern ideas by any reference to the exploded Mythology. In some instances not only has the pen been drawn across the offending word, but a small printed substitute has been neatly pasted over it; and from the incredible pains taken in these corrections, we really believe the copy may have been that which was submitted to the Licenser for his *Imprimatur*.

But more than enough of Bembo; our limits warn us that we must pass on to one from whom (notwithstanding the Cardinal's *Juvenilia*) he is fortunately separated by a gulf not to be passed. Pietro Aretino scarcely deserves a niche in a Gallery of Italian Poets, unless, indeed, we admit Peter Pindar to be incorporated among our own. The Satirist of Arezzo, born a bastard, commenced life as a bookbinder; then, hiring himself as a footman, he was dismissed from his master's service for theft; and he had passed his thirty-second year before he composed the Sonnets, which few, happily, can be supposed to have read, but which have most contributed to transmit his name to posterity as a by-word of infamy. The *Ragionamenti*, still more criminal, because more elaborate than the Sonnets, appeared at a yet maturer age; and much about the same time the notorious author of these abominations dared to affix his name to certain Religious Works, a Life of Sta. Catarina, *Il Genesi, l'umanità di Christo, e i Salmi*, and *La Passione di Giesu con due Canzoni, una alla Vergine e l'altro al Christianissimo*. Bad as are our own times, we have in some respects abstained from so gross a violation of decency as that abovementioned, and the writer of the *Hebrew Melodies** was not avowed in the outset as identical with that of *Don Juan*. Having first sacrificed to Belial, Aretino (and he has found his imitators) addressed his subsequent devotions to Mammon, and began to vomit forth from his den of impurity at Venice, those libels which made Crowned Heads his subsidiaries and all Europe his Exchequer. The malice or the timidity of Human Nature, and the frequent unmerited allotment of contemporary fame, have in few instances been more strikingly exhibited than when Fear or Flattery invested this atrocious pander to Lust and Hate with the titles of the *Scourge of Princes* and the *Divine*. On Medals his bust is found with the legend *Divus Petrus Aretinus*, and the distinguishing epithet which general consent had bestowed upon the purest and profoundest Sage of the ancient World, was prostituted to the service of an obscene and fantastical Lampooner; because, as one of his admirers tells us, with equal profaneness and

* A title affixed *ad captandum*, for they were mostly written at hazard. We know the hand in which many of those verses were originally placed, in order that some Scriptural incident might be pointed out to which they might be accommodated.

falsehood, he exercised the part of a God on Earth by directing his bolts at the loftiest summits. "Do you not know," writes Tornicelli, his brother debauché, (we are not certain whether he was also his Biographer,) "that, pen in hand, you have subdued more Princes than the most powerful conqueror with the sword! By whom is it not fondled if it approaches in friendship? To whom is your pen otherwise than formidable when it menaces? It may be said to have triumphed over all the Kings of the World; all are its tributaries, all hold under it in fee. You deserve to be named as were the Roman Emperors, *Germanicus, Pannonicus, Gallieus et Hispanicus.*" Strange to say, this last eulogy is not without truth; Aretino was really pensioned by England, France, Spain and Germany; and Francis I. and Charles V., rivals in Letters no less than in arms, openly entered the market to bid against each other for his venal services. Julius III. so far forgot his Holy office as to admit the presentation of Aretino's Sacred Poems and Paraphrases on the Psalms, to send him 1000 golden crowns, and to create him by Bull a *Cavaliere di San Pietro*. But these bounties were far from contenting his ambition: like Du Bois (*par nobile!*) he aspired to the Purple, and when Julius, less compliant than Clement XI., refused to perpetrate this great scandal, the enraged Satirist swore that he would compile a *Legendary of Saints*, and dedicate it to Sultan Solymán.

Aretino did not possess even that solitary virtue which, notwithstanding its ambiguity and its frequent dependence upon Physical rather than Moral causes, is too often accepted as a counterpoise to many crimes—personal bravery. On the contrary, his cowardice was not less remarkable than his insolence, and like Foote, Walcot and Westmacott, he shrank from the cudgel which his scurrility had provoked. Boccacini, as we shall present him in the words of Henry, Earl of Monmouth, has described this portion of his character with no inconsiderable humour. "This last night past, Peter Aretine, as he returned from visiting his beloved Titian, was assaulted by one who gave him a foul slash over the face, which may be said to be the twentieth blow that he had received, either by pogniard or cudgel, wherewith people as quick of hand as he was of tongue, have so cut his face, hands and breast, as they look like a Sea-card: (*una lineata carta da navigare*). Apollo was much displeased at this Riot, and commanded the Attorney-General to be diligent in finding out the delinquent. Aretine was strictly examined, who swore that he neither knew, nor could he imagine who it was that had hurt him. 'Tis said, that Apollo having heard Aretine's examination, his Majesty commanded that no further process should be made thereupon: for since Aretine could not so much

as imagine who it was that had dealt so ill with him, he must of necessity be guilty of one of those two defects which deserve no compassion, either of having offended so many as he could not number his enemies, or of forgetting those that had done him injuries worthy resentment."

Having once attacked Pietro Strozzi, a Marshal of France and one of the most distinguished Generals of his time, the gallant soldier sent him word that he had very little notion of a joke, and that he only wanted an opportunity to poniard him, if it were even in his bed. Aretino well knew that Strozzi (as the Duke of Wellington is said to have told a negligent Commissary who complained that General Picton had threatened to hang him on the next tree) was a man of his word, and would certainly keep it; and accordingly he stayed at home; barricaded every door and window; admitted no visitor; thought, as the Florentine Remigio, from whom we are borrowing, humorously expresses it, that it rained swords and daggers; and perspired till he was reduced to a mere anatomy, so long as Strozzi remained within a morning's row of Venice. Nor did he always escape with the mere payment of his fears. Having accused an English Ambassador (whose Anglican name those who have not been accustomed to discover Sir John Hawkwood under Vanni Aguto or Kauchovole, will scarcely look for under his Italian *sobriquet*, Gismondo Arovello—it was Sir Matthew Arundel) of embezzling 300 crowns, a bounty from Henry VIII., he was soundly beaten, and frightened into a belief that he was about to be murdered, as he often recounts in dolorous syllables in the course of his Letters; and on another occasion he was left for dead, with half a dozen "trenched gashes in his throat," testifying the mortal revenge of a Bolognese Gentleman, whom he rivalled in the favours of a Cook Maid.

An omission of two words, either by Mr. Stebbing's pen, or, as is more probable, by the Printer's composing-stick, has rendered a similar very pointed anecdote wholly unintelligible.

"His intimate acquaintance with Titian brought him on one occasion into a ludicrously perilous situation. Having taken part with his friend against Tintoret, he ventured to satirize the latter with more freedom than was consistent either with justice or safety; the artist, however, said nothing, but invited him to sit for his portrait, which he expressed himself anxious to paint. Aretino went accordingly without any suspicion to his house, but after sitting some time, Tintoret desired him to let him see his height, and then began to measure him, the terrified Aretino exclaiming, 'Jacopo, what are you doing?' 'Nothing particular,' he said; 'but I see you measure two pistols and a half long.' These mysterious words led to an apology, and they were thenceforward good friends."—vol. ii. pp. 163, 164.

In the story as related by Ridolfi, Tintoretto is said to have taken a pistol from his bosom when the astonished sitter expected him to handle a pencil, and with this formidable weapon deliberately to have measured his height. After this preliminary his following speech may be readily understood.

Mr. Stebbing, following Mazzuchelli, doubts the received account of Aretino's characteristic death, namely, that on hearing some unseemly anecdote respecting his sisters, who had abandoned themselves to open courtezanship, he broke out into immoderate laughter, upset his chair, and fractured his skull by the fall. This story, we believe, is founded on the authority only of an obscure writer, Lorenzo Poliziano; but we perceive nothing in its contents at all alien from Aretino's notorious habits. Mr. Stebbing argues that respect for his sisters and "his general professions of being a friend to Virtue" rebut the accusation! Aretino a friend to Virtue! We would ask where these professions exist? and, if they do exist, whether they are verified by his actions? and whether there are not countless general professors of Virtue who are particular practisers of Vice? The Regent Orleans, (as we learn from St. Simon,) and the most selfish, reckless, daring and undisguised Libertine of our own times, (as his own Letters sufficiently evince,) could often prate of Virtue; and both of them, perhaps, by their words, might cheat "some of Virtue's fools" into a belief that they were honest in their avowals. But are we on that account to reject the eternal counter-blazon of their lives? It may be added also, that it is not quite certain that the ribaldry which excited Aretino's mirth concerned his sisters. Poliziano states *infandas obscenitates de meretricibus, ut aiunt sororibus suis*, &c.; this *hearsay* is a saving clause, and little as we think the argument against the story is tenable, even if we give it the benefit of the sisters, it certainly vanishes altogether if we take them away.

Seldom has there been exhibited a more impressive warning of the frail and transitory nature of *living* fame, when based unsoundly, than that which is to be found in the history of Aretino. He drew for applause upon the evil passions of his day, and his worthless paper was dishonoured so soon as those passions subsided. His influence over men's minds was an empty bubble, inflated by the venomous breath of hatred and envy, revenge and malice; and it burst when those foul blasts no longer concentrated their stream. Even in his pollutions, scarcely a memorial is now remaining to him, unless it be as a proverb of reproach; for the Devil has enlisted later ministers of corruption in his service, certainly not inferior in wickedness, perhaps superior in the power of working evil; and these also in their turn will be forgotten, or remembered—only in conjunction with Aretino.

On a life so well known as that of the Author of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* we need not dwell, and we shall therefore only remark that we do not like to hear him called "poor Tasso," for which the French of Ginguené, *le pauvre Tasse*, can scarcely be pleaded in apology. We have really little doubt that he was an irrecoverable lunatic, as Montaigne, who visited him while confined at St. Anne sufficiently testifies, *j'eus plus de despit encore que de compassion de le voir à Ferrare en si piteux estat, survivant a soy mesmes*; that the knife which he once employed unrestrained by the presence of the Duchess of Urbino, might in the end have been directed to a fatal purpose; and that the whisperings of his goblin visitors were more likely to prompt to evil than to good. Much, therefore, might be urged in defence of Alfonso's treatment of the Poet, which his Biographers for the most part wisely put aside as unfavourable to declamation. From this fault Mr. Stebbing is free, and he conducts his narrative plainly and sensibly. We think him very happy in his manner of relating the perverse criticism which Tasso encountered from his friends when he submitted his immortal Epic to their correction, and received at their hands cavils quite sufficient to deprive even the sanest Poet of his senses.

"The Abate, Niccolò degli Oddi, began his objections with the Invocation: 'It does not appear to me correct that Urania should be addressed under the name of Muse, and placed in heaven, the name of Muse signifying nothing but a sound or song, which, according to Aristotle, cannot be in heaven; and sound not being there, the Muses are not there, and therefore the invocation is not correct.' 'It would be sufficient,' says Tasso, 'to reply that, according to the opinion of Pythagoras, Plato, Marcus Tullius, Dante, and other philosophers, poets and theologians, both sacred and profane, there is sound in heaven; and to this opinion I may refer either as a poet, philosopher or theologian; but, abiding by the doctrine of the Peripatetics, I deny the consequence, *In heaven there is not sound, therefore there are not Muses there*. The better argument would be, *There is not music in heaven, therefore there are not Muses there*. But, if there be musical proportions in heaven, it must be that the Muses are there; but without doubt there are, since the whole world is composed with musical harmony, as Plato shows in *Timæus*, and Plotinus and others who have philosophized on this matter. Nor would Aristotle himself deny that there are intelligible proportions in heaven, as Pythagoras also intimates, according to the opinion of the Peripatetic philosopher, Simplicius, in his first book on heaven, where he treats of this question.' Similar objections and answers appear on other points, equally trivial; among others, as to the propriety of representing the Almighty sending the dream to Godfrey: the authority of Aristotle being quoted, 'Dreams are not sent by God'—'To which I answer,' says Tasso, 'that the authority of the Prince of Poets would be sufficient to defend a poet; and Homer represents Jupiter sending a dream to Aga-

memnon, the general of the army. But even Aristotle himself, in the very book quoted, makes mention of certain divine or demoniacal dreams, sent from demons, or from God, as St. Thomas particularly notes in his little work *De Intellectu*.*—vol. iii. pp. 51—53.

“At the head of the committee which our author formed for the regular examination of the poem, was Scipione Gonzaga, and his associates were Pier Angelio da Barga, Flamminio de' Nobili Lucchese, Silvio Antoniano, and Sperone Speroni. Each of these learned men had his particular alteration to propose. One wished to have the heroes in general, and not Godfrey, mentioned first in the introductory lines. Another, Sperone, objected that the unity was not sufficiently perfect for an epic, and was so earnest in this opinion that his former disposition to quarrel with Tasso was greatly increased by its not being attended to. The episodes formed a fruitful source of controversy: that of Erminia was said to be improbable, it being very unlikely, observed the critics, that a young and timid girl should clothe herself in armour and venture into the hostile camp. That of Armida, on the other hand, was considered too highly coloured; and Antoniano, an ecclesiastic, even proposed to the author to blot out every part of the poem which had any thing to do with love or magic! To this advice Tasso very properly answered, that he conceived the main design of his poem could not be injured by his intermixing the milder pictures of love with the stormy details of war, its battles and misfortunes, and that the foundation of both his magical and amatory stories might be found in the old chronicles which described the events of the Crusades. He, however, attended with conscientious care to the advice of the Churchman as far as the cause of morality seemed concerned, and removed whatever appeared liable to objection on that account. The exquisite episode of Sofronia and Olindo narrowly escaped being sacrificed to these scruples. Tasso changed his mind two or three times on the subject—all his critics, with the exception of Sperone, who had sufficient good taste to appreciate its worth, advising its rejection.”—pp. 53—55.

After all it seems he discovered that he had forgotten an allegory; and that such an under-theme was indispensable in compliance with every existing Poetical canon. The following is his account of the esoteric doctrine which he found it necessary to adapt to his stanzas; a mystery from which every reader who wishes to enjoy them, will do well very thoroughly to purge his remembrance.

“The Christian army, composed of various princes and soldiers, signifying the natural man, consisting of soul and body, and of a soul, not simple, but divided into many and various faculties. Jerusalem, a strong city, placed on a rough and mountainous tract, and to which the chief aim of the army is directed, figures civil or public felicity, while Godfrey himself represents the ruling intellect, Rinaldo, Tancred, and others, being the inferior powers of the mind, and the soldiers, or bulk of the army, the body. The conquest again with which the poem concludes,

* *Lettere Poetiche.*

is an emblem of political felicity, but as this ought not to be the final object of a Christian man, the poem ends with the adoration of Godfrey, it being thereby signified that the intellect, fatigued in public exertions, should finally seek repose in prayer, and in contemplating the blessings of a happy and eternal life."*—vol. iii. pp. 66, 67.

Laud we Apollo! if, before he commenced his picture, Tasso had built this symbolical layman round which he might dispose the folds of his drapery,—if the natural order of proceeding had been uninverted, and the allegory had claimed the right of primogeniture, then alas! instead of a third deathless garland to the Muse of Epopee, the *Gerusalemme* might have proved little more than a *Purple Island*, or a *Pilgrim's Progress*.

Mr. Stebbing's series closes with a narrative of the troubled life of Alfieri, one of those headlong, turbulent, and ill-regulated spirits, who, were it not for the unbounded mischief of their example, we should be more inclined to pity than to condemn. We have purposely avoided minute criticism in our examination of these pages, but we think they may be rendered much more attractive by very close revision and by material retrenchment. The three volumes would derive benefit by reduction to two; and the reader would be better satisfied that he was treading on sure ground, if he found himself supported by accurate references. We are far from mistrusting Mr. Stebbing's good faith, he interests us by his correct taste and feeling, and by a general high tone of moral principle; but it is plain from one or two instances which we have noticed, that he sometimes adopts a hasty, and therefore, perhaps, a faulty impression; and although we despise the pedantry of a pompous train of authorities on beaten subjects, we cannot but think that on disputed points, or on matters possessing novelty, we are entitled to claim more than a simple assertion, backed here and there by a few names, without the attachment of Work or page, and even those names but *rari nantes* in the margin. Such minor exceptions, however, by no means deter us from repeating our thanks to Mr. Stebbing, both for the nature and the execution of his Work; and we shall meet him again with pleasure, especially if he directs his course from the *Lives of Italian Poets* to a translation of their Poetry.

* Allegoria della Ger. Lib.

- ART. V.—1. *A New Translation of the Book of Psalms from the original Hebrew, with Explanatory Notes.* By William French, D.D. Master of Jesus College, and (the Rev.) George Skinner, M. A. Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Murray. 1830. 8vo. 8s.
2. *Lyra Davidis; or, a New Translation and Exposition of the Psalms: grounded on the Principles adopted in the Posthumous Work of the late Bishop Horsley; viz. that these sacred Oracles have, for the most Part, an immediate Reference to Christ, and to the Events of his first and second Advent.* By the Rev. John Fry, B.A. London: Duncan. 1819. 8vo. 18s.
3. *The Book of Psalms, translated from the Hebrew, with Notes, Explanatory and Critical.* By Samuel Horsley, L.L.D. F.R.S. F.A.S. late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph. London: Rivingtons. 1815. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.

It will be difficult, perhaps, to name a book which has been so much read, which has undergone so many translations either in prose or verse, upon which so many commentaries have been composed, and which is in itself, as far at least as it is yet understood, so interesting and valuable as the Book of Psalms. How far it is capable of further elucidation it is not for us, at this stage of our business, to determine; but it is our opinion, that, notwithstanding all that has yet been done, this very interesting portion of Holy Writ is still capable of receiving much additional light; and, that from the ardour with which Oriental literature has for some time been cultivated among us, not many years will elapse before such consummation will be realized. Of this, the first work mentioned at the head of this article is, we believe, no mean earnest; and, in this sense, we most heartily congratulate the learned translators, with the University to which they belong, no less than the public in general, that whatever defects may attach themselves to this performance, and defects we must confess it does partially exhibit, we have an evidence before us, and one which evinces marks of no equivocal character, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament will again become the favourite study of our most learned divines; elaborate translations and sound comments will again issue from our Universities, and the perusal of these administer to the pleasure and edification of the members of our national church.

There is one consideration, however, upon which we must be allowed to dwell a little; and as this is one of the greatest possible importance in all questions of this nature, we shall the more readily be excused in doing so. It is this—Upon what principles of interpretation generally, are we to expect the most perfect

translations of the Scriptures; and hence, the greatest probability of a successful cultivation of theological learning? Numerous attempts have, indeed, been made to answer this question, and great public expectations have, from time to time, accordingly been raised; it must be confessed, however, that many are still to be found who complain that the needful has not yet been done. Of this number we confess ourselves to be. We do not mean to affirm, that any thing new in the shape of doctrines is to be expected; we are disposed to believe that enough in this respect, and in some quarters much more than enough, has already been accomplished; but we do say, that on the momentous question of prophecy—a question most intimately connected with the Book of Psalms—on that relating to the citations made from the Old Testament in the New—on the grammar and rhetoric of the Orientals—on the real critical state of the ancient versions of the Scriptures—very much still remains to be done; and which, until further progress shall be made, will make it unreasonable to expect any very extensive and satisfactory light to be thrown on the Holy Scriptures.

That we may the better see what has really been done, we have classed together, at the head of this article, the different works there enumerated; it being scarcely possible to find three more essentially differing in principle, and therefore more likely to evince the greatest variety in result. We shall, however, date our inquiry considerably higher than the periods, in which these works made their appearance.—In the Apostolic ages human learning was not much wanted. Divine power supplied its place: open miracles afforded proof sufficient that Jesus was the Christ; and the church was accordingly planted throughout the world.

When, however, these powers were withdrawn, human learning and human testimony became necessary to guard the Scriptures themselves from being perverted so as to serve the very worst of purposes, and to thwart the ends for which they had been given. As far as it regards the Apostolic Fathers, although we cannot in all cases adopt their comments on the Scriptures, we can in the main most safely confide in their conclusions; conclusions which had probably been received from the very best authority, but which their ingenuity was often unable to reconcile with Scripture. This, we think, is evident from the allegorising spirit visible in the writings ascribed to Barnabas—in the Shepherd of Hermas, in some instances in the Epistles of Clement of Rome—the writings of Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and some others.

If we turn, in the next place, to the histories and writings of the heretics, we shall see abundant reason to lament the want of real learning and sober decision. The same defects present them-

selves in the works of the *adamantine* Origen, and of a large number of others, both of his and different schools, not excepting the truly great and pious Augustine. In all these cases, theory may truly be said to have usurped the place of sound learning, and to have arrived at conclusions, often valuable, by routes the most circuitous, fallacious, and dangerous. Of the Hebrew learning of Origen we know but little; but from the little we do know, we have every reason to believe that it was of the Rabbinic school of Palestine, in all probability not very profound, and tinctured at least with the glosses of that body. Of Jerome, the other great luminary of antiquity, we can speak more positively. We have here the amplest proofs that his Hebrew learning was great, but in strict accordance with the doctrines of this school. His knowledge of the customs, geography, climate, &c. of Palestine was matured by an actual residence in that country for many years; and the great experience which he had in reading and construing the text of the Hebrew Bible, with three, at least, of the most learned men he could procure, must have left him almost a perfect master of the criticism of the school of Palestine in his day. And that this is the fact, a careful perusal of his writings will abundantly convince us.

Still the knowledge of Jerome as a Biblical critic was limited. He never seems to have had the least idea of disputing either the grammatical or theological decisions of his teachers. In no case, as far as we can call to mind, has he thought of appealing to the analogy of the Arabic, the Chaldaic, or the Syriac, in any question of grammatical or textual difficulty. And although he has, in some cases, suspected the authors of the Septuagint, as well as Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, of having followed a suspicious reading, yet we find no instance in which he endeavours, by rational means, to ascertain the true one. Nor was Jerome mighty as an interpreter of prophecy, although some very valuable remarks are now and then to be found in his works, on this question; nor do we hesitate to pronounce him inferior in this respect to the author of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas, to the Shepherd of Hermas, Justin Martyr, Hippolytus the Martyr, Cyprian of Carthage, and Eusebius Bishop of Casarea. Jerome too suffered himself to be bewildered with certain doctrines of the Alexandrine school, about the virtues of celibacy, the merits of monachism, &c. which must have had an immense influence on his interpretations of Holy Writ. The writings of Jerome are nevertheless exceedingly valuable, and well deserve the attention of every Biblical student; for although the pious father is not armed at all points, on some, not discussed in any other writer, he will afford very considerable light.

The most perfect commentator of these times is certainly Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus in Syria; his works are written in an easy and engaging style; and although they can boast of no very great erudition, they can of sobriety and of sound and justly drawn conclusions, seldom to be found in the writers of his days. In the interpretation of prophecy, Theodoret is, in our opinion, unrivalled. His acquaintance with the Scriptures is most extensive, and his applications of them generally most happy: and greatly is it to be regretted, that his works are not universally known among us.

It will be unnecessary to trace this subject through the dark ages; we shall proceed, therefore, directly to the period which immediately followed the Reformation, and briefly point out the methods generally adopted by the leading interpreters of those times.

It was not necessary for the purposes of Luther and his illustrious coadjutors, to be perfect masters of Biblical criticism, nor even to be acquainted with the Hebrew Language. The Latin Vulgate, in its most imperfect form, was quite sufficient to determine the points, that the Pope was no absolute Vicar of Christ on earth—that works of supererogation, penances, pilgrimages, indulgences, &c. were totally unavailable in the article of man's salvation—and that justification could be obtained by the merits of Christ alone. These things the Vulgate, or the Septuagint as far as either went, or indeed any version of the Scriptures ever published, was sufficient to teach. Luther, however, went much farther. He was confessedly the best Hebrew scholar to be found among Christians in his day; and a question may be raised, whether any one who has appeared since his time deserves to be considered as his superior. For although the numerous means of improvement now known were not accessible to him, yet we shall find from a careful examination of his version of the Bible, that the soundness of mind with which he was gifted, coupled as it was with the deepest piety and a most extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, has left behind it for the admiration of the world, a work as great in itself as it is still authoritative in the Christian world. Luther too had the felicity to keep more closely to the analogy of Scripture, than later and equally able writers have done, but who drank much more deeply into the Rabbinic literature of Galatinus, Munster, the Buxtorfs, and others. Luther lived at a day in which Scriptural truth was the great desideratum, and in which nothing else could make its way. Times somewhat later introduced with Elias Levita, &c. a system of Grammar meagre and poor in the extreme, together with appeals to Jewish traditions, Talmudical comments, and a thousand

refinements of the most childish nature, which had a very deleterious effect on the text of Holy Scripture. To the cultivation of Jewish literature we have always given our cordial good wishes, and greatly have we regretted its very low and degraded state for many years past in this country. But we must distinguish between *its proper and improper cultivation*. Jewish literature, we conceive, is *properly* cultivated, when it is investigated for the purpose of ascertaining, not of adopting, the opinions of that people; of inquiring into their customs, forms of speech, ancient and present belief and expectations, history, &c. which can never fail to be instructing and valuable. But when we dip into their Commentaries, Talmud, Targums, Grammars, Cabbala, and other works, merely to leave behind us huge and undigested folios, such as may be found among the works of our elder divines, not excepting the very learned Pococke, we do that which may add to our fame for industry, but will never contribute one jot to the advancement of Scriptural truth.

Let us not be misunderstood, however, as intending to throw any thing like a shade over the works or names of these truly great men. Our object is merely to guard others, equally talented perhaps and well-intentioned, from making similar shipwreck of their powers and opportunities. The elaborate works on these subjects which are daily imported from Germany, are of all things the most likely to engender a taste of this sort. With our own divines, indeed, this literature was cultivated for the legitimate ends already adverted to. It is to the uncontrolled eagerness of their minds, that we must ascribe the redundancies of which we have been complaining. With our German friends the case is quite different. They affect to have discovered the origin and source of all Hebrew literature in the creeds of heathenism, or in the fervour and energies of a few Hebrew poets. And, accordingly, they can identify, not only the expressions of our Lord, of his Apostles, or of any of the Prophets, with the *αὐτός ἐφη* of a Thales, Pythagoras, Plato, or indeed any other dreamer of antiquity; but they can pronounce at once, that the doctrines of both were identical, all proceeding from a few badly applied metaphysical notions, magnified into miracle by ignorance, followed and adored because they were inexplicable, and treasured up for posterity, because they were imagined to be sufficient for all the purposes of human society.

It might seem, at first sight, to be extremely difficult to account for phenomena of this sort in a country which had done so much at the times of the Reformation. Men, it might be thought, who had looked into the astonishing predictions of the Hebrew prophets—who had read of the wonders of the Apostolic age—who

had heard, even from their parents, the almost miraculous powers evinced at the Reformation, could never have been brought to conclusions such as these. The facts of the case, however, obstinately attest the contrary; and, notwithstanding all that can be advanced in their favour, the most elaborately learned divines in the world have publicly renounced, and even denounced, the faith of their fathers. Attempts have of late been made to account for this; but these, we think, have for the most part been unsuccessful. We may, perhaps, be excused if we offer another solution.

We have already remarked, that even among our own best divines, the bounds of propriety had occasionally been transgressed; that their writings, especially on the subject of Jewish literature, have evinced a tendency towards trifling; and actually ascribed, in many cases, an authority to Rabbinical decisions very far exceeding their just and natural deserts. On the subject of prophecy too we have laboured under a vagueness, particularly since the times of Mede, tending very much to invite the speculations of every theorist. And it must be confessed, that of late years no small effort has been made in this respect. Conclusions have been drawn with all the positiveness of mathematical certainty; the very periods of the Antichrist, the Millenium, and the Restoration of the Jews, have been determined with a precision which has peremptorily demanded acquiescence; and the personal reign of the Messiah on earth has been broached with a familiarity and assurance, which have unbinged the faith of some, and called forth the astonishment of all. In addition to this, we have had metaphysical speculations on the character of the Deity, his eternal purposes, his almighty powers, his particular providence, &c. all of which have been advanced either as the sure deductions of Holy Writ, or as necessarily arising out of the nature of the case; so as to have left some perfectly bewildered, others carried quite away, others again offended or disgusted, and many made perfect infidels both as to the religion thus deduced, and as to the materials from which it has been said to be derived.

Never, perhaps, was the maxim, *venienti occurrere morbo*, more wanted than in our first case. But, unfortunately, Germany was not the country in which sound philosophy was to be expected. In England theological learning was low. Purely Catholic countries were not likely to administer to the wants of Protestant Germany; and France, which has occasionally produced able writers, was too busily employed in new speculations, to afford any thing at all calculated to arrest the debilitating epidemic, which was spreading its contagions over the electoral provinces. And the consequence was, that theory after theory has been proposed, received, combated, superseded; and, what is most to be regretted, circumstances have

not improved in their progress. Positive infidelity has closed the series; and that country is now, in the main, as much in want of the labours of a Luther, as it was some 300 years ago.

Immediately preceding the times of the Buxtorfs, Elias Levita, a German Jew, commenced a partial attack upon the Masorethical system, which had for many ages governed the character of the Hebrew text. This was soon after republished, but greatly improved, by the learning of Louis Capell, then Hebrew Professor in the University of Saumur, in a book entitled *Critica Sacra*: a work so much dreaded by the divines of that day, that it was with extreme difficulty Capell could find a printer for it. The book, however, eventually issued from the press of Erpenius, at Leyden; but its interest had in a great measure subsided, for the younger Buxtorf, having obtained a sight of the MS. published an elaborate reply, entitled the *Anti-Critica*, which so far allayed public curiosity, that no farther alarms seemed to exist respecting Capell's work. Still, as Buxtorf's replies had barely satisfied the doubts of Capell, on the supposed want of integrity in the Hebrew text, men were found, from time to time, anxious to revive the dispute, by calling into question the readings of the Hebrew text, and by contrasting them with those of the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and other ancient versions. Of this class of writers, Richard Simon and Charles Francis Houbigant, both fathers of the oratory in Paris, were certainly the most successful. The work of Simon, the main object of which seemed to be, to throw difficulties in the way of the Protestants, called forth some able and warm animadversions, particularly from the pens of the very learned Spanheim and Le Clerc. And by these the evil genius of this work was for a time set at rest. Unfortunately, however, for the German divines, it was again conjured up into repute and mischief, by the inquisitive and restless spirit of John David Michaelis; who, as a learned man himself, thought he could never sufficiently recommend the learning of this acute and half-infidel Jesuit. The consequence was, that what the over-anxious inquiries of European divines had already begun, the scepticism of Pere Simon almost completed. A few bold and adventurous geniuses only were wanting to complete the ruin of German divinity, and these were soon supplied by the schools of Semler, Eichhorn, and the other leaders, many of whom still stand high in the estimation of their countrymen.

The divines of England had too much good sense to be converts to the dogmas of Simon, although it must be confessed, none were to be found among them equal to him in learning, or possessed of the flippancy which has always proved so successful in furthering the cause of infidelity. Houbigant was a writer of a dif-

ferent stamp. His great object was apparently Scriptural truth; and, as he had at command an astonishing stock of ingenious and plausible critical conjectures, while Simon's theory failed here, Houbigant's was very extensively adopted. Of this school we may reckon most of our best divines of the last century. The elegance of Bishop Lowth, in his admirable translation of Isaiah; the critical acumen of Kennicott, in his *Dissertations on the State of the Hebrew text*; the learning of Hunt; the still humbler efforts of Blayney, Newcombe and Derell, to which some others might be added, seemed to have left this country under an apprehension, that the Hebrew text had undergone a wilful corruption, which nothing but a collation of manuscripts could remedy. Under this impression the collations of Kennicott in England and of de Rossi in Italy were undertaken; and the result was, no such corruption could be maintained. On the contrary, no variety worth mentioning was found among the immense mass of copies collated; and the conclusion has been, no such corruption ever existed. During the times of this mania, *critical conjecture* was looked upon as the great and distinguishing mark of all critical merit; and an ignorance of the Hebrew grammar, of the sister dialects, of the antiquities of the Hebrew nation, of prophetic interpretation, &c. &c. was conveniently enough concealed by recurring to a conjecture or two, which effectually succeeded in dissipating every doubt.

During this period another theory was started in England, which does not seem to have had charms sufficient to recommend itself to our friends on the continent. We mean the theory of John Hutchinson; which, by a little etymological dexterity, was made to extract from the Hebrew Bible all the philosophy, religious and secular, with which the world had ever been favoured. Mr. Hutchinson's great work on this subject was entitled *The Principia of Moses*, and was intended to be opposed to the great work of Newton, generally known by the title of *The Principia*. Some few translations were made on this theory, for example, Julius Bate's translation of the Pentateuch. Many learned elementary books were likewise written, such as the *Crítica Sacra*, by the same author, Holloway's *Originals*, Catcott's *Tract on the Deluge*, &c. &c. all of which are now almost forgotten.

This system's having received no countenance from the Germans may be accounted for on several grounds; not because ability was wanting in the persons who proposed or seconded it, or plausibility in the system itself; for the truth is, it was very richly gifted in both these respects. Among them unfortunately a different one had already made some progress, and one too which had a manifest tendency to lower the authority of revealed

religion; while that of Hutchinson, however fanciful or absurd in theory, very much tended to raise the standard of religious feeling. This, we think, is sufficient to account for the circumstance of this theory's not being adopted by our German neighbours, whatever were the real facts of the case. It is important here to remark, particularly as our younger readers may not otherwise have it in their power to become acquainted with the circumstance, that the German divines, not unlike the Hutchinsonians, have favoured the world with Grammars, Dictionaries, Commentaries and Translations of the Scriptures, all made and composed in strict conformity with their favourite system. Of this sort are the Grammar and Dictionary of the celebrated Dr. Gesenius, of Halle—the Grammars of Mr. Ewald, of Gottingen, Dr. Winer, of Erlangen—The Scholia on the New and Old Testaments, by the elder and younger Rosenmüller—the Translations and Commentaries of Bertholdt, Gesenius—the writings of De Wette, Vater, Gramberg, and a host of others too numerous to recount, and too insidious not to stand in need of the utmost circumspection on the part of those, to whom the care of youth is intrusted.

Interpreters of this sort would naturally be anxious to get rid of every allusion to Christ under the Old Testament dispensation, and generally to explain away the peculiarities of his religion under the New. And this is the fact—prophecy is in the one case set entirely at nought, and every declaration of the sacred writers is explained by some circumstance or other, either known or supposed, to have taken place during the times of the Jewish polity. Hence too, what has been termed the grammatical and historical interpretation, would be the only means attended to; because every thing formerly supposed to belong to the Theologian, would necessarily be rejected as cumbrous and false. The comments of the Rabbins would accordingly rise in estimation, and the declarations of the Scriptures finally assume the tone of Jewish heathenism. This too is precisely the fact. Excessive refinement, therefore, on the one hand, and a reckless thirst for novelty, mixed with no small tendency to infidelity, seems to us to have given rise, growth, and popularity, to this laborious, but indiscriminating, school of divines.

Among some of our own divines of late years another system has assumed a prominence, particularly with regard to the interpretation of prophecy; and two of the works named at the head of this article are composed upon that system. It takes for granted, that prophecy in particular is incapable of receiving *any private interpretation*: by which is meant, that no prophecy can be understood from the terms in which it is couched, but that it

must be made out with reference to a general system, coupled with certain events which will convince us that Christ and Christ only is to be found in all prophecy; and that no circumstances whatever connected with the Jewish history could possibly have been alluded to. In this system we are directed to look for the fulfilment of all prophecy, either in the first or second advent of our Lord; by the last of which is meant by some, his coming to judge the world at the Last Day; by others, the period of the Millennium, when he shall either visibly descend and reign on earth, or shall make his power so manifest by an extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit, that his kingdom shall universally prevail, so that all intelligent creation shall own his sway, and the predictions of prophecy shall be fully realized; and in very deed, their hands shall learn war no more. Some time about this period too, the Jews, we are told, shall again be restored to Palestine, and assume a most prominent station in the moral and religious government of the world.

Whatever else may be thought on this subject, one thing is certain, viz. this view of the case is one, which cannot but very much recommend itself to the feelings of every good man. It is, indeed, a relief of no ordinary nature to be enabled to raise our views from the toils and turmoils in which we are now situated, and to fix them on a state so heavenly and serene as this view of revealed truth exhibits. And heartily were it to be wished, that such a period were really in store for the last ages of the world. The truth of such a doctrine, however, will by no means depend upon the desirableness of its realization; and therefore, here, as in all similar cases, we must inquire whether we are justified or not, in forming such expectations upon the strength of Holy Writ. Of course we cannot here be expected to enter on the general question of prophetic interpretation, such an inquiry would very far exceed the limits to which we are now confined; all we can be expected to do will be, to inquire whether this view is or is not justifiable upon the grounds generally advanced for its support.

It might almost be wished that among the reforms so loudly talked of at present, *the posthumous works of no great man whatsoever should hereafter be permitted to be published.* We are forced to this remark by the words of the title page of our second work, where it is said, "*grounded on the principles adopted in the posthumous work of the late Bishop Horsley; viz. that these sacred oracles (i.e. the Psalms) have for the most part an immediate reference to Christ, and to the events of his first and second Advent.*" But it is not only in this work, but also in numerous others in which the authority of this truly great man is cited, and acted upon as unquestionable. It therefore becomes matter of neces-

sity to inquire, how far the Bishop's views on this subject are tenable; and this can be done without in the least detracting from the real merit of the man, or in any way diminishing the claim to public estimation and respect, to which his otherwise astonishing powers have so great a right. If indeed he erred in this respect, as we believe he did, still the great Newton did, in all probability, err on the very same question. Besides, the probability is, that had the valuable life of Bishop Horsley been prolonged, he would himself have revised and cancelled a very considerable part of the matter now found in his posthumous works.

The doctrine now adverted to is proposed by Bishop Horsley in four sermons on 2 Pet. i. 20, 21, which will be found in his second volume (edit. 1816), from page 1 to 111. The text stands thus in our authorized Version:—“*Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time,—or, as it is in the margin, came not at any time,—by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.*” It should be borne in mind, that the Apostle had just been speaking of “*the more sure word of Prophecy*,” (v. 19.), he then adds, (to quote the original,) *Τὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες ὅτι πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς, ἰδίᾳ ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται. Οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠνέχθη ποτὲ προφητεία, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν οἱ ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι.* We now proceed to give the Bishop's comments on this text. At page 8, it is said, “Observe me: I say the Apostle gives you an infallible rule of interpretation.” At page 10, we are also told, that “the rule is contained in this maxim, which the Apostle propounds as a leading principle, of which, in reading the prophecies, we should never lose sight,” &c. Again, page 12, “But what is private interpretation?”—(page 13.) The truth is, that the English word *private* does but darkly if at all convey to the understanding of the English reader the original word to which it is meant that it should answer. The original word denotes that peculiar appropriation of the thing with which it is joined, to something else previously mentioned, which is expressed in English by the word *own* subjoined to the pronouns of possession: *our own* power—*his own* blood—a prophet of *their own*. In all these places the Greek word, which is rendered by the words *our own*, *his own*, *their own*, is that same word which in this text is rendered by the word *private*. The precise meaning, therefore, of the original, may be thus expressed: “Not any prophecy of Scripture is of *self-interpretation*.” This compound word, “*self-interpretation*,” continues he, “contains the exact and full meaning of the two Greek words which our translators have rendered by ‘*private interpretation*,’ and with which no two separate

words can be found in our language exactly to correspond. The meaning is just the same," adds he, "as might be thus expressed: Not any prophecy of Scripture is *its own interpreter*."* "This, then, (p. 14) is the rule of interpretation prescribed by the Apostle in my text."

Here, we think, rests the great question for debate, namely, whether Bishop Horsley has or has not given the true interpretation of St. Peter's words. We believe he has not; and the following are our reasons. In the first place, then, we think the Bishop has suffered himself to be deceived in supposing that *self-interpretation* (i. e. *αὐτεπιλύσις*, and *ἰδιοεπιλύσις* *detur venia verbis*) *private, peculiar, proper, own-interpretation*, must necessarily mean the same thing. It is true the term *self-interpretation* (i. e. *αὐτεπιλύσις*) will afford the sense given by him, viz. that Scripture is not its own interpreter; but it will not be as necessarily true, that what our translators meant to express by *private-interpretation*, i. e. if we may be allowed again to use a word coined for the occasion, *ἰδιοεπιλύσις* will also afford the same sense. The Bishop seems also to have supposed, that the antecedent to the phrase *ἰδίᾳ ἐπιλύσεως*, must be the preceding *πᾶσα προφητεία*; which, we think, would have been the case had the word *αὐτὸς* been used, and not the word *ἰδίᾳ*. But, as the passage now stands, we are not bound to take the phrase *πᾶσα προφητεία* for the antecedent, unless indeed the nature of the whole context actually required it. We are further of opinion, that it would have been most repugnant

* The Bishop further tells us, that this is the sense also given in the Latin Vulgate, as well as in the French Version of Geneva. The French version cannot possess much authority, go which way it will: and the Latin Vulgate by no means falls in with the Bishop's views. It stands thus: "*Hoc primum intelligentes, quod omnis prophetia Scripture propria interpretatione non fit*;" i. e. Understanding this first, that every prophecy of Scripture became not by private interpretation. Where *fit* must signify, *came into being* or the like, just, if we mistake not, as the Greek *γίνεται* does. Bishop Horsley, however, presses this word *γίνεται* into another and still different service, at page 80 of the first sermon, which it is our duty here to notice. His remark is: "This is very peremptorily declared in the original of my text; where the expression is not, as in the English, "no prophecy is," but "no prophecy is *made* of self-interpretation." How Bishop Horsley could have brought himself to entertain such a notion, it is impossible for us to say, unless indeed his theory, as it has often proved with other great men, was allowed to take the lead of his better judgment. *Γίνεται*, as every one knows, generally signifies *it is*, or *becomes*: and when used in the preterite is equivalent to the Hebrew *הָיָה*. In this place, the present seems to be used in a past signification, just

as the historical tense often occurs in profane authors, and as this word is used in Matt. xxvii. 24, Mark iv. 32, 37, vi. 2, &c. The sense will then be: *First, knowing this, that every prophecy of Scripture became not of private or individual interpretation*. For, &c. The Ethiopic version gives a very correct view of the bearing of this verse, though not a very literal translation: "*Veruntamen hoc prius cognoscite quod nulla prophetia à voluntate hominum, et à libidine hominis exponentis est. Sed per Spiritum sanctum, &c.*" In this sense, too, it has been taken by Erasmus, Grotius, Cameron, J. Capellus, Calvin, Mill, Hammond, Le Clerc, Whitby, Benson, Weiststein, Doddridge, Knapp, &c. See also Poole's Synopsis.

to the custom of the sacred writers to talk of prophecy, Scripture, &c. being its *own interpreter*. This is a sentiment, unless we are greatly mistaken, to which nothing like a parallel can be found. We have indeed intimations that the ant may teach, the beam out of the wall may answer, and the like: but nothing whatever having the least approximation to the Scripture's interpreting itself. If, then, this be the case, where, it may be asked, are we to look for the antecedent to the word ἱλίας, since no term is to be found in the preceding context to which it can refer?—Our reply is, It is not universally the custom with the sacred writers to refer back to what we would term an antecedent, they can look forward for the word had in view, with just as much ease as an European can look back; and this, we think, is the case in this instance. If, then, we first read the 21st verse, and then the 20th, we shall perceive that ἱλίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται, must be referred to the ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι. The whole of the context will then stand thus, v. 19. “*We have a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts: 21. For the prophecy came not in old time (or, at any time) by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. (v. 20.) Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private (individual, proper, &c.) interpretation; i.e. Inasmuch as you have already been informed,* that prophecy came by inspiration, you are not to suppose that it contains the sentiments of any individual only, but is the sure word of God. The very close connexion of the word ἱλίας in the text of St. Peter, with the word to which it refers, is remarkable, as is also the similarity of the passages in which both are found, inso-much that they present a perfect instance of parallelism, taking them as they stand in St. Peter's text:—*

v. 20. πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς, ἱλίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται.
οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠρέχθη ποτὲ προφητεία.

Every (i.e. any) prophecy of Scripture of private interpretation becomes not.

For not by the will of man was prophecy brought at any time.

We think it must be quite obvious, that each proposition here enounced was intended to convey the same great truth; namely, that prophecy was of inspired authority; and that the last was intended to be a comment on the first. Now if it can be shown that

* Τοῦτο πρῶτον γινώσκοντες is taken by the Syrian Translator of the Peschito as signifying, *This you already know beforehand*, as a statement, not as a command. In this point of view, the text is not a precept respecting the interpretation of Scripture, but only a statement as to its authority.

the Prophets were considered generally in the Apostles' times as mere interpreters employed between God and man, no further obscurity can, perhaps, rest on this passage.

Philo Judæus, then, speaking like St. Peter of the authority of Holy Scripture, says: * ἐρμηνεύει γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ προφῆται Θεοῦ, καταχρωμένου τοῖς ἐκείνων ὄργανοις πρὸς δῆλωσιν ὧν ἂν ἐθέλῃσιν. And again: προφήτης δὲ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον ἀποφαίνεται (ἀπορθέγγεται) τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐρμηνεύς ὑποβάλλοντος ἑτέρου πάνθ' ὅσα προφέρει, &c. And in another place: προφήτης γὰρ ἴδιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπορθέγγεται, ἀλλότρια δὲ πάντα, ὑπηχοῦντος ἑτέρου. And, in another: ἐρμηνεύς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ προφήτης, ἔνδοθεν ὑπηχοῦντος τὰ λεκτέα τοῦ Θεοῦ. If, then, the prophets were looked upon by the Jewish nation as *God's Interpreters*, and merely as instruments used for the revelation of his will; and again, as exhibiting or enouncing nothing by any means *their own*, but only as indexes or interpreters of some other moving cause, we can readily enough understand how St. Peter could declare, that no prophecy of Scripture was of *private interpretation*, or the mere declaration of man's own will, but, on the contrary, was the enouncement of the will of God, just as these holy men were moved by his Divine Spirit. This, we have no hesitation in saying, is most likely the intention of St. Peter in this place, and, if so, Bishop Horsley's theory is destitute of all foundation.

We might well now leave Bishop Horsley's principles of prophetic interpretation to their fate, were there not to be found, in the work already alluded to, some other sentiments† calculated

* Philo de Monarchia, tom. i. p. 222. Edit. Mangey. De Legibus, tom. ii. p. 343. Quis rerum divinarum haeres, tom. i. p. 510. De præmiis et pœnis, tom. ii. p. 417. He styles prophecy too just, as St. Peter does *προφητικὸς λόγος*. Whence, perhaps, we may conclude, that St. Peter speaks in the passage adduced, not of any interpretation which may be put upon prophecy by others, but only to teach that prophecy itself is a divinely inspired interpretation of the mind of God. See the commentators already cited on this passage, and the notes of Wetstein. The notion advanced by Philo does not seem to have been confined to the Jews: and to this effect is the note of L. Vives on Augustini Civit. Dei. lib. vii. cap. xiv., which we have thought it worth while to cite:—"Ideò ἐρμῆς Græcæ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρμηνεύεσθαι, id est interpretari. Hoc idem est esse nuncium deorum, non quòd dicta interpretetur, sed quòd diligentiissimè, et optima fide peragat, quæ sunt mandata . . . ideo interpres divinum, et nuncius est appellatus. Plato in Cratylō:—ὅς τὸ εἶρην ἐμίσητο δικαίως ἂν καλοῖτο ὑπὸ ἡμῶν εἰρέμης. τὸν δὲ ἡμῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἐμεθα, καλλωπίζοντες τὸ ὄνομα ἐρμῆν καλοῦμεν. καὶ ἦγε εἰς ἀπὸ τοῦ εἶρην εἶναι κεκλημένη ὥς ἀγγελος ἦν . . . Et Virg. ipse verbis Didonis Junonem alloquentis, quæ conciliatrix fuerat Didonis et Æneæ: Tūque harum interpres curarum, et conscia Juno."

The Commentary of Cameron, given in the Critici Sacri is well worth the attention of every Theologian on this passage. In the above sense, no necessity presents itself for changing the reading, as suggested by Grotius, nor the general signification of *πιδύσεις*, as others have thought.

† We have in Bishop Horsley himself an instance of this sort: e. g. "After he had mentioned this fulfilling of the times of the Gentiles, then, according to St. Luke, *our Lord* introduced those signs," &c.—Sermon III. pp. 46, 47. A sort of construction,

greatly to obscure the text of holy writ. Take the following as a specimen:—

“No prophecy is to be found in Scripture, which is not purposely so framed as *not* to be of self-interpretation. It was,” (continues he,) “undoubtedly within the power of the Almighty to have delivered the whole of prophecy in terms no less clear and explicit than those in which the general promises of revelation are conveyed, or particular deliverances of the Jewish people occasionally enounced: but his wisdom reprobated this unreserved prediction of futurity; because it would have enlarged the foresight of man beyond the proportion of his other endowments, and beyond the degree adapted to his present condition. It was necessary that prophecy should be delivered in such disguise as to be dark while the event is remote, to clear up as it approaches. Knowledge were no blessing, were it not adjusted to the circumstances and proportioned to the faculties of those to whom it is imparted.”—p. 31.

We have an illustration of this in the next sermon, at page 36, where the prophecy made to Eve is adduced:—“*Upon thy belly shalt thou go; and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life. And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: It (or rather “he”) shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*”

For the purpose of illustrating our rule, the Bishop supposes this prophecy to be recited to an heathen totally unacquainted with the Bible. He goes on to say: “Suppose him quite ignorant of the story of the Fall—ignorant upon what occasion the words were spoken: suppose that he were only told, that once upon a time these words were spoken to a serpent; think ye he would discern in them any thing prophetic? He must” (adds he) “have had more than the serpent’s cunning if he did.” We confess that we do not think so. Nothing can be more certain than that some future event, whatever that might be, is plainly and obviously predicted. The words *shall* and *will* occurring so often in this extract, (allowing it to be divested of all its accompanying context) would surely strike the mind of the merest heathen, as intimating something future to the time of its enouncement. What this might be, it would be out of his power to say; but it would probably occur to him, (supposing him even to be less cunning than the serpent,) that the birth of some great conqueror was announced, some one who should perhaps rid his country of noxious animals, particularly of the serpent tribe; and, if he proceeded one step farther, the next thing that would occur to him would be, that the language itself was metaphorical, and had some reference to religion. But why, it may be asked, is

however, which ought to be avoided.—See on this construction generally the *Philologia Sacra* of Glassius, lib. iv. tract. ii. observ. xii. pag. 1226, &c. Edit. Buddei.

this or any other prophecy to be divested of its accompanying context? Do St. Peter's words, even in Bishop Horsley's own sense of them, call for this? If we suppose that Scripture does not always, with the prophecy, afford a commentary, must we likewise suppose, that the prophetic declarations are likewise to be separated from their accompanying context, in order to render the whole obscure, for the purpose of bringing about some moral good, or at least of providing against the occurrence of evil, which too much knowledge would entail upon society? We are quite sure, that if this truly great man had not had an hypothesis to serve, he never would have suffered himself to be deceived into such reasoning as this. That all prophecy was, previous to its fulfilment, obscure in some degree, there can be no doubt: but then, it was sufficiently explicit to assure the dumbest reader, as in the case above, that it was prophecy: and, in this case, it must also have been so far clear, as to have identified itself with the events intended for its fulfilment, when they should come to pass; otherwise it must have been delivered in vain, both as it regards its first announcement and its latest application. Take for example the prophecy just adduced. It was enounced on the occasion of the Fall, on an occasion when "Death came into the world and all our woe." The prediction states that the *seed of the woman* shall bruise the serpent's (or tempter's) head. Now, would it not have been obvious, even in the earliest times, that this promise was intended, in one way or other, to remedy the loss then sustained, and also to take vengeance upon the primary cause of it? This, we think, must have been the case, unless we suppose the people of those early ages, to have had less penetration than the merest savage now has. And, if we further suppose, that no other intimation of this particular kind had been given in Holy Writ down to the very period in which our Lord was born, and born too of a pure virgin, would it, we ask, never have occurred to any one, that this prophecy was then fulfilled? We think it would, without supposing mankind to possess the cunning of the serpent. That prophecy was not gradually made more and more clear down to the period of its fulfilment, we do not mean to contend; but we deny that it was ever so obscure, as not to admit of being understood, as far as it was practically necessary. Prophecy is occasionally difficult; that is, there is considerable difficulty in selecting out of many events which have come to pass, that which the prophet may have intended to predict. This happens even in prophecy which we have reason to believe has been fulfilled; such, for example as those occurring from chapter xvi. to xx. of Isaiah. And yet the obscurity is not in the prophet; the defect lies solely in our want of know-

ledge; history being silent respecting many events which appear to have been the subjects of prophetic enunciation. But then, this defect could not have attached itself to those who lived in the times of the fulfilment of such predictions, and this was sufficient to justify the ways of Providence. But, in every case, the prediction is sufficiently explicit to convince us, that it is a prediction, and this is all for which we now contend.

Having, then, so far disposed of the Bishop's first position, we may now briefly examine another, which has been taken up by Mr. Fry. The question will be found discussed in the four first sermons in the Bishop's first volume, (edit. 1816,) already alluded to. It is our intention merely to consider the comments offered by Bishop Horsley on the texts of these discourses, and to make a few remarks on his principles of Scriptural interpretation.

His first text then is found in the Epistle of St. James, v. 8, "*For the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.*" Upon this the Bishop, after offering some good remarks on the allegorical system of interpretation adopted by Origen, and on the Cabalistical one of the Jews, proceeds thus to open out his own views:—

"Among the passages which have been thus misrepresented by the refinements of a false criticism, are all those which contain the explicit promise of the coming of the Son of Man in glory, or in his kingdom: *which it is become so much the fashion to understand of the destruction of Jerusalem* by the Roman arms, within half a century after our Lord's ascension, that, to those who take the sense of Scripture from some of the best modern expositors, it must seem doubtful whether any clear prediction is to be found in the New Testament, of an event in which, of all others, the Christian world is most interested."—(p. 2.) "I propose to consider," continues he, (p. 9,) "what may be the most *frequent* import of the phrase of 'our Lord's coming,' and it will, if I mistake not, appear, that the *figurative use* of it, to denote the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, is *very rare*, if not altogether unexampled in the Scriptures of the New Testament . . . That, on the other hand, the use of it *in the literal sense* is *frequent*; warning the Christian world of an event to be wished by the faithful and dreaded by the impenitent,—a visible descent of our Lord from heaven, as visible to all the world, as his ascension was to the Apostles."

It may be worth while to consider, how far the principle here adopted by Bishop Horsley can be sustained. The main points upon which he seems to rest are, the *frequent* or the *rare* occurrence of the expression alluded to in a certain sense in the New Testament. Now we may, perhaps, affirm, that the truth of any doctrine cannot be judged of either by the *frequency* or the *rarity* of its occurrence in any part of Scripture, because, we believe, any doctrine stated once clearly and without reserve or excep-

tion, must be as binding on Christians, as any other can, however frequently or strongly inculcated. The truth seems to be, repetition is not resorted to for the purpose of elevating one doctrine above another, but rather of enforcing that which might, in the hurry of life, or by the imperfection of our nature, be most easily lost sight of. And, in this point of view, "*Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord*," although inculcated but once, is a doctrine of just as great importance as any other can be, however frequently repeated or strongly urged. We cannot be brought to believe, therefore, that any stress, in the Bishop's sense of it, ought to be laid on the *frequency* or *rarity* of the occurrence of any doctrine proposed in Holy Writ: on the contrary, we think such a principle of interpretation a very dangerous one, and calculated, in many cases, to mislead. Bishop Horsley, however, does not after all proceed to the proof, that the expression occurs more frequently in the one sense than the other. This he immediately loses sight of, and then proceeds to show, why the sense in which he takes the passage appears to him to be more efficient for the edification of the Church than the other. But let us have it in his own words.—

"In the Epistles of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. James, we find frequent mention," says the Bishop, "of the coming of our Lord, in terms which, like those of the text, may at first seem to imply an expectation in those writers of his speedy arrival. There can be no question," adds he, "that the coming of our Lord *literally* signifies his coming in person to the general judgment; and that it was sometimes used in this literal sense by our Lord himself,—as in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel," &c.

We may remark, that if the general judgment is there clearly and positively taught, which we hold to be the case, how can it with truth be said, that to differ from the Bishop, with regard to the passage just cited from St. James, will leave it doubtful whether the New Testament contains any prediction of this awful event or not? Because, such a prediction as this, even supposing no other to occur in both Testaments, delivered as it is in words the most particular, awful, and interesting, must be sufficient to convince every believer, that there is most certainly, notwithstanding all the other passages relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, &c. A JUDGMENT TO COME. But to proceed with our extract.

"But as it would be very unreasonable to suppose that the inspired writers, though ignorant of the times and seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power, could be under so great a delusion as to look for the *end of the world* in their days—for this reason it has *been imagined*, that . . . we are to look for something which was really at hand

when these Epistles were written . . . And such an event the learned *think* they find in the destruction of Jerusalem," &c.

We must here remark by the way, that it is by no means necessary to suppose, that the Apostles had any idea whatever of the *world's* coming to an end in their days. They had been led to believe from the declarations of the Prophets, that the Jewish and Heathenish system was at one day to pass away; and, that from that period, a (παλιγγενεσία) *regeneration*, (ἀποκατάστασις,) or *restitution* of all things, was to commence. The end of the one system, they appear to have termed (ἡ συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος) the completion or end of the age or dispensation;* the commencement of the other, the reign of the Saints, the descent of the new Jerusalem, the Tabernacle of God being pitched among men, his name becoming known among the Gentiles, and the like. The Heretics and false teachers might, indeed, have inculcated the notion that the natural world was about to be dissolved; but certainly no such notion appears to have been inculcated by the Apostles.

If, then, we carefully separate the doctrines respecting the general judgment, taught in the Scriptures, from those declarations which speak decidedly of the erection of the Church, or what is termed in the Gospel *the kingdom of heaven*, we shall find that the times of the latter, excluding every idea about the dissolution of the world, must *literally* have been at hand. And what says our Lord on this subject? "*When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place,† (whoso readeth, let him understand:)*

* In another place the Bishop employs some rather severe invectives against those who take the original terms here used in this sense. His words are, (p. 41,) "You are told by these expositors, that by the end of the world, the Apostles meant the end of that particular age during which the Jewish Church and state were destined to endure. Such puerile refinements," adds he, "of verbal criticism might better become those blind leaders of the blind, against whose bad teaching our Saviour warned the Jewish people, than the preachers of the Gospel," &c. We will not contend here, that the phrase συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος must necessarily refer to this period; we have good reason, however, to suppose that it does, without recurring to Rabbinical or any other puerile authority upon which the Bishop has laid his interdict. See only Heb. ix. 26. It is to the context we must appeal in every case; and this we think will enable us to determine against the Bishop here.

† Bishop Horsley tells us on one occasion, that the disciples "imagined, no doubt, that the coming of our Lord was to be the epoch of the demolition with which he had threatened the Temple. They had not yet raised their expectations," says he, "to any thing above a temporal kingdom, &c. . . . The veil was yet upon their understandings; and the season not yet being come for taking it entirely away, it would have been nothing strange if our Lord had framed his reply in terms accommodated to their prejudices, and had spoken of the ruin of Jerusalem as they conceived of it."—(pp. 25, 26.) We will only ask, Would any one expect to find an expositor of the Scripture arguing for a *strictly literal interpretation* in one place, and talking in language of this kind in another? We dare not offer one word more on this subject.

Then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains"
 "Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled. (Matt. xxiv. 15, 16, 34.) And again: "Verily I say unto you, there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." (Matt. xvi. 28, see also the parallel passages.) And again: "Verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come." (Matt. x. 23.) Whatever commentators have, according to Bishop Horsley, *imagined*, or learned men *thought*, there is reason irresistible for believing, that, in the Apostles' days, the time of our Lord's "*coming*," in some sense, was really at hand.

Bishop Horsley proceeds, (p. 11)—

"If we recur to the passages wherein the approach of Christ's kingdom is mentioned, we shall find that in *most* of them, I believe it might be said in *all*, the mention of the *final judgment* might be of much importance to the writer's argument, while that of the *destruction of Jerusalem* could be of none," &c. (p. 12) "Nothing, upon these occasions, could be more out of season, than to bring in view an approaching period of increased affliction,—for such was the season of the Jewish war to be." Again: "if the careless and indifferent were at any time to be awakened to a sense of danger, the *last judgment* was likely to afford a more prevailing argument than the prospect of the *temporal ruin* impending over the Jewish nation, or indeed any thing else which the phrase of 'our Lord's coming,' according to any figurative *interpretation* of it, can denote." And the conclusion is: "It *should* seem, that in all these passages the *coming* is to be taken literally for our Lord's personal coming at the last day And this St. Peter *seems* to suggest when he tells us, in his Second Epistle, that the terms of 'soon' and 'late' are to be very differently understood, when applied to the great operations of Providence," &c.—p. 13.

After what has been said, we think we may at once dismiss from this inquiry the term *most*, as applied above, and affirm, that the expression in question cannot be taken in the Bishop's sense in *all* the places of the New Testament, the few passages just cited, limited as they are, are quite sufficient to prove. Let us now examine the probabilities here advanced to show that the Bishop's gloss is the true one. Bishop Horsley seems to have thought, that any judgment soon to be brought upon the Jews, would have afforded an argument much less potent in favour of the persecuted Christians, and much less likely to awaken the careless and indifferent, than an appeal to the general judgment would; and, it is unquestionable that he or any other man has a right to think so. We are of opinion, however, that there are circumstances in this case, which will justify us in thinking differently. They are these: this period is one which had been made

the subject of repeated prophecies, witness that cited by our Lord from Daniel. The disciples had, moreover, a most arduous and important work to effect. They had been vested with extraordinary powers for this purpose. The persecutions predicted by our Lord had commenced among the Jews at least. The false teachers had actually entered upon their career, and some of these, too, had left the society of the Apostles. Some of the Apostles had been put to death; and the progress of the Gospel had been considerable in all nations. But the predictions of our Lord extended far beyond the limits of Jerusalem, and those of Jewish persecutions. The disciples were to be brought before RULERS and KINGS, the Gospel was to be universally preached for a testimony TO ALL NATIONS. Nation, moreover, was to rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and pestilences, earthquakes, famines, and bloodshed, were to signalize the victories of the Son of Man; and all this, too, was to commence at least during the generation above adverted to. Now, it might be asked, could the doctrines alluded to be unimportant or unseasonable to the infant Church?—to a body which had such a warfare to sustain, and which innumerable predictions might be cited to show, was finally to prevail? Could they, again, be unimportant or unseasonable to those who might be careless or indifferent, when “*the arm of the Lord was about to be made bare,*” to use the terms of prophecy, in the eyes of all the nations? Could it, we repeat, be unimportant or unseasonable, even to unbelievers themselves, who were bold enough to suppose, that the promise of his coming would never take place, because, forsooth, since the fathers had fallen asleep, all things remained, just as they had done for many generations? We think not: and when we know, that this view of the case, does by no means invalidate the doctrine of a general judgment, but on the contrary place it in the strongest and most awful light, we are compelled to conclude, that the usual application of these texts, to which the Bishop so loudly objects, is of more importance to his own view of the doctrine of a general judgment, than he seems to have been aware. For, if it can be made out, that an extraordinary judgment has once been openly awarded to the wicked, and that too within the reach of our own histories, we shall have an earnest of the last great catastrophe of such a powerful and overwhelming nature as to leave both believer and unbeliever without excuse or remedy, if he neglect or refuse to receive so great a salvation, as that which the Church of Christ has to propose.

Bishop Horsley, however, has a rule of interpretation to advance, by which he can show that the terms “soon” and “late” may be understood to signify any indefinitely long period of time.

“ ‘ Soon’ and ‘ late,’ ” says he, “ are words whereby a comparison is rather intended of the mutual proportion of different intervals of time, than the magnitude of any one by itself defined; and the same thing may be said to be coming either soon or late, according as the distance of it is compared with a longer or a shorter period of duration. Thus, although the day of judgment was removed undoubtedly by an interval of many ages from the age of the Apostles, yet it might in their days be said to be at hand, if its distance from them was but a small part of its original distance from the creation of the world—that is, if its distance then was but a small part of the whole period of the world’s existence, *which is the standard, in reference to which, so long as the world shall last, all other portions of time may be by us most properly denominated long or short.*”—p. 14.

This reasoning is liable to many objections. First, if we are to name the period of time extending from the days of the Apostles to that of the consummation of all things *short*, what period will it be in our power to denominate *long*? Every period, and indeed the sum of all periods, must, in this sense, be termed *short*, and the word *long*, as applied to time, be forever expelled from the vocabulary. In the next place, on what grounds can any interpreter of Scripture be justified in having recourse to such a measure of time as this? Do we find any such method adopted by the sacred writers themselves? The Psalmist we find affirming that a *thousand years* are in the sight of the Deity but as yesterday, and St. Peter, that *one day is with the Lord as a thousand years*, and *vice versâ*, that *a thousand years are as one day*; but then, neither of them says that either of these is to be taken as a measure of time with us: and the truth is, if he had, the recommendation would have been fruitless: because no such rule could ever have been applied to practice. Bishop Horsley thinks, however, that St. Peter’s use of these terms may be brought to bear upon his hypothesis with advantage. But what says St. Peter? “ *The Lord is not slack concerning his promise, as some men count slackness. One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.*” Now we think it must be granted, that, from the manner in which these proportions are here enounced, no positive measure of time can possibly be extracted by us: and, that all the Apostle could mean must have been, that however long the period of suffering might be thought, in which the Church was then implicated, it really was not long with him, who had promised that he would come *as a thief in the night* to its relief. (ver. 10.) Again, at verse 13, the same Apostle says, “ *Nevertheless we, ACCORDING TO HIS PROMISE, look for NEW heavens and a NEW earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness;*” all of which might indeed, as it has been, be applied to the coming of our Lord at the final judgment. If, however, we carefully consider the context of

St. Peter, it will appear that this could not possibly have been his meaning. For in verse 3 he speaks of the *last days*, and of the scoffers, who were, according to prophecy, then to appear: and St. John tells, that it was by these having actually appeared he knew those to be the *last times*: besides, these must have been the enemies of the Gospel foretold by our Lord himself in his celebrated prophecy respecting the (συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος) end of the polity and the further judgments which were to follow. St. Peter's mention too of our Lord's coming *as a thief* sufficiently identifies itself with the predictions of our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 43, &c.) to leave no difficulty respecting his meaning. And, as to the *new heaven* and *new earth* also mentioned, they can by no stretch of fancy be made to mean any thing more than an application of two remarkable predictions of Isaiah (chapters lxv. 17—lxvi. 22), to which our Lord perhaps alluded when he spoke (Matt. xxiv. 29, 30. 35) of the powers of heaven being shaken, of the heavens and earth passing away, and of his own coming in the clouds of heaven. St. Peter, moreover, in verses 7 and 10 of this context, speaks of the heavens and earth being reserved unto fire—of their passing away with a great noise—and of the earth with its works being burnt up. And yet this is no more than what St. Paul says (2 Thess. i. 8) shall take place, when Christ should be revealed in flaming fire to take vengeance on his enemies, which, at verse 3 of the next chapter, he limits to the period in which the great Apostasy was to take place. And upon this St. Paul himself gives us a most decisive comment in his Epistle to the Hebrews (xii. 27—29). “*And this word, yet once more, signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, (i.e. the heaven and earth,) as of things that are made, that those things which cannot be shaken may remain. Wherefore, we receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, let us have grace, &c.... For our God is a consuming fire.*” It is not meant to be denied, that the *everlasting destruction* mentioned by St. Paul (2 Thess. i. 9) includes the sentence of the final judgment: that sentence, however, St. Paul was enabled to pronounce by virtue of the authority vested in him, viz. to bind both on earth and in heaven. And this is a practice constantly recurred to by the Scriptural writers. Justification obtained on earth, by virtue of God's revealed word, enables the receiver to pass from death to life, and not to be brought into condemnation: so the sentence of separation from the visible Church will, unless repentance intervene, for ever consign the unbeliever to the displeasure of God: and hence it is, that appeals are much less frequently made to the final day of judgment, by the sacred writers, than we find in the discourses of modern divines.

We have, however, a further and a summary objection to the

principle of interpretation itself here resorted to by Bishop Horsley. We deny that any expositor is at liberty to fabricate any such rule as that here proposed. It has, indeed, been a favourite practice with many to do so. But we may perhaps affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that no such rule, as that proposed above, is to be found either among the sacred writers themselves, or in any oriental writer ever yet seen—nor yet in any oriental language ever yet spoken. And the truth is, it has been fabricated merely to serve a turn.

Bishop Horsley, however, is not content with this rule; he also proposes another:

“There is again,” says he (p. 14), “another use of the words ‘soon’ and ‘late,’ whereby any portion of time, taken singly, is understood to be compared not with any other, but with the number of events that are to come to pass in it in natural consequence and succession. If the events are few in proportion to the time, the succession must be slow, and the time may be called long; if they are many, the succession must be quick, and the time may be called short in respect of the number of events, whatever be the absolute extent of it. *It seems to be in this sense,*” continues he, “*that expressions denoting speediness of event are applied by the sacred writers to our Lord’s coming.* In the day of Messiah the Prince, in the interval between our Lord’s ascension and his coming again to judgment, the world was to be gradually prepared and ripened for its end. The Apostles were to carry the tidings of salvation to the extremities of the earth,” &c. &c. . . . “And when the Apostles speak of that event as at hand which is to close this great scheme of Providence—a scheme in its parts so extensive and so various—*they mean to intimate how busily the great work is going on,* and with what confidence, from what they saw accomplished in their own days, the first Christians might expect in due time the promised consummation.” —*Ibid.* pp. 15, 16.

The Bishop, however, does not leave this rule unsupported, as he did the last, he also tells us, “That they are thus to be understood, may be collected from our Lord’s own parable of the fig-tree, and the application which he teaches us to make of it.” The parable is then cited:—“So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.” The Bishop adds: “That *it* is near;”—so we read in our English Bibles; and expositors render the word “it” by the *ruin foretold*, or the *desolation spoken of*. But what was the ruin foretold, or desolation spoken of? The ruin of the Jewish nation—the desolation of Jerusalem. “This exposition,” continues he, “makes, as I conceive, the desolation of Jerusalem the prognostication of itself—the sign and the thing signified the same. The true rendering of the original,” adds he, “I take to be—‘so likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that he is near at the doors,’” &c.—p. 17.

Suppose we allow this interpretation, what is gained in support of the rule above mentioned? Suppose we read—"He is near at the very doors," will it follow that the word *near* is to be measured by the number of events supposed to intervene between the prediction and its fulfilment? We can see no such connection between the words of our Lord and the Bishop's rule. There is one remarkable circumstance, however, in this case, which we think will tend to determine, as far as words can determine, what our Lord meant when he used the word *near*, it is this—we have in the very next verse to that cited, (Matt. xxiv. 33, 34,) "*Verily I say unto you, THIS GENERATION shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.*" If our Lord was then near, at the very doors, surely his coming was to commence at least at the time here specified.

We are not disposed, however, to allow the Bishop's version to pass without one remark. The authorized version gives the word *it* here, but then this need not refer solely to the destruction of Jerusalem. Why, for instance, may it not refer to the whole of our Lord's preceding prediction; which, as it has already been shown, must have related to much more than the destruction of Jerusalem? But the parallel passage in St. Luke has determined the question, and has given "*the kingdom of God,*" and this, prophecy tells us, was to succeed these troubles. And we may now conclude that, in either of these senses, the passage affords no sort of support to the Bishop's rule; but on the contrary, a most decided testimony against it.

We now proceed to the translations of Mr. Fry and the Bishop, noticed at the head of this article.

Mr. Fry tells us in his introduction, page iv, that "the principles upon which his Exposition of the Psalms is founded, and by which, of course, *the translation has been considerably influenced*, are briefly these:"—"that these sacred songs are not to be applied to the character and personal concerns of David, or to the events of his times, but are to be understood in immediate reference to the Lord Messiah, &c." . . . "and especially to the triumphant establishment of his glorious kingdom in the *last days.*" . . . That "the Psalms being for the most part of a prophetical character, this circumstance subjects them *to a new and different mode of interpretation*; according to that most important rule given us by the Apostle Peter for the explanation of the prophecies, *knowing this first, that no prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation, &c.*" We are next told, in the words of Bishop Horsley, "that every particular prophecy is to be referred to the system, and to be understood in that sense which may most aptly connect it with the whole." "Such," says Mr. Fry, "are the principles upon which the following translation and exposition

have been constructed. A reference to Christ and his kingdom, for the most part without the intervention of type or similitude, has been considered as the design of the divine author of the Psalms; and being in general understood as prophetical, they have been interpreted according to the apostolical canon for the exposition of prophecy explained above.”—(p. vi.)

We have seen, however, that the words of St. Peter have no such meaning; and as to the other position, that the prophecies here found must relate to the last ages of the world, we have ample reason for believing that Mr. Fry is mistaken in this point also. That many, and perhaps all of the Psalms, do, in one way or other, relate either to the Messiah or his kingdom, we have no doubt, but that this is universally expressed without the intervention of either type or figure we do not believe; and for the best of all reasons, because the Psalmist himself expressly declares that he has so spoken:—“*I will,*” says he, “*incline mine ear to a parable, I will open my dark saying upon the harp;*” (Ps. xlix. 4.) and this, let it be remembered, in a psalm speaking more directly on the subject of human redemption than perhaps any other that can be named. We must correct ourselves, however, for neither the Bishop nor Mr. Fry, will allow of the existence of any such *dark saying* here, and accordingly, they give a very different translation to the passage. Mr. Fry has, “*I will incline mine ear to the ode, I will open my song upon the harp.*” And we are told in the note that מִשַׁל, the word here translated by “*ode,*” signifies “*in genera*” (genere surely?) “*carmen et poëma quodlibet, a figurata ratione veluti carmen propheticum, triumphale, lugubre invectivum,*” and Simon is cited as the authority. In the next place, the word חִידָה of the Psalmist, Mr. Fry translates by “*my song;*” and then tells us in a note, upon Simon’s authority also, that חִידָה means *carmen quodlibet*. Bishop Horsley is then cited as saying, “*my enigma;* not an enigma of my making, but an enigma in my possession.” And again, “the sense is, I will myself give attention to the instructive *parables* of revelation, and I will propound them in this ode to others.” And, lastly, Mr. Fry, on his own authority, tells us that he is disposed to think, however, that the “*inclining the ear,*” “relates to the position of the minstrel, who in accommodating his words to the tune, bends in an attentive posture over his harp, as if to catch the sounds.”

This specimen of translation and exposition shall suffice on the work of Mr. Fry, and if we mistake not very greatly, it will prove more than enough to show, that whatever ingenuity and labour he may have bestowed on this work, (and both we are most willing

to allow he has bestowed,) no reliance whatever can be placed on his results. For in the first place, although Mr. Fry will allow of no type, or reference whatever to the temporal David in these Psalms, he can nevertheless allow, that even the position of the minstrel could influence its composition! In the next place, although he has cited Simonis on the two words above given, and done this in a very defective, and therefore reprehensible, manner, yet when he comes to the note, he allows with Bishop Horsley, that the word *הַיָּדָה* does, after all, signify *an enigma*; and so the text and the comment, the translator and his authority are perfectly at variance; and all, as it should seem, for the purpose of supporting a theory, on which no reliance whatever can be placed! With this remark we must now bid adieu to Mr. Fry.

A word or two now on Bishop Horsley's version.—Generally, we think, the Bishop is less anxious than Mr. Fry to bend every thing to his theory, and there are whole pages in which it would be difficult to find any deflection for the purpose of satisfying his system. In the notes, however, on the 25th Psalm, we have a most outrageous comment, given, as we suppose, for the purpose of getting rid of every allusion to the temporal David. It is this, “In the first twelve verses,” it is said, “the man Christ Jesus, (or in the Hutchinsonian phrase, the humanity of Christ,) prays to the Trinity. In the first three to the Word, to which the humanity was united, for support. In the fourth and fifth to the Holy Spirit to instruct and guide him. In the sixth, seventh, and eighth, to God the Father, to spare him.” We may merely remark here, that nothing but a mind highly wrought in favour of an hypothesis, could ever have thought of extracting all this from the words of the Psalmist. Another theory to which the Bishop has occasional recourse is, that of the celebrated Houbigant, &c. already alluded to; and, as the Bishop had the misfortune to betake himself to this kind of literature late in life, we find, as it might be expected, that his critical conjectures speak much more for his ingenuity than for the depth of his erudition in criticism. We must, nevertheless, be allowed to say for the Bishop, that there are some instances occasionally to be met with in his work which exhibit the marks of a mighty mind; and, in many others, where we have to deplore the want of experience not of ability, it may be said of the Bishop, as it once was of Michael Angelo, that these are nevertheless the failings of a great man.

But why, one may ask, may not the Psalms as well as other parts of the Scriptures allude, in one way or other, to the circumstances of the times in which they were written? Can it derogate

in any degree from their final object or main scope, to suppose they were written on this or that occasion, and when these were such as would administer considerably to the effect intended to be produced? Miriam's song, for example, (Exod. xv.) was first indited, as it should seem, upon the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host. Now, we ask, does not this circumstance tend very much to give effect to the whole, without in the least degree derogating from the doctrine intended to be inculcated? So in the case of Isaiah taking his child to meet Ahaz, (chap. vii.)—in his children being so named as to perpetuate and daily to enforce the subject-matter of several of his prophecies? In these cases, to which many others might be added, we are of opinion that the considerations alluded to very materially contribute to the perspicuity and force of the lessons intended to be taught. The same must be true of the Psalms, which are apparently odes composed on remarkable occasions. This, however, is not only probable, but certain of some of them, and of some too, to the titles of which our expositors just alluded to loudly object. Let the reader turn, for example, to 2 Sam. xxii. and there let him read verses one and two. Let him now turn to Psalm xviii. and there read over the title with the first and second verses, and then let him ask himself the question, whether the one is not a copy of the other? Let him next examine 1 Chron. xvi. 7, &c. with Psalm cv. and then let him likewise determine, whether the occasion mentioned, in the first instance, does or does not in any way diminish the effect intended by the whole? In these cases Divine authority fixes the occasions on which the compositions were first produced; and although we cannot say with equal precision, when all the others were first published, we can that were this known it would no more derogate from their force, than those do of which we have the most certain knowledge. The truth seems to be here, as before, that Bishop Horsley and his followers have been offended, as well they might, with the *excessive* use made by some Commentators of the circumstances in question, and in which they have lost sight of the main object intended to be taught, namely, the mystery of Godliness which should be manifested in the flesh. And the consequence has been, that instead of rectifying this mistake, recourse has been had to the opposite extreme. And to this we must undoubtedly ascribe the unnatural and forced comments just pointed out. We trust we may now say, that we have succeeded in one thing, namely, in pointing out the great importance which ought to be attached to just principles of Scriptural interpretation; and further, that from an extended view of this subject, and of the various efforts and failures of great and learned men, whether they may have been of the church or the synagogue,

we know of no circumstance so well calculated at once to admonish us of the extreme fallibility of the human intellect—to excite our commiseration over its innumerable instances of failure—or to suggest the caution we ourselves should use in making choice of the principles by which we are to be guided.

We now turn to the new Translation of the Psalms by Dr. French and Mr. Skinner, and it is, we must confess, with no small degree of delight, that we here contemplate before us a field so free from the luxuries of wild hypothesis, and the never-ending round of ungoverned imagination and puerile conceits. Let us briefly point out, in the first place, the principles of our translators, and then adduce a few examples from their work by way of examination and illustration. In the first place, then, we have to express our regret that the Preface is short, and that the Notes with which this valuable work is accompanied are few; especially as the work is, to use the translators' own words, intended to be a manual; or, as we understand them, intended to afford edification to the private reader, rather than an elaborate work of criticism. A little more explanation was almost absolutely necessary, for the purpose of instructing those who have not the power of informing themselves, why the translators have in many instances differed from the authorized version. We are told, (Pref. p. ii.) that "to draw a broad line of distinction between the Hebrew Bible and every other ancient record, appears little consonant to the principles of sober judgment, and is clearly incompatible with all freedom of inquiry, even when exercised with the utmost reverence and caution. The difficulties to be encountered are the same, for the most part, in kind, although differing in degree." There can be no doubt on this point. The Hebrew Bible has, like all other books, been written for the information and use of men. Its language is manifestly, like the languages of all other nations, to be acquired only by a long and painful course of study. The peculiarities of its phraseology can be known only to those, who have been careful to observe and to note down the several cases under which they occur. And inasmuch as "there exists," according to translators, "no contemporaneous and independent authority with which the several forms of expression can immediately be compared," the difficulties attendant on this study become multiplied an hundred-fold. For we must also have recourse to what have been termed the sister dialects, as the translators truly tell us; and to acquire a sufficient command in these to enable a man to speak in any degree with the confidence of a critic, requires great time and patience.

"Their first and principal study has been," say our translators, "to make Scripture its own interpreter, as well by comparing

carefully all those passages which contain any proposed word of doubtful meaning, as by estimating the exact force of each idiomatic expression, &c." we are happy to say that this principle has been abundantly and successfully applied in innumerable instances in the work before us.

We are told in the next place, that the translators "have availed themselves of the ancient versions of the Bible—of the kindred dialects of the Hebrew—of the stores of Rabbinical learning—and of the works of ancient and modern interpreters and commentators, both Jewish and Christian." A pretty extensive apparatus truly. On one thing we may congratulate the translators and the public, namely, that they have not overwhelmed us, as was the practice formerly, with endless citations, discussions, etymologies, &c. &c. drawn from these all-fertile sources of amazing, but not always useful, erudition. That these sources are valuable there can be no doubt, but it generally requires more judgment than our forefathers possessed, and more learning and judgment united than our friends on the continent now possess, to make them so. For our own part we believe, that very great light is yet to be obtained from this quarter, and much greater than has yet been brought to bear on the interpretation of Holy Writ.

Another good property of this version is, the absence of critical conjectures on the state of the Hebrew text. The Bible of Van der Hooght is generally followed. And happy it is for us, that enough of the Hebrew language is now known to enable translators to go smoothly on, without being continually obliged to make bad Hebrew, in order to enable them to present to their readers good English.

Another point to which our translators have happily confined themselves is, the strict grammatical interpretation of the Hebrew text. "They have constantly kept in view," say they, "the sound and established principles of grammatical interpretation. In no case have they intentionally departed from the literal meaning of the text, further than the difference between the English and the Hebrew idioms seemed to require." The titles of the Psalms, as far as found in the Hebrew text, they have for the best of reasons, namely, because they are often unintelligible, entirely omitted; and in this, we think, they have done right. Not that we would be here understood to offer any opinion on the authority of those titles; but because, as the translators truly remark, they are not always, as far as understood, found to be consonant with the text of the Psalm itself: and because they seldom tend in any way to elucidate it. In a few instances, as already noticed, their authority is certainly good. In such cases they

will stand equally well in a note, and in this the occasion on which such Psalm was written may very properly be pointed out. These are the principles generally adopted by the translators. We have already said, that we lament the shortness of the notes, we now repeat this, because it affords us an opportunity of saying, that we wish the parallel passages, or rather the citations found in the New Testament, had been more frequently called in for the purpose of elucidating the exegetic bearing of the text. This, we think, would have made the work much more complete and useful to the private reader. One thing more we must say here, and in this we shall perhaps be thought antiquated and unnecessarily precise: it is this—withstanding all that Bishop Lowth, Bishop Jebb, and other highly respectable writers, have said on Hebrew Poetry and parallelism, we cannot bring ourselves to think, that the arrangement of the Psalms and other poetical books, as they are called, into distichs, &c. adds in any way either to their perspicuity, their force, solemnity, or beauty: nor do we think any one among us would ever be brought to believe, that a Church or Family Bible, arranged and read according to this system of parallelism, would possess any thing like the authority of a Divine Revelation. Our notion is, that to dignify the Bible, or any part of it, with the title of Hebrew poetry, tends very much more to injure its authority than to recommend it; and further, that we have no good reason for giving it any such character. Besides, were this sort of rhythmus found to prevail in a degree far greater than it really does, still all that could be said for it must be, that it is a species of writing peculiar to the Oriental nations, while their poetry, where that is really to be found, (for the Hebrews have certainly none,) is a totally different thing. The skill of the best scholars has failed in the endeavour to parcel out the sacred text, as is visible enough in the very elaborate work of Dr. French and Mr. Skinner. Our advice therefore is, return to plain prose, the ornaments thus bestowed on the Bible only tend to unnerve and weaken its declarations, and must always contribute to diminish its authority. Let us now come to the text itself.

The translators tell us generally, that they have kept as near to the language of the original as the idioms of both languages would allow; and in this, we think, they have in the main succeeded, *e. g.* Ps. i. 3, “And all its produce is flourishing.”

Heb. וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה יִצְלִיחַ. Our authorized version has, “And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper:” which introduces a confusion, or rather, returns to the subject-matter of the comparison in an abrupt manner. The mistake has arisen from supposing that the

verb *עָשָׂה* makes, &c. ought to be referred to the preceding *הָאִישׁ* the man, rather than to *עֵץ* a tree. But the truth is, this verb signifies to produce fruit when applied to trees, as may be seen in the first chapter of Genesis, and imitated in the Greek Testament, Matt. iii. 8. In the authorized version, moreover, not only in the Psalms, but throughout it, the translators seem to have been perfectly out at sea, as to the use of the tenses of the verbs; which is perhaps excusable on the ground, that the principles which regulated these were then almost entirely unknown. In this very verse, for example, we have a preterite translated by a future; a future (according to their grammars) translated as a present; a future, which after all is only a present, translated as a future; and lastly, two of these futures (according to them) translated as presents. We do not mean to say, that still we have not the doctrine, intended to be delivered by the Psalmist, sufficiently clear and exact for the purposes of general instruction; but the precise force of his sentiments can not be felt from such a version. The Orientals almost universally reason from facts, not from opinions; and hence we have in the outset of this very Psalm, “The blessings of the man who *hath* not walked, &c. . . . and *hath* been like a tree planted upon (near) the divisions, streamlets, of the waters, which giveth its fruit in its seasons, and whose leaf corrupteth not, and the whole which it produceth it bringeth to maturity.” This is, perhaps, awkwardly literal. Our translators have preserved this sense as nearly perhaps as our language would allow. Again, in Ps. iv. 1, our authorized version has, “Thou hast enlarged me *when I was* in distress.” The grammars of their day had not sufficiently marked the use of the preterite tense in an imperative signification, although they were unable to translate Deut. vi. 5, and many other passages in the Pentateuch, without observing this. Hence, in the passage just noticed, although this preterite form occurred among other imperatives, they do not seem to have been aware, that it really must have an imperative signification; they therefore took it as a preterite, and were consequently under the necessity of introducing several words printed in italics in order to fill up a supposed ellipsis. Dr. French and Mr. Skinner have been more happy in translating it, “Set me at large in my strait,” which, according to our notion, is a perfectly literal and true translation of the passage. In the first three verses of the eighty-fifth Psalm, we have, if we mistake not, constructions parallel to this, except that no imperative *form* of the verbs appears: the words used are such, nevertheless, as seem to call for this sort of translation. Our new translators have not ventured to translate the passage as a prayer, but have given it as

historical. "Thou didst show favour, &c. . . . Thou didst pardon the iniquity, &c. . . . Thou didst forgive all their sin, &c." It is true this version will admit of an easy application, as the translators have shown in their note, and therefore it is not to be condemned. We doubt, nevertheless, whether it is the true translation for the following reasons:—First, numerous instances may be adduced from the Hebrew Bible to show, that the preterite tense must be taken as an imperative, although no imperative form of the verb occurs in the same context. Secondly, nothing is so common with the Arabs as the use of the preterite in this sense. In the next place, we know of no return from a captivity to which this Psalm could refer, unless we suppose it to have been composed after that from Babylon, in which case it seems difficult to conceive under what troubles the people were then labouring, for the nation is evidently represented as under great trials. If we refer it to the times of the Maccabees, greater difficulties will present themselves, because the Hebrew canon was manifestly closed before their times. Besides, it seems rather incongruous in the Psalmist to say, that God had forgiven all their sins. We do not say it was impossible such an expression could escape him; but we do think it unlikely, because it is unusual. And again, the four following verses are manifestly the language of prayer. Then, from verse eight to the end, we have an expectation expressed of the answer to come, with the consequent blessedness to attend upon the true believers. We are induced, therefore, to think that the three first verses also belong to this prayer. The only difference pointed out by the Arabs between the use of the preterite as an imperative, and that form of the verb usually so called, is that the former is more forcible; and such we think is always the case when this form is used in the Hebrew, witness Deut. vi. 5, &c. as already noticed.

We shall now examine a passage or two with the notes in order to show, how far the translators have faithfully interpreted those which have an immediate reference to the Messiah's kingdom. These we shall take from the forty-fifth.

1. "My heart is overflowing with a goodly theme.
I will recite my song made in honour of the King.
May my tongue be as the pen of a skilful scribe!
2. "Thou art exceedingly beautiful, beyond the sons of Adam;
Grace* is diffused upon thy lips;
Therefore God hath blessed thee for ever.

* *Grace*, &c.—This refers to the divine power of Messiah's teaching, and to the extraordinary effect produced upon his hearers. "And all bare him witness, and wondered at the *gracious words* which proceeded out of his mouth."—*Luke*, iv. 22. "The officers answered, Never man *spake* like this man."—*John*, vii. 46.

3. "Gird Thy sword upon Thy thigh, O mighty Warrior;
Gird on Thy splendour and Thy majesty.
4. "And in Thy majesty ride on and prosper
In the cause of truth, meekness and righteousness;
And let Thy right hand teach Thee dreadful deeds," &c.

The comment is—"The Psalm is prophetic of the future triumphs of Messiah's kingdom." It also describes in glowing language, borrowed from the manners of an eastern court, the nuptial festival of the King. "The bride is a type of the Church of Christ." Compare Revel. xix.

We regret that our limits will not allow us to go on with this extract: we must content ourselves by saying, we believe it scarcely possible to conceive any thing more happy than the whole of this Psalm, as given in this translation, and commented upon in the notes: all we wish is, that the notes had been doubled or tripled in their number and extent. In the translation, "My heart is overflowing," Heb. **רָחַשׁ לְבִי**, "My heart hath overflowed," would have been more literal; but here, as on a former occasion, the present tense is more suitable to our idiom. The word **רָחַשׁ**, which occurs only once in the whole Bible as a verb, is well expressed by *overflowing*; the Arabic **خَشَّة**, signifying, according to Golius, *motus, agitatio*. The author of the Kamoos makes it equivalent to **اضطرب** *distressed*, or the like, which is admirably suited to express the fervour, under which the psalmist laboured when engaged in enouncing the glories of his Lord's kingdom. The next line, "I will recite my song made in honour of the King," is not quite so literal, although the sense of the original is better expressed than in our authorized version: verse 2, "Thou art *exceedingly beautiful*, &c." exactly gives the force of the Hebrew reduplicated verb **יִפְיֶיֶת**, "*Grace is diffused upon thy lips*," Heb. **חֲרִיצַק הוּן בְּשִׁפְתֹתַיִךְ**, than which it would, perhaps, be impossible to give any thing more exactly corresponding with the original. Verse 3, "O mighty Warrior," Heb. **גִּבּוֹר**, the translators seem here to have had in view the remarkable passage in Isaiah, ix. 5, in which the same person manifestly is styled **אֵל גִּבּוֹר**, *Mighty God*, or, as this view would suggest, *Warrior God*. The context too, in both places, is in some respects parallel. In the Psalm the Hero is to ride on and prosper in the cause of *truth, meekness and righteousness*; in the Prophecy, to the increase of his *government and peace* there is to be no end, and he is moreover to be styled *the Prince of Peace*. The last

line we have cited we think less exact; we would render it thus: *And thy right hand shall exhibit thee exceedingly wonderful*, more literally, *as wonders*, or *as a great wonder*, i. e. taking the verb תִּוְרֵךְ with its affix, not as teaching *thee* the wonders intimated by the next word נִרְאֹת, but teaching others that thou art wonderful; and, in this view of the passage, we have another parallel to that in Isaiah just adverted to, in which it is said his name shall be *wonderful*. The verb too means more literally, *it shall project thee, exhibit thee*, or the like. The Septuagint has taken it thus—Καὶ ὀδηγήσει σε θαυμαστῶς ἡ δεξιὰ σου, which makes in some degree for our proposed rendering.

We need say nothing in commendation of the short comment noticed above; but, as this version with its notes, has been made the subject of a most virulent attack upon the translators,* we

* The attack alluded to was published in a newspaper called the *Record*, Sept. 30, 1830, and written by a person who signs his name Thomas Boys. He is probably the Thomas Boys who sometime ago published a book entitled "*Tactica Sacra*," &c.—a work which has experienced deserved neglect. But whatever might be said on this subject, certain it is that the rancour and malevolence of this article can only be equalled by the ignorance and imbecility which it evinces. A specimen or two will be quite sufficient to prove this. The first charge worth remarking is founded on a note appended to the thirty-second Psalm, verse 5. The note is—"In this verse the psalmist describes the happy consequences which resulted from an open acknowledgment of his guilt, and a hearty repentance for his sins." "Now," says Mr. Boys, "open acknowledgment of guilt, and free pardon, we find on turning to the passage; but of 'hearty repentance' not a word;" "what I complain of is," adds he, "the total perversion of the doctrinal part of this thirty-second Psalm, so strikingly and convincingly cited by St. Paul in support of the true doctrine of justification. No. The thirty-second Psalm was not written to show the happy consequences of a hearty repentance." One would imagine from all this, that the note in question had been written for the purpose of doing away with the doctrinal part of this Psalm as cited in Rom. iv. 6, 7. But there is no such thing; that doctrine is stated in the first two verses of this version just as clearly as it is in the authorized one, or cited by St. Paul. The truth is, the note is given on the fifth verse, and there the doctrine of justification is not advanced by the psalmist at all. And Mr. Boys himself tells us, that upon turning to the passage we find an open acknowledgment of guilt, and a mention of free pardon, but not a word about *repentance*. The passage, even according to Mr. Boys, is not that cited by St. Paul! One word more. Mr. Boys can find an open acknowledgment of guilt, but not a word about repentance. But did the translators say any such word occurred? No; they only stated that repentance had, among other things, brought about certain consequences. And will Mr. Boys argue, that an open acknowledgment of guilt is not, in fact, an act of repentance? or, omitting this, that such words as "I will confess my transgressions," &c. do not contain the language of repentance? But Mr. Boys has no objection to the doctrine of repentance; he only objects to its being brought in here, where, as he had assured himself, St. Paul had founded his doctrine of justification. But alas! all this is just as false as misapprehension and malignity could make it. The next piece of criticism with which we are favoured is on a note on Psalm li. verse 18, where the translators had offered an opinion, that, because allusion is made to building the walls of Jerusalem, the last two verses were, perhaps, added to the Psalm during the Babylonish captivity. Here, as before, Mr. Boys cries out heresy, infidelity, &c. &c.! He complains of these two verses being thus *lopped off*, which, however, the translators *add* to the Psalm! He then tells us that walls were built about Zion even in David's time, and cites 1 Chron. xi. 7, 8; 2 Sam. v. 9, in proof of his position; but he

must be allowed to cite a few more passages, in order to satisfy our readers, that no injury could have been meditated on vital Christianity by these translators. On verse 9 it is said, "The distant lands, Ophir and Armenia, are probably named as well to show the great extent of Messiah's dominion as to point out the fine quality of the gold and ivory possessed by the King." On verse 11, "Delighted with thine excellency" . . . "Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it . . . that he might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish."—Eph. v. 25, 28. Verse 16. "This and the following verse contain God's promise of future and perpetual dominion to King Messiah. Compare Ps. lxxii. 17." Ib. "Children.—The whole Christian race is the fruit of this mystical union of Christ with His Church."

The spirit and accuracy of this translation, with its notes, cannot, we think, be too loudly commended. There are, indeed, some instances in which the translators have been less happy, and others in which, unfortunately, no notes are attached. Brevity, however, has manifestly been one great object, and this will, perhaps, afford an apology sufficient to satisfy every reasonable reader on this head. Those less felicitous instances of rendering to which we have alluded, must not, however, be put down as false or injurious, or in any way likely to disturb the faith of the private reader; for no instance is to be found, as far as we have seen, in which the most unexceptionable authority cannot be cited in support of the view taken. We only mean to say, that in such cases no new and original light has been thrown on the context of Scripture. But when we consider the extreme difficulty of the Book of Psalms, and the innumerable failures of the ablest men in their endeavours to elucidate it, we are forced to the conclusion, that whatever may be the instances of defect, either in the

forgets to tell us, that these places cannot possibly apply to the Psalm in question! He next rambles about "fanciful tokens of modern Hebrew," of which, however, the translators had not said one word. And, lastly, raves about the injury done to sound doctrine, by supposing that these two verses had been added. For our own part we cannot see the least possible connection between *sound doctrine* and this *critical conjecture*: besides, it might be supposed, if these verses were added to the Psalm in Babylon, they may have been added by Daniel, Ezekiel, or some other divinely inspired person; which will leave the faith of the believer as firm as ever, and sound doctrine uninjured. We do not think it necessary to have recourse to either, as the building of Zion's walls might intimate no more than a prayer of the psalmist that God would defend his true Church; whilst we also think that the translators' note is perfectly harmless in any case. While this has been passing through the press, we have been favoured with the perusal of a review of this Translation of the Psalms, published in the Christian Remembrancer, which we very much admire. One thing we would suggest to its excellent and amiable author, that he has occasionally betrayed an asperity quite at variance with his own character, and certainly unsupported by the instances adduced.

translation itself or the notes, the work is such as to entitle the translators to the warmest thanks of the public, and to afford one of the best assurances, that biblical literature is making a sure and rapid progress among us.

ART. VI.—*A Review of the Doctrine of a Vital Principle as maintained by some Writers on Physiology. With Observations on the Causes of Physical and Animal Life.* By J. C. Prichard, M.D. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. 7s. London. John and Arthur Arch.

FROM the earliest hour that man attempted to form an abstract thought down to the present day, has he been employed in endeavouring to detect the springs of life in animated nature; and we may add, that at the present day he knows no more in relation to the conscious and sensitive principles which distinguish living things from unorganized matter, than he did immediately after performing his first rude essay in physiological investigation. In short, this is in every point of view a kind of knowledge too high for him, and he is doomed by the very laws of his existence upon earth to be for ever kept from attaining unto it. There are indeed *physical conditions* necessary to the discharge of the vital functions in all the tribes and varieties of animal bodies, from man, the head of this lower creation, to the most imperfect of the molluscous and zoophite species. And we make bold to assert, that to become acquainted with these conditions in the endless diversity of circumstances in which life is enjoyed or possessed, is in fact the proper object of physiology, and at the same time supplies the limits within which all our inquiries into the vital principle must ultimately be confined.

Philosophers have indeed attempted more, and aimed at conclusions of a much loftier character; but it is worthy of notice that their boldest speculations have uniformly terminated in the most humble results, and coincided even with the simplest views of the illiterate vulgar. For example, all men perceive that there can be no life where there is not some degree of organized structure, a circulating fluid, and a certain portion of constitutional temperature; and hence physiologists, with a very slight regard to sound rules of reasoning, have severally identified the animating principle with organization, with blood, with heat, or with the action of the more subtle of the chemical affinities. We have accordingly a separate hypothesis established on each of these grounds. We have the mechanical theory of life, the chemical theory, and the sanguineous theory, or that which associates the vital princi-

ple with the warm and fluid state of the blood. In a word, the profound researches of anatomists and physiologists, during twenty centuries, have brought to light nothing more novel or striking than this familiar fact—that without organs, blood, the chemical process of assimilation and internal warmth, animals cannot exist in the living state.

Bichat—no mean name in such inquiries—has gravely stated, that life is an aggregate of the functions which resist death; “l'ensemble de tous les fonctions qui résistent à la mort;” and Cuvier, whose reputation equals that of any naturalist in the present age, defines it as consisting in the aggregate of the functions which serve to nourish the body; “l'ensemble des fonctions qui servent à nourrir le corps, c'est-à-dire la digestion, l'absorption, la circulation, la respiration, la transpiration, et les excretions.” In his *Lessons on Comparative Anatomy*, the same author remarks, that “l'idée de la vie est une de ces idées générales et obscures produites en nous par certaines suites de phénomènes que nous voyons se succéder dans un ordre constant, et se tenir par des rapports mutuels. Quoique nous ignorions la nature du lien qui les unit, nous sentons que ce lien doit exister, et cela nous suffit pour nous les faire désigner par un nom que bientôt le vulgaire regarde comme le signe d'un principe particulier, quoique, en effet, ce nom ne puisse jamais indiquer que l'ensemble des phénomènes qui ont donné lieu à sa formation.” “Ne pouvant remonter à la première origine des corps vivans, nous n'avons de ressource pour chercher des lumières sur la vraie nature des forces qui les animent, que dans l'examen de la composition de ces corps, c'est à dire, de leur tissu et du mélange de leurs élémens: quoiqu'il soit vrai de dire que ce tissu et ce mélange sont, en quelque façon, le résultat de l'action des forces vitales qui leur ont donné l'être et qui les ont maintenus. Il est clair aussi que ces forces ne peuvent avoir que là leur source et leur fondement.”

The object of the work now before us is, to give a history of that particular doctrine in physiology which is founded upon the notion that there is in animals a certain agent appointed by Divine Providence to regulate those physical processes upon which life depends, and which is usually called the Vital Principle. This hypothesis seems to have been formed with the view of supplying that link, so necessary to the human imagination, which connects the organized structure with consciousness and sensibility in the living subject. The physiologist has recourse to it for nearly the same reason that induced Sir Isaac Newton to suggest the existence of a subtile ether pervading all space, and ministering, perhaps, to the stupendous movements of the heavenly bodies. The

history of philosophy, indeed, in all ages supplies numerous examples of such expedients being adopted in every branch of natural science, in order to bring the invisible influence of the Divine Mind into a closer combination with physical processes, and thereby to afford a support to the intellect when endeavouring to trace back, along the chain of causes and effects, the result which it witnesses to the primary source of all causation. Even in the simplest cases which fall under our observation—the melting of wax and the hardening of clay by the same fire—our imagination refuses to rest satisfied with the mere sequence of events. We try to interpose something between the fact which goes before and that which follows; and hence the origin of such expressions as efficient cause, sufficient reason, and several others equally destitute of a precise meaning, but which are used to fill up in our forms of speech the void which we cannot supply in our train of thought. It is obvious that we gain nothing by assigning digestion, absorption, circulation, and respiration to a vital principle; because we have not, and cannot have, any other conception of such a principle than that which, upon a minute analysis, must be identified with the very functions of animal nature which it is brought to explain. There is, in short, no *physical* principle discoverable by the human understanding, antecedent to those actions or processes, performed by the vital organs, which constitute life. In seeking, therefore, for an explanation of the astonishing fact which we are called upon to consider, when we contemplate a piece of organized matter endowed with irritability sensitiveness and consciousness, we must at once refer it to the will of the Almighty Creator; for sure it is, that if there be any species of physical energy interposed between his will and the vital actions we witness in others, and are conscious of in ourselves, it is placed far beyond the boundaries of human research.

There is not a more prolific source of error in philosophy than the practice of first generalizing facts into a species of poetical personification, and then applying this mental abstraction as a physical principle. Of this unhappy tendency to substitute words for things, we have a remarkable example in the works of an eminent chemist when writing on the subject now before us. “We must conclude,” says Dr. Thomson, “that there exists in animals an Agent very different from chemical and mechanical powers, since it controls these powers according to its pleasure. These powers, therefore, in the living body are merely the servants of this Superior Agent, which directs them so as to accomplish always one particular end. This seems to regulate the chemical powers chiefly by bringing only certain substances together which are to

be decomposed, and by keeping at a distance those substances which would interfere with, or diminish, or spoil the product or injure the organ. And we see that this separation is always attended to even when the substances are apparently mixed together; for the very same products are not obtained which would be obtained by mixing the same substances together out of the body, that are produced by mixing them in the body; consequently all the substances are not left at full liberty to obey the laws of their mutual affinities. The Superior Agent, however, is not able to exercise an unlimited authority over the chemical powers; sometimes they are too strong for it, and either make their way into the system, or decompose and destroy it altogether. But it is not in digestion alone that this Superior Agent makes the most wonderful display of its power; it is in the last part of assimilation that our admiration is chiefly excited. How comes it that the precise substances wanted are always carried to every organ of the body? How comes it that fibrin is always regularly deposited in the muscles, and phosphate of lime in the bones? And what is still more unaccountable, how comes it that prodigious quantities of some one particular substance are formed and carried to a particular place, in order to supply new wants which did not before exist? A bone for example becomes diseased and unfit for the use of the animal, a new bone therefore is formed in its place and the old one is carried off by the absorbents. In order to form this new bone, large quantities of phosphate of lime are deposited in a place where the same quantity was not before necessary. Now, who informs this Agent that an unusual quantity of phosphate of lime is necessary, and that it must be carried to that particular place? Or granting, as is most probable, that the phosphate of lime of the old bone is partly employed for this purpose, who taught this Agent that the old bone must be carried off, new-modelled, and deposited and assimilated anew? The same wonders take place during the healing of every wound and the renewing of every diseased part. As this Agent which characterizes living bodies does not appear to act according to the principles of chemistry, any inquiry into its nature would be foreign to the subject of this work. Physiologists have given it the name of the *living* or *animal* principle; and to them I beg leave to refer the reader."^{*}

The natural inference from this statement (which as containing his outline of the doctrine in regard to the vital principle, we have given in the words of the author,) is, that Dr. Thomson believes there is in man, besides the soul, an intelligent Agent or

^{*} Thomson's Chemistry, vol. iv. p. 642, 5th edition.

spirit which presides over the mere animal functions of the body, directing the processes which are necessary to maintain its strength and to repair its defects. But however just this inference might appear, we cannot allow ourselves to imagine that the learned chemist would maintain it on psychological or metaphysical grounds. He would admit, upon reflection, that he had yielded to metaphor the place which was due to logic; and that his "superior agent" means nothing more than a generalization of the vital energies—that is, life itself.

Some in the manner now described seek a cover for their argument in figurative language, while others take refuge from the approach of strict reasoning in a remote and shadowy kind of analogy. The Vital Principle, according to this latter class, is imagined to bear a great resemblance to electricity, or even to be of the very same nature with that fluid: for as this physical agent is endowed with the property of modifying, under particular circumstances, the ordinary influence of chemical affinity and of controlling in a certain degree the usual operation of its laws; so the other which is supposed to be diffused through every part of the body in the living state, is understood to protect the whole from the chemical agencies of the surrounding elements. When death takes place this influence is withdrawn, and the fabric of the body is left as common matter to the decomposing effects of the atmosphere.

The same analogies were resorted to for an explanation of other leading phenomena of life. It had long been a difficult problem among physiologists to account for the elaboration of the various secreted fluids of the body, such as tears, milk, bile, from one homogeneous liquid, the blood, which is known to be the common source and material of them all. It was now conjectured that the Vital Principle contributes a certain aid, or assists the glandular structure in separating so many different substances from the blood, and this it was supposed to do by exerting over the chemical affinities of the particles which enter into the composition of that fluid, a modifying influence, and disposing them to form new and peculiar combinations. In this instance an analogy was traced, or rather imagined, between the electric fluid and the vital principle, which was endowed with a power of controlling the ordinary affinities, or the elective attraction of particles, and was supposed then to give origin to new combinations different from those which under ordinary circumstances the same particles are prone to form.

The production of animal heat is another property of living bodies which was in like manner attributed to the vital principle acting after the manner of an electrical or chemical agent. Ani-

mals are known to maintain a temperature different from that of the *media* in which they exist; the specific temperature of each tribe being generally higher than the degree of heat proper to the atmosphere or fluid in which they live. Under other circumstances the same bodies are colder than the surrounding *media*, as for example, where human beings have breathed for a time in air heated to 250 degrees without having the temperature of their bodies raised much above the usual standard. This property of maintaining a uniform temperature, this function, at one time frigorific and at others calorific, was in like manner ascribed to the Vital Principle viewed as having some affinity to the electrical fluid.

Digestion, or that process in the animal economy by which nutritive particles are separated from the aliment and assimilated to the blood, so as constantly to supply its ordinary expenditure, is another function of the living body which is but imperfectly explained by the knowledge hitherto acquired of the means provided by nature for its accomplishment. Physiologists and medical theorists had long ago called in the aid of imaginary agents. The *archæus* or presiding spirit which had its seat in the stomach and watched over the separation of elementary matter into two portions, one to be received and the other to be rejected, is a figment well known in the history of medicine. In later times, the Vital Principle, though not professedly invested with the attribute of intelligence, is nevertheless thought to be capable of performing the office ascribed to the *spiritus archæus*. It is supposed to effect, or to assist in the preparation of chyle, to modify the affinities of its component particles in such a manner as to prevent their running into fermentation, as the same materials are known to do when exposed, out of the body, to similar circumstances of temperature and fluidity. In this operation, as well as in the former, the presiding agent is understood to act in a manner which exhibits some analogy to the electrical influence.

“It must be observed,” says Dr. Prichard, “that those physiologists who have most confidently asserted the existence of a vital principle have never furnished a tangible and convincing proof, by any fact or decisive experiment, which might display immediate and unequivocal evidence of its operation or presence. For I think we are not obliged to except from this remark the phenomena on which the celebrated Mr. Hunter and his followers have laid so much stress, and on which they have founded so many fanciful inferences. I allude to the appearances exhibited by the blood when drawn from the vessels and in the process of coagulation. The view which the disciples of the Hunterian school take of these phenomena is well known to all those who have directed their attention to physiological subjects. The vital principle, or the matter of life, according to Mr. Hunter, for it was regarded by him

as a substance highly attenuated, is not only diffused through all the solid parts of the body, but also pervades the fluids, and none so remarkably as the blood. It is this principle that keeps the blood, when circulating, in a state of fluidity, preventing its coagulation, or the hardening of the mass of fibrin, which takes place when the blood is poured out of the vessels. Accordingly when a quantity of blood flows into a basin, it is for a time, in the language of Mr. Hunter, truly alive. It soon dies, however, or is abandoned by the vital principle; and the last act of life is like the convulsion which often takes place in the entire body at the moment of dissolution, and a sort of stiffening and contraction, which produces the condensation of substance."

As to the analogy between the modes of operation peculiar to the Vital Principle and to the electrical fluid respectively, our author justly regards it as so vague and indefinite as not to afford a shadow of probable evidence. There is nothing in it of which the mind can lay hold with a clear and distinct apprehension. He does not fail to advert to those remarkable experiments on persons recently dead, which have been thought to afford a proof that the influence exerted by the nerves of the living body over the muscular parts, takes place through the medium of the electric or galvanic fluid. According to this supposition the brain may be regarded as a sort of voltaic apparatus, and the nerves as conductors, which are continually galvanizing the muscles and putting them into contractions, and thus moving the limbs and the body by an electrical power acting in obedience to the will. But since it is not pretended that the nervous influence is identical with the vital principle, he passes by the discussion with a remark in which every, or almost every, physiologist of the present day will be found to concur; namely, that although the experiments alluded to are highly curious and interesting, they do not authorize the conclusion that the galvanic fluid is one of the agents by which the ordinary functions of the living body are carried on.

Although the hypothesis of sanguineous vitality is here ascribed to Mr. Hunter, Dr. Prichard is perfectly aware that similar views had been entertained by physiologists in England long before that distinguished anatomist was born. It is true, as has been remarked by Dr. Barclay, that, from his ignorance of professional literature, and also, perhaps, from the delicacy of his friends, he appears until the hour of his death to have laboured under the singular delusion that he himself was the first person who had ever dreamed of vitality in the blood, and the first who attempted to confirm the doctrine by direct experiment. But it is no less true that the observations and experiments which he performed to illustrate this opinion are neither so numerous nor so forcibly

stated as those which had been previously made by Harvey. In adopting, however, such an hypothesis, he displayed at once the natural energy of his mind and a degree of candour which did him the greatest honour; for in yielding his judgment to what he considered the power of evidence, he made a sacrifice of some of his strongest persuasions and most confirmed habits of thought. He acknowledges that his mind had not been accustomed to the idea of a living fluid, and that his notions of life had been so closely connected with organized structure, and chiefly with such as is endowed with visible action, that his intellect required a new bend to make it conceive that these circumstances, organization and vitality, are not inseparable.

It was while contemplating the phenomena of an egg during incubation, that Dr. Harvey was first struck with admiration at what he conceived to be the properties of the blood. He imagined that the various appearances presented during this process warranted the following conclusions; that this fluid is formed and moves before any vessel or organ of motion has come into existence; that in it originate not only motion and pulsation, but also animal temperature, the vital spirit, and even the principle of life itself; that it is invariably the first thing that lives and the last thing that dies; that it exhibits a tremulous motion in the right auricle after the pulsations of the heart have ceased; that the heart, an organ of subsequent formation, is destined only to distribute and circulate it; that being the principal fountain of life, the parts only through which it flows are observed to live; that those parts where it ceases to flow become pale, torpid, and die, but, upon its return, become warm, sensitive, and live again; that the phenomena of sensation and motion are observed before the brain is constructed; that poisons do not destroy the principle of life till they reach its inmost residence; in other words, until they reach the blood, which flowing through the system and imparting vitality and heat to every thing, seems all in all, and all in every part—*tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte*. Nor stops he here, but entirely absorbed by this favourite theory, he maintains that the blood, while flowing in the veins, and perfused with a species of divine warmth, totally different from ordinary heat, though somewhat analogous to the element of the stars, exhibits properties so extraordinary that, viewed as a spirit, it may justly be termed the hearth-fire,—the Vesta, the household divinity, the sun of the microcosm, the *callidum innatum*, the fire of Plato. Deservedly, he adds, may it claim the name of spirit, as abounding more than all the other parts in the radical moisture, that first, that last, that primary element, by which it is not only nourished itself, but which it prepares and imparts liberally

to the system around it, pervading constantly for that very purpose every part of the body, that it may thereby unite to itself, nourish, cherish, to preserve alive, the organs which it fabricates; performing that office in a manner not unlike to that of the planets, and more especially of the sun and moon, which whirling perpetually round in their orbits impart their heat and their vivifying influence to every thing below.

On the ground of this hypothesis he at length ventured to teach that the blood is the animating principle, or the substance of which the life or *anima* is only the act. He then held that the blood appears to differ in nothing from the *anima*, and that which he had formerly conceived to be a principle distinct from the blood appeared now to be little more than an act of that fluid. At this stage of his progress he considered the *anima* neither as a body nor entirely without a body, but as something partly derived from without, and partly produced within; in some sense a part of the body, and in some sense the principle and the cause not only of life but of death, as nothing can be said to die that has not lived, and nothing can be said to live that has not been nourished. And even if the *anima* is to be reckoned the cause of every thing occurring in the body, the cause of youth and of old age, of sleep, of watchfulness, and of respiration, so ought also the blood; and therefore, he concludes, it amounts to the same thing whether you say that the *anima* and the blood, or the blood with the *anima*, or the *anima* with the blood, are the causes of every thing in the animal economy.

As an additional and powerful support of his opinion, that the *anima* and the blood are the same thing, Harvey appealed to the sacred writings, where the blood is distinctly declared to be the life, “*Vita igitur in sanguine consistit, (ut etiam in Sacris nostris legimus), quippe in ipso vita atque anima primum elucet, ultimoque deficit.*” He might in like manner have fortified his conclusion by referring to the poetical imagery of Virgil, who speaks of the *anima purpurea*, and who, upon the fall of one of his heroes, relates that

“*Una eademque via sanguis animusque sequuntur.*”

On all hands it is admitted that the blood, in a certain state of temperature and fluidity, is as necessary to the discharge of the vital functions as warmth and moisture are to vegetation; but it is equally certain that, in both cases, the life of the animal and of the plant is something different from heat and the circulation of fluids. A man cannot live and a tree cannot grow unless when placed in a given set of circumstances, required by the nature of each; it would be folly, however, to maintain that these

circumstances are any thing more than conditions, or that any combination of them can constitute a Vital Principle.

It happened notwithstanding that a few professional men, admiring the genius of Harvey, determined to ascertain what particular effects medicines would have if directly introduced into what he supposed the fountain of life. Their experiments were at first confined to injections of small quantities of medicated waters into the veins of the lower animals. Dr. Lower was the first who thought of introducing a more congenial fluid; extracting the whole blood from an animal and substituting the blood of others in its stead. In his preparation for such an experiment, he procured a dog of an ordinary size and two mastiffs, and began his operations by opening the jugular vein of the small dog, whose blood he permitted to flow until the animal ceased to howl, became feeble, and fell into convulsions. He then transfused the arterial blood of one of the mastiffs till the vessels of the little dog were again filled; thus repeatedly emptying and filling the vessels of the latter until he had exhausted the blood of the large dog, which consequently died. The next step was to close the jugular vein of the smaller animal, which on being untied, leaped from the table, fawned upon its master, and, in order to clean its body from the blood, rolled upon the ground, as if nothing particular had occurred.

An account of this experiment was published in the Transactions of the Royal Society, and the interest which it excited on the Continent was much greater than Dr. Lower had anticipated or than considerate men were disposed to justify. In France particularly, many eminent practitioners entertained hopes that, by this discovery, they would be enabled to prolong life, and even to restore youth to the aged. Nor were these hopes checked by their patients, who listened as eagerly to their suggestions as the too credulous daughters of Pelias to the prescriptions of the sorceress Medea.

“Stringite, ait, gladios; veteremque haurite cruorem;
Ut repleam vacuas juvenili sanguine venas.”—*Ovid*, Met. lib. vii.

For a time, therefore, all former distinctions between noble and ignoble blood were entirely forgotten and disregarded. A few ounces from the veins of a plebeian or from the arteries of a calf or a sheep were imagined to improve the qualities of that which had flowed through the veins of a long and illustrious line of ancestors. But, at length, the result of some unfortunate experiments, performed upon persons who were not in a condition to derive any benefit from a change of their fluids, gave occasion to an order from the French king and another

from the Pope, prohibiting all such attempts in future. The experiments, however, which had been already performed were sufficiently numerous and sufficiently varied to convince physiologists that transfusion of blood is not accompanied by a transmigration of the animating principle, which, although it imparts properties to the fluid conveys no portion of itself. Still it was rendered manifest that the *anima* or vital principle, (to use the language of hypothesis,) has power to conduct its operations, not only by blood of its own formation, but by any other blood of nearly the same temperature and fluidity, although derived from a different species or genus of the animal kingdom.

In his latter days Harvey seems to have removed the vital principle from the gross matter of the blood to what, after the ancients, he denominates its *calidum innatum*, or, according to Cicero, the *calor inclusus*. It has been remarked, too, that in treating of this subject, he borrows not only a number of the ideas but also several of the expressions which the Roman orator attributes to Lucilius Balbus while defending the doctrines of the stoical philosophers; and although it is extremely difficult to follow the reasoning of either party on this obscure subject, there is sufficient ground to conclude that they thought the innate warmth analogous to the purest ether, without which no animal or plant could exist.

But after this, says an able writer, what are we to think of the *anima* of Harvey? "It is sometimes the blood, sometimes the *calidum innatum*, and sometimes a being that existed before them and generated both. Had he steadily adhered to the first account, to the result of his own observations, and been less anxious to describe the blood as something miraculous, he had not fallen into such inconsistencies. He would not first have described the blood as an instrument of the *anima*, and then the *anima* as an act of the blood: he would not have censured Fernalius and Scaliger for maintaining that the blood, in performing its functions, is assisted by something like the element of the stars, and yet afterwards have strenuously supported that opinion. In his later days he seems to have drawn more of his conclusions from reading than from thinking; and, as appears from the statement just given, to have adopted without consideration, not a few of the ancient opinions concerning the blood and the *calidum innatum*."*

The hypothesis maintained by John Hunter was in substance the same as that of Dr. Harvey before he assigned to the *calor inclusus* the functions of the vital principle. Mr. Abernethy, in

* See Philosophical Transactions, Ann. 1665; Lower's Tractatus de Corde; Harvey's Exercitationes; and Barclay's Inquiry into Life and Organization.

his turn, adopted views very similar to those of his friend; holding that the principle of life is independent of organization, being a something added to the organized structure; and teaching that irritability is the effect of some subtile, mobile, invisible substance, superadded to the evident structure of muscles, or other forms of animal and vegetable matter, as magnetism is to iron, and as electricity is to various substances with which it may be connected. In his "Inquiry into the Probability and Rationality of Mr. Hunter's Theory of Life," he tells us that his mind rests at peace in thinking on the subject as explained by his predecessor.

"I am visionary enough to imagine that if these opinions should become so established as to be generally admitted by philosophers, that if they once saw reason to believe that life was something of an invisible and active nature superadded to organization, they would then see equal reason to believe that mind might be superadded to life, as life is to structure. They would then, indeed, still farther perceive how mind and matter might reciprocally operate on each other by means of an intervening substance. Thus even would physiological researches enforce the belief which I may say is natural to man; that in addition to his bodily frame, he possesses a sensitive, intelligent and independent mind—an opinion which tends in an eminent degree to produce virtuous, honourable and useful actions."

It might be granted that the organized structures of the first parents of every species were formed in the first place, and then the vital principle superadded; but it cannot be maintained, in opposition to the most obvious facts, that a similar process is followed for the continuance of the respective races. No physiologist has ever observed an animal or a plant whose visible structure had not been formed by successive steps of organization, or seen an instance of an organic frame which did not indicate the previous existence of a vital principle. Were we to trust either to the evidence of our sense or our reason, we should say that, in our days at least, the structure appears rather to be superadded to the vital principle than the latter to the former. It is upon this hypothesis alone that Cuvier and other naturalists have concluded that plants and animals which happen to be found in a fossile state had once been alive. But the question here occurs, what gave them life, or what is it that must have preceded their organization? Mr. Abernethy supposes a substance of a very subtile and mobile nature, which pervades every thing, and appears to be the life of the world—a substance which he thinks may be considered as a distinct and active principle, not to be confounded with intelligence of any kind. He ascribes this notion to Mr. Hunter, though every scholar knows that there is no hypothesis more ancient than that of a general vital principle or *anima*

mundi, devoid of intelligence, but diffusing life and motion through the universe, either by sending off small particles when supposed to be a solid, or by its emanations when supposed to be a fluid.

It is evident that he considers this subtile mobile principle, on which life depends, to bear a strong resemblance to the galvanic or electrical energies.

“It is not meant to be affirmed that electricity is life. There are strong analogies between electricity and magnetism, and yet I do not know that any one has been hardy enough to assert their absolute identity. I only mean to prove that Mr. Hunter’s theory is verifiable, by showing that a subtile substance of a powerfully mobile nature seems to pervade every thing, and appears to be the life of the world; and therefore it is probable that a similar substance pervades organized bodies and produces similar effects in them. The experiments of Sir Humphry Davy seem to realize the speculations of philosophers, and to verify the deductions of reason, by demonstrating the existence of a subtile, active, vital principle pervading all nature, as has heretofore been surmised, and denominated the vital principle. If the vital principle of Mr. Hunter be not electricity, at least we have reason to believe it is of a similar nature, and has the power of regulating electrical operations.”*

But it is manifest that, in admitting the principle recommended to our notice by Mr. Abernethy, we make not a single step towards the knowledge of vitality, whether in animals or vegetables, and that we have merely substituted one word for another, and adopted a new cloak for our ignorance. At the most, we have only discovered another of those conditions or physical requisites which are necessary to the discharge of the vital functions; but as to life itself, our inquiries are as far as ever from being crowned with success. It must, indeed, be acknowledged, that however absurd may be the hypothesis of a common sensitive principle, as applied to all organized forms, it appears to have originated in a very laudable tendency among philosophers to generalize and concentrate their ideas. It was accordingly countenanced by Plato; and though Aristotle saw clearly its defects, yet in compliance with general custom he not unfrequently employs a language which appears to favour it. Hence too, from mere imitation, or from the hereditary power of words, the present language of physiology is so framed upon this theory, that in treating of life and organization an author experiences great difficulty in finding expressions which do not allude to it more or less directly. Even divines and moralists are occasionally found speaking of the sensitive as well as of the natural faculties, considering the last as greatly superior to the other, but still not properly as

* Inquiry, pp. 51. 58.

faculties of the soul, the intellectual and immortal part of man; while as to what they call the sensitive and vegetative principles, they seem to imagine that any functions which these are capable of performing might as well be discharged by an automaton, or at most by a very mobile and attenuated substance, such as light, caloric, the electrical, magnetic or galvanic fluids.

But we must now proceed to a more minute analysis of the able work of which we have undertaken to give an account, being a "Review of the Doctrine of a Vital Principle," conducted, we may add, on etymological, metaphysical and physiological grounds. The history of opinion on this subject, as connected with the origin of the conceptions which are expressed by the words *anima*, *animus* and *mens*, πνεῦμα, ψυχὴ, νοῦς and φρὴν, is very interesting, but unfortunately incapable of abridgment. "At first," it is remarked, "the principle of animation, or that which maintains in activity the functions of the body, was looked upon as the centre also of feeling and of inward consciousness; for conscious feeling and the faculties of the mind appear to have their beginning, and cease to be displayed, at the same periods with the ordinary phenomena of life. But after a time it was observed that the properties of merely corporeal life pervade the lowest tribes of the animal kingdom, and are even common, under a certain modification, to plants; while those faculties of a higher order are much more limited in their distribution. Hence the existence of another and a distinct principle was at length inferred; and hence the assignment of the intellectual powers to one source, and of the physical properties to another."

This distinction, which may be traced to the infancy of metaphysics as well as of physiology, led almost necessarily to the doctrine of a vital principle; for, it was argued, if thought and feeling are ascribed to an immaterial existence which presides over, or rather constitutes the intellectual powers, why should not digestion and secretion in like manner be attributed to a separate independent being which directs the merely physical energies in the body? The difficulties implied in this question lead the author into a field in which he seems to take much pleasure—"a review of the controversy respecting the existence of an immaterial principle or soul"—and in which he displays a great deal of metaphysical acumen as well as of deep reading. But we pass on to the section where he considers the "application of the hypothesis of a vital principle to an explanation of the physical functions."

The functions of physical life, it is well known, are those which contribute to the growth, nutrition and support of the body, to the development and conservation of its members, and of its internal

fabric. The whole sphere of agency ascribed to the vital principle is therefore within the region of matter and its attributes; and if its existence is capable of proof, it must be on grounds totally different from those on which we proceed with respect to the existence and properties of a soul or immaterial spirit. Dr. Prichard accordingly proceeds to a particular examination of the various phenomena which accompany nutrition, secretion, animal temperature, muscular contraction, the coagulation of the blood, and the appearances which attend the beginning and the termination of life. On these several heads there is expended not a little ingenuity and learning; but the reasoning throughout is so extremely syllogistic, and in some places so strictly professional, that we do not attempt to form any abstract of it, because we should at once fail to convey to the ignorant the necessary degree of knowledge, and annoy by an imperfect statement those who have made some progress in the science. The result of the inquiry into the physical agencies of life is a firm conviction that the hypothesis of a Vital Principle is destitute of all support either from fact or sound argument. Perhaps the following paragraph on the application of the theory to secretion will enable the reader to form a judgment in regard to the system at large.

“The main difficulty which we have to encounter in explaining the phenomena of secretion is that of finding a cause or influence capable of forcing particles to combine which are less disposed to combine by their usual chemical affinities—of separating bodies which are held together by a strong affinity, in order to unite the component particles to other bodies for which they have a weaker attraction. This difficulty is solved by supposing that the vital principle imparts to the fluids of the body new chemical affinities. These new affinities are termed by some writers *vital affinities*, and they are thought to be different from the affinities of dead or inanimate matter. Hence the component materials of the blood are disposed to form peculiar combinations, and we are thus to account for compounds produced in the glands, contrary, or at least not exactly according to, the laws of ordinary electric attraction. The agent above mentioned (vital principle) is supposed to exert its influence over the particles of the blood as they are circulating through the secreting organs, and by virtue of the new chemical affinities imparted by it, to give rise to peculiar separations and recompositions; and hence it comes to pass that various fluids are elaborated out of the same homogeneous material in the different glands. But a complete refutation of this hypothesis is, I think, contained in the single remark, that, according to it, the vital principle is the same element in all the parts of the body, and exerts its peculiar agency on the same material in all the glands. How then does it happen that different compounds are produced in the different glands? that the particles in the blood, separated from their old compounds and united in new ones, do, *under the same influence*, give origin to all the different fluids which are produced in the different

glands? In order to make the hypothesis coincide with this variety in the phenomena, it would be necessary to assume that there is a different vital principle existing in every secreting organ; that there is in the liver a particular principle, which operates on the blood in such a manner as to give rise to the formation of bile; in the lacrymal glands, another which converts the same fluid into tears; in the kidneys a vital principle, which carries on the secretion of those glands. But if we are at liberty thus to multiply causes on mere conjecture, without end, it will be impossible to prove or disprove any thing. On the other hand, if we are to rest content with one vital principle, we are reduced to the necessity of asserting that one such agent is sufficient to perform so many and different operations, and that the difference in the results depends upon the variety in the structure and mechanism of the different glands, the question has been asked, and is likely to remain unanswered, namely—If the difference in the glandular structure and action is capable of giving rise to so great a variety in the products, with the co-operation of this one vital principle, how can it be proved that this difference in the glandular structure and action may not be capable of giving rise to that result by itself, and without the aid of any such adjunct at all? Thus it appears on a consideration of the hypothesis, that there is no possible way of stating it, with reference to this particular function of secretion, that is not encumbered with difficulties greater than those which it is intended to resolve.”

A similar train of reasoning is applied to all the other physical functions or processes of life, and it is proved in a manner equally satisfactory that the hypothesis of a vital principle, a controlling agent, a *Deus a machina*, does not enable us to explain the phenomena of nutrition, animal temperature, or the contractility of the muscles. A single intelligent principle in each organic being, acting by an energy and will of its own, is a scheme too visionary for the most imaginative, and would besides be irreconcilable with the harmony of nature in all its parts. On the other hand, the idea of one universal plastic principle, a second agent under the superintendence of the Deity, would only be a revival of that old and exploded philosophy which had to boast as its last advocate the learned Cudworth, and which nobody in later times has been found either fanciful or bold enough to maintain. In a word, we agree with the acute and ingenious author in thinking, that, upon a careful examination, the notion of a Vital Principle has been proved deficient in every characteristic of a legitimate theory. The cause which it assigns has been assumed without any direct evidence, and with no support from the analogy of nature; and even if its existence were granted, it would be found quite inadequate to account for the facts and appearances of which an explanation is sought.

The last section on this branch of the subject, being “concluding remarks on the merits of the theory of a vital principle,

and a survey of other opinions on the cause of physical life," contains some eloquent and very judicious observations. When we extend our inquiry from animals to plants, we find that the cause of vital action is antecedent to its manifestation in any particular circumstances; and hence we are led to conclude that life is something more in vegetables, at least, than an aggregate of all the functions which resist death. Seeds, for example, are known to retain their vitality for an indefinite space of time when secluded from those agents which give rise to germination, such as moisture, light, heat, and atmospheric air. It cannot be imagined that any vital action is going on in the structure of an undeveloped seed, which may lie hidden in the earth, or be kept dry in a box for many years, and be afterwards found capable of vegetating. Life then, in this case, is not vital action, but the susceptibility of commencing such action when certain agents are applied, and of maintaining the same when once begun.

"Perhaps the actual state of our knowledge scarcely enables us to form a decided opinion on this subject; but it is difficult to escape from the persuasion that the vitality of the seed, that which it retains for years in itself without change or perceptible effects, consists merely in its *organization*, including under that term the condition of its constituent parts, as to their mechanical texture and their chemical properties. For what can be imagined to belong to a seed lying inert in the soil, but its organization? A more direct evidence, however, in favour of the same conclusion, is afforded by the phenomena themselves of vegetation, or the changes displayed when the appropriate agents are applied to the undeveloped seed. The agents are chemical ones; the effects to which they give rise are, as it is well known, in the first place chemical effects. Under the influence of heat, moisture, and atmospheric air, or air containing oxygen, germination commences, and the saccharine principle is evolved. This is brought about by the chemical change which is effected in the constituent matter of the seed lobes. Carbonic acid is formed and heat is extricated, as in similar chemical processes taking place under other circumstances. That all this is the result of chemical agencies, and that vital action is not the operative cause, appears from the fact that a change precisely similar takes place in dead vegetable substance when it is exposed to the same influences."

All these phenomena, however, it is justly observed, point to the operation of a much higher power than merely mechanical or chemical principles. They are undoubted manifestations of that Designing Intellect, whose plans are perspicuously discovered throughout all nature, but most strikingly in the organized parts of it. In what manner, by what instrumental methods, the Governing Intellect operates in these particular processes, human observation may never be able to discover; but this is certainly a legitimate subject of investigation, and it is by no means impos-

sible that light may be thrown upon it by diligent research. But should this investigation fail us, we can only seek for an explanation of the wonderful phenomena of vegetable growth and existence—infinately diversified, yet always referring themselves to general laws or universal analogies—by ascribing them more immediately to the constant superintendence of the Designing and Operating Cause, which is perhaps the sole real agent in every movement in the universe, either of an entire world, or of the smallest atom contained in it. “The development of forms, according to their generic, specific, and individual diversities, not less in the vegetable than in the animal world, can only be accounted for by ascribing it to the universal energy and wisdom of the Creator.”

It is not possible for a sane physiologist to arrive at any other conclusion, whatever series of agencies, mechanical and chemical, he may detect in operation in subserviency to the Divine Mind; for until he shall be able to prove that the properties of matter are intelligent and capable of aiming at the accomplishment of an end through the use of means, he must not attempt to convince a reasonable man that he has discovered the secret of life, merely because he has been taught to use a few learned terms in reference to the vital functions. There is a mechanism, no doubt, and there is also a chemistry, without which the physical processes, whereon are suspended the growth and conservation of the living being, could not be performed; but between these processes and the sensation by which they are accompanied, there is no greater similarity than between fermentation in a wine-fat and the sallies of wit or folly which result from swallowing the liquid. In short, between the most refined causation of a material nature and consciousness there is a veil which human reason cannot penetrate, and which the fury of scepticism has not been able to rend; and hence, beyond a certain point—the discovery of physical conditions, and the analysis of the more simple apparatus which ministers to the nutrition and repairs of the corporeal frame—the acutest anatomist is on the same footing as to the knowledge of life as is the ignorant and unreflecting peasant.

An attempt of a different kind has lately been made in France to reach the spring of vitality by attributing a kind of internal and independent life to the atoms of which animal and vegetable bodies are composed. The aid of the microscope in the hands of Dutrochet, Dumas, Prevost and Edwards, is supposed to have revealed very important secrets in regard to the structure of substances in these two great departments of natural history. The most important circumstances connected with the researches now alluded to, are the phenomena observed in the disintegration or

decomposition of animal and vegetable matter. When portions of the one or the other were for a short time macerated in water, and a drop of the water examined by means of a microscope, numerous vesicles of various sizes were repeatedly seen moving about in all directions. It was concluded that these were a portion of the constituent molecules of the original composed body which had now become separated, and their movement was looked upon as an unequivocal proof of spontaneous action and of individual life. Similar phenomena were observed in surveying the spherical molecules of uniform size which are seen in the pollex of phanerogamous plants, or the antheræ of mosses, and around the stamina of equisetum. The nature of these particles was compared to that of infusory animalcules. The analogy was imagined to subsist not only in the visible structure or appearance of their several bodies, but even in their mode of existence and essential properties. It has been supposed that the elementary molecules of these several classes may be identified, and that they are capable of being converted mutually into each other; vegetable particles into animalcules, and animalcules into vegetable particles; both resulting, as independent living monads and requiring no revivifying process, from the decomposition, or rather mechanical dissolution of larger and compounded bodies.

“The result of these observations and real or supposed analogies is,” says Dr. Prichard, “if plainly expressed, that a large body, as of a man, or of a tree, is, in fact, nothing less than a vast being of animalcules tied together, and obliged to subsist within one skin or bark.” But, it is added, an entirely new aspect to all the facts connected with this novel speculation has resulted from the experiments of Mr. Brown, in which it appeared that active molecules, or rather moving particles, are seen to arise from the mechanical decomposition of hard substances never endowed with life. Particles of powdered glass or flint were observed to be just as active and self-moving, or rather moving in a manner not easily explained, as the monads or moving atoms which resulted from the disintegration of animal and vegetable substances.

So much for the physical functions of animal nature, or those processes which, without volition or any spontaneous act of the subject, are performed for the maintenance of life. A more interesting branch of the inquiry still remains to be considered; the connection, namely, that subsists between the body and the intellectual principle; or, in other words, the theory of perception as founded upon the properties of the nervous system. We cannot follow the author through his learned dissertation on this interesting topic, which is conducted, we are bound to say, with much good sense, as well as with a complete knowledge of all the hypo-

theses which have been advanced from the days of Aristotle to those of Dr. Darwin. We therefore take leave of this little work with feelings of the utmost respect for the talents and principles which are displayed in its composition ; where we find all the learning, the research, the ingenuity of the French school, combined with the sober love of truth and sincere veneration for the authority of religion, which, generally speaking, have hitherto distinguished the physiologists of Great Britain. We have no fault to find with Dr. Prichard's book except that it is too short—at least for the young student. But we must not forget that it professes no more than to exhibit the history of a doctrine on one particular point, the Vital Principle in the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

ART. VII.—*The Life of the Right Reverend Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Calcutta.* By the Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A. Professor in the East India College, Hertfordshire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 6s. London. Rivingtons. 1831.

WE hail the appearance of these volumes as a symptom of the interest which men begin to feel respecting British India. The *Life of an Indian Prelate*, composed not upon the first intelligence of his decease, when the regret of friends is at its height and the charms of novelty are powerful, but postponed for nearly ten years, makes it probable, at least, that the subject-matter of such a work has obtained a firm hold upon the public mind. When such a *Life* is composed by a distinguished writer, we are entitled to argue still more favourably of the circumstances which called it forth ; and when the execution attains that pitch of excellence, which has been reached in the volumes before us, they are calculated to re-act upon the source whence they sprang, and to quicken and invigorate the good feeling in which they originated. With this view of Mr. Le Bas's work, we shall not preface our review by a disquisition upon any particular portion of it, but proceed at once to an analysis of its contents. From the volumes themselves the reader may derive more acquaintance with ecclesiastical affairs in British India than could have been previously obtained by long and painful research.

The early portion of Bishop Middleton's life was not distinguished by any circumstances which take him out of the class of our more learned divines, devoting themselves to the discharge of their various duties, and rising by the mere force of merit to the higher offices of the Church. His long residence at Norwich

rendered that city the place in which he was most generally known, and most duly appreciated; and the respect which has been paid to his memory there by old and early friends is one among a thousand proofs of the sterling value of his character. His reputation as a scholar was established upon firm grounds by the publication of his work upon the doctrine of the Greek Articles, of which Mr. Le Bas justly says, that

“ even though it should be granted that the speculations of Mr. Middleton may have sometimes been carried to a degree of refinement which perhaps the most perfect language will not bear,—it will hardly be denied that his labours have been eminently conducive to the critical study of the New Testament, and that his arguments, if not absolutely demonstrative, have at least been potently auxiliary to the establishment of a fundamental doctrine of the Christian faith.”

The presentation of Mr. Middleton to the vicarage of St. Pancras, in the year 1811, was the first occasion of his introduction to the London Clergy, and quickly produced an intimate acquaintance with those valuable friends to whom a large portion of his letters are addressed. He found his parish in a condition which required remodelling, almost as much as the equally unwieldy diocese over which he subsequently presided. And it is singular, that in both these scenes of arduous but promising labour, it was the fate of Middleton to break up the untilled soil, and to stem the heady torrent of opposition, while in both, his wise and courageous conduct prepared a comparatively easy victory for his immediate successors.

Mr. Le Bas's Second Chapter, containing an account of what was done for religion in India previously to the last renewal of the Company's charter, opens with the following passage :

“ We are now arrived at that period in the life of Dr. Middleton, which exhibits him in a character beyond all comparison more interesting and more important than any which he had hitherto sustained ; we are henceforth to regard him, not merely as a dignified ecclesiastic—not merely as one among the numerous shepherds and bishops of the flock of Christ—but, still more, as the father and founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church of our Asiatic empire ; the first, we would willingly hope, of a long line of illustrious and venerable prelates. In the year 1814, the charter of the East India Company was renewed by Parliament. The discussions, in 1813, which preceded this grant, gave an opportunity for the expression of the public sentiment respecting the moral and spiritual responsibilities of this country towards her vast Asiatic dependencies. The spiritual wants of our own countrymen, separate from their brethren and their native land, were alone sufficient to stir the heart of every one in these realms, who was not content with the mere name of Christian. And then, it could not be forgotten, that these, our Christian countrymen, were living in the midst

of benighted millions, the subjects of the British empire, and to whom, therefore, the British empire was debtor, to the extent of a mighty and solemn obligation; an obligation which exacted a liberal devotion both of energy and of wealth to the cause of Christianity, in the midst of heathenism and superstition. By none of those Christian settlers who preceded us in India do these responsibilities appear to have been wholly forgotten. The Portuguese, the Hollander, the Dane, all seem to have remembered that their acquisitions in the East brought with them the imperative duty of honouring the name of their God and their Redeemer, in the sight of the pagan and the idolater. Nay,—not only the Papal churches, and the Protestant missionary establishments, but the very mosques and minarets of Hindostan, seemed to condemn, in language of burning rebuke, that religious apathy, which would allow to every earthly interest an overbearing precedence above that *one needful thing* which ought, most righteously, to take the lead in every human enterprise. It may, indeed, be thought that the peculiar circumstances under which our gigantic dominion has grown up in India, have been, on the whole, singularly adverse to the formation of permanent religious establishments in that country. The lapse of a century and a half has witnessed the gradual expansion of a few insignificant commercial factories into an enormous empire: so little was this consummation originally anticipated or desired, that the progress towards it has often been attended with the voice of loud and urgent deprecation at home; and now that the fabric is reared, we feel astounded and almost overwhelmed by the weight of our glory, and the extent of our imperial responsibility. Every step, too, of this wondrous and mighty change has, unavoidably, been attended with conflicts, which have called forth the worst passions and most ruthless energies of our nature: and these circumstances, together with an appalling sense of insecurity, long combined to “turn awry” the current of peaceful and holy enterprises. When conquest siezes at once upon a foreign territory with a strong hand and an uplifted arm, the beneficent genius of civilization and improvement may naturally follow in her train. But when, to their own astonishment, and even dismay, merchants are actually growing into princes, it is not very wonderful if, during the transition, their designs should be conceived and executed rather in the spirit of adventure, than of paternal and enlightened sovereignty. And these considerations may in part, perhaps, account for the inadequate support and honour which, for a long period, the Christian cause received from the Indo-British government.”—vol. i. pp. 27—30.

The opposition which was made to the erection of a bishoprick, and the final success of the measure, are thus recorded:

“That these suggestions would have some obstruction to encounter from the variety of opinion prevalent in this country on the subject of ecclesiastical government, or from the unwillingness to impose additional burdens on the revenues of the Company, might, not perhaps unreasonably, have been anticipated. But it was scarcely to be expected that a regard for the safety and prosperity of India should have been made the

ground of opposition to a request for the provision of Christian ordinances among our own countrymen in the east. Such, however, was actually the case; nay, almost every proposal for upholding and promoting in India the knowledge of that truth, on which we profess to rest our hopes of eternal happiness, was loudly reprobated by some, as a wild and visionary scheme, impracticable by human means or agency, and as tending directly to the destruction of our Asiatic empire. An ecclesiastical establishment, more especially, it was contended, would be the signal for alarm and commotion among the natives; it would seem openly and ostentatiously to array Christianity against the faith of sixty millions of people, and to imply a settled design for its extirpation. Nothing, it was urged, could be expected to result from this display of Christian zeal but the most desperate and sanguinary resistance; and the design was tragically deprecated, as pregnant only with ruin and confusion.

"The violence of these prejudices and apprehensions made it absolutely necessary to submit all the proposals of the friends of Christianity to the most cautious examination. A large body of evidence was accordingly taken before both Houses of Parliament, relative to the expediency and safety of any measures for the preservation of Christianity among our own people in India, or for the promulgation of it among the natives of that country. It was not till after much vehement discussion, that the following resolutions of the committee, appointed to report upon the whole Indian question, were adopted by the House of Commons, and made the foundation of corresponding clauses in the bill:—

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is expedient that the Church establishment in the British territories in the East Indies, should be placed under the superintendence of a bishop and three archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of moral and religious improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in India, for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs.

"Provided always, that the authority of the local governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved; and that the principles of the British government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained."—pp. 41—43.

This was the resolution of the House of Commons, and it was carried into effect in the following manner.

"In spite of all opposition, the cause of Christianity was, at last, to a certain degree, triumphant. The act which renewed the charter of

the Company, erected their territories into one vast diocese, with an archdeacon to be resident at each of the three Presidencies, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. For this result the friends of Christianity were deeply grateful, even though it fell short of their wishes and their expectations, and was clearly inadequate to the spiritual exigencies of the country. The territory comprised within the diocese of Calcutta stretched from Delhi to Cape Comorin, and from the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges, no less than twenty degrees of latitude, and ten degrees of longitude, an extent of country very far exceeding the whole of the British empire in Europe. Through these vast and populous provinces, England had, in some form or other, established herself. In some, our government was completely recognised, and English magistrates and English collectors of the revenue were stationed in regular districts. Others were as yet occupied only by a military force; while some still remained under their native princes, and our connection authorised only the residence of an English envoy, with the accompaniments of his guard of honour. It was only, perhaps, at the immediate Presidencies that Protestant Christians were collected in any very considerable numbers; yet, scattered as they were, the whole were now to be considered as united under the Episcopal superintendence of a single person; and it was to be the duty and concern of the Bishop of Calcutta to watch over and to provide for the religious welfare of his countrymen, throughout the immense provinces of Hindostan!

“The salary assigned to the bishop was fixed at 5000*l.* a year, and that to each of his archdeacons at 2000*l.*; appointments which, according to European estimation, may perhaps appear abundantly liberal; and which, in truth, would be so, if considered in the light of so much mere personal emolument. These sums, however, must, in all justice, be compared with the necessarily expensive establishments required by the climate, and by the general mode of living which custom has established in the east, among persons of high rank and station; to which should be added the numerous and irresistible demands on the liberality of a dignified ecclesiastic, more especially in India, where all appearance of parsimony is sure to excite contempt. And when thus considered, the revenue of the bishop and his archdeacons must, assuredly, appear inadequate to the importance, and it may fairly be added, to the duties of their situations. It is well known that these allowances were inferior to the salaries of many of the Company's superior civil servants. The Bishop's income was less even than that of a puisne judge. It must further be remembered, that no provision was made for the expense of an episcopal residence, although it was notorious that no house at all fit for that purpose, even unfurnished, could be obtained in Calcutta for a more moderate rent than 600*l.* or 700*l.* a year. And what was still more to be lamented,—the heavy expense of his visitations to the various parts of his enormous diocese, (so indispensable for the effective discharge of the episcopal office,) seemed to have been altogether forgotten. Neither was any provision made for the charge of such occasional journeys, as he, or his archdeacons, would find absolutely necessary for the

superintendence of divine worship, or the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline.”—vol. i. pp. 47—49.

The consecration of Dr. Middleton at Lambeth was attended with a circumstance betokening a very unusual degree of caution, not to say timidity.

“The consecration sermon was preached by Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester. On occasions of such interest and importance, it is usual for the Archbishop to desire the publication of the discourse; a measure which, however, in the present instance, his Grace, most reluctantly, consented to dispense with. It will, perhaps, scarcely be believed that the establishment of episcopacy in our Indian dominions was regarded by many persons with so much jealousy, and by some with such positive aversion and alarm, that it was thought prudent to abstain from any proceeding which might have the effect of more particularly calling to it the attention of the public, or provoking unnecessary discussion as to its probable results; and for these reasons the admirable sermon of Dr. Rennell was suppressed! At this distance of time we may look back with astonishment on the apprehension which suggested this caution, and contemplate with gratitude the issue of an experiment which was then thought so full of doubt and hazard. The incident, however, is not altogether uninteresting or un instructive, since it shows what a combination of courage and forbearance is often absolutely needful for the success even of the wisest and holiest designs.”—pp. 52, 53.

We pass over Mr. Le Bas’s account of the bishop’s departure from England and of his voyage to India; but there is one paragraph which it would be almost sacrilegious to omit.

“The agony of his separation, however, he well knew, would be best assuaged by occupations, which might prepare him for the approaching demand upon his intellectual and moral resources. His time during the voyage was, accordingly, devoted to the acquisition of the Persian language, to his improvement in the Hebrew, and to the general prosecution of his theological studies. And that he might not be without preparation for the variety of trials which inevitably awaited his temper and his judgment, he made, for his future guidance, a collection of short rules, so full of admirable good sense, that his biography would be incomplete without their insertion.

“Invoke divine aid—Preach frequently, and as “one having authority”—Promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste: nothing great can be accomplished without policy—Persevere against discouragement—Keep your temper—Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand—Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate—Keep up a close connection with friends at home—Attend to forms—Never be in a hurry—Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction—Rise early, and be an economist of time—Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride: manner is something with every body, and every thing with some—Be guarded in discourse, attentive, and slow to speak—Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious

opinions—Beware of concessions and pledges—Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them—Be not subservient nor timid in manner, but manly and independent, firm and decided—Think nothing in conduct unimportant and indifferent—Be of no party—Be popular, if possible; but, at any rate, be respected—Remonstrate against abuses, where there is any chance of correcting them—Advise and encourage youth—Rather set than follow example—Observe a grave economy in domestic affairs—Practise strict temperance—Remember what is expected in England—and lastly, remember the *final account*.”

The fourth chapter contains an admirable specimen of the manner in which Mr. Le Bas has contrived to enliven and adorn a piece of biography not abounding in incidents. It presents us with a brief but striking account of the state of Christianity in India before the arrival of the first English bishop. The part which relates more immediately to this country must not be omitted here. For a sketch of the Syrian, the Armenian, the Dutch and Romish Churches, we must refer our readers to the work itself.

“In order that the reader may be enabled justly to appreciate the cares and embarrassments which the first English Bishop had to encounter, it will be necessary to state briefly the condition of our Church in that country, as respects the clergy, at the time when Dr. Middleton commenced his pastoral superintendence of it. In the earlier stages of our connection with the country, we hear only of a few mercantile settlements or factories, at which, perhaps, a military fort was subsequently erected, by permission of the native power. In other instances, as in the case of Bombay, a fortified city, with a small district attached, was ceded to the Company by a political treaty. The civil portion of the English residents received their spiritual ministrations at the hands of clergymen selected by the Company at home, and placed, conformably to certain regulations, under the control of their local agents. The military, consisting of his Majesty’s regiments from England, were usually supplied with chaplains from the King’s army establishment, and were accordingly subject to military rule and discipline. With the increase of the Company’s territories the King’s army became proportionably extended; and by compact with the King’s government, the Company bound themselves to maintain that force out of their own revenue, so long as it should remain on the continent of India; agreeing, at the same time, to provide it with a supply of clerical ministers from among their own chaplains. The clergy thus required for the spiritual duty of the European army continued, together with a few chaplains attached to the civil service, to form the clerical body of British India; and all of them, both civil and military, received their appointments from the Court of Directors, though they were nominated to particular stations by the local government of the country. The stations to which the chaplains were nominated, besides the presidencies, were usually those at which a king’s regiment was cantoned; and, in addition to their religious duties with the military, their ministrations extended to such civil

servants of the Company, with their families, as might be resident within their reach. Such was the general provision for the spiritual edification of our countrymen; and as long as the military stations were few, and the territorial possessions of the Company comparatively small, it might, perhaps, if regularly supplied, be not wholly inadequate to its purpose.

“The gradual transition, however, from this state of things to one of immense extent and complication is now matter of history. In addition to the king's troops, amounting to 20,000 men, the Company came at length to form one or more European regiments of their own at each presidency, together with an European corps of artillery, and the European officers of a large native army, together with its medical staff. To these we must add the civil servants of the Company in the several judicial and political departments, and that of the revenue, the lawyers of the supreme courts, and the free merchants, planters, and mariners, who reside in the country by virtue of a license from the Company. Neither must we omit, that besides the congregations of natives under the charge of missionaries from the religious societies in England, there is a large population of the descendants of British parents, being of a mixed race, and having only the privileges of colonists, but for whose spiritual welfare it, of course, was indispensable that provision should be made. For such a body of Protestant Christians, scattered through the provinces of Hindostan, it is obvious that the services of a few military chaplains must now have been utterly inadequate. The total number of clergy, both civil and military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814, exceed thirty-two: in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay, on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes, 1814, that he found at that presidency only one efficient clergyman on the establishment; and was compelled, himself, for some time, to undertake the ordinary duties of a chaplain.

“In order to mitigate, in some slight degree, the evils of this lamentable deficiency, the Bombay government had, for a few years previously, permitted the only resident chaplain to make, occasionally, a tour through the districts of the presidency. For this service he received the allowance of 400 rupees a month; (a virtual acknowledgment of the propriety and justice of a regular provision for the expenses of such circuits,—which, yet, has hitherto been refused.) The same practice, it is believed, was resorted to in other parts of India. The local governments had also occasionally solicited the services of a naval chaplain from such of the king's ships as visited the presidencies, for assistance in clerical duties on shore. It is obvious that a system of expedients like this, must be wholly insufficient to satisfy the religious necessities of the country. No one clergyman was within many days' journey of another. In several places, even where a considerable Christian congregation might be collected, no clerical persons were seen for many years. Many of the civil servants in India might be said to be almost in a state of excommunication from Christian ordinances for twenty years together, with the

exception of the opportunities afforded by an occasional visit to the seat of government. Not only the offices for marriage and burial, but that of baptism also, were continually ministered by lay persons; generally, though not always, by the magistrate or commanding officer of the station. Numbers of young men who received their appointments to India at a very early age, were left wholly without public religious instruction, and consequently were in danger of sinking, gradually, and silently, into a state of virtual apostasy. In a climate too where death is busy, and where disease is continually undermining the firmest constitutions, it often happened that no pastor was at hand to administer to the sick and dying the emblems of that atonement on which alone we rest our hopes of pardon and acceptance; or to offer to the survivors the consolations of faith, and to awaken their consciences to the awful warnings of mortality. In short, multitudes of our brethren in India then lived and died without having the religion of their fathers brought home to their heart, or sensibly embodied to their sight. The consequences were, that the faith and virtue of Europeans were exposed to constant hazard of shipwreck, and that in the eyes of the Hindoo or Mussulman, the Christians often appeared to be little better than a godless, and almost an accursed, race. Without exaggeration it may be affirmed, that in India, for a long period of time, the more general impression respecting our countrymen was, that they were altogether destitute of religious sentiment or belief!

“ The pernicious effects of this deplorable deficiency were sometimes heavily aggravated by another circumstance, namely, that unworthy individuals were sometimes found to insinuate themselves into this sacred department of the public service. Of the Indian clergy, as a body, it is no more than bare justice to say, that there were among them many individuals of unquestioned piety and valuable literary acquirements, pursuing a course of laborious usefulness in their holy calling. It cannot, however, be dissembled, that the patronage of the honourable Court of Directors, was occasionally dishonoured by persons of a very different description. In one instance too it certainly did occur that an individual had ventured on the performance of religious functions in a character higher than that to which he had been ordained. But even with regular and well disposed clergymen, an enervating climate and the absence of superior superintendence, would sometimes give occasion to inattention and improper practices. Now in all countries, a careless, immoral, or irreverent minister of religion, is among the bitterest plagues with which society can be infested. But in India the mischief was in a tenfold measure destructive. If the salt which was so thinly scattered lost its savour, what but universal decay and corruption could be expected? At a later period, indeed, the honourable court most vigilantly guarded against any such abuse of their confidence; and the chaplains sent out by them were as eminent for their blameless and religious lives as the generality of their brethren in England. The grand evil, next to the want of regular episcopal superintendence, was the insufficiency of the number of the clergy; and it is painful to add, that few as they were, the churches or places set apart for divine service were still fewer. At

each presidency, or seat of the local governments, there was one church, and one only: for the second church at Calcutta was private property, and the chaplain who officiated there was specially appointed to that service by the court. In the country there were one or two more churches at certain of the more important stations; but in most of the places where the clergy were called upon to officiate no such provision was made. A mess-room, or a barrack, and in some instances, the official court of the magistrate, was the only convenience that could be obtained for the assembling of a Christian congregation, and the public exercise of prayer and praise to the Almighty. The following extract from an official document, issued under the Bengal government in 1807, affords a curious but melancholy illustration of the state of things:—‘The commander-in-chief has directed a riding-school to be included in the estimates for public buildings at Meerut, upon the scale of the riding-schools at Ghazeepeer and Cawnpeer, *for the double purpose of a place of worship and a riding school!*’*

“Such was the aspect under which Christianity was exhibited in India by its European governors, when it became the diocese of an English bishop; in India, which was covered with ancient religious institutions, many of them liberally and even magnificently endowed, and with stately places of worship provided respectively with their appropriate establishments of priests and ministers. Every where the European was surrounded with monuments of the piety of idolaters and Mahometans; and often with memorials of Christian zeal, though debased and corrupted by error and superstition. But he sought almost in vain for any thing to remind him that India was now ruled by men who professed the Gospel in its primitive and undefiled purity. He might even traverse over a large portion of our Indian provinces without any external assurance that its present possessors were bound together by creed, or discipline, or ordinances of religious worship, or by any thing that deserved the name of religious communion.”—vol. i. pp. 79—87.

We do not like to dwell upon the vexations which attended the outset of the Bishop’s career at Calcutta. It must not be forgotten, however, “that no public marks of respect whatever announced the arrival of the first episcopal governor of the Anglo-Indian Church. His appearance in his diocese was as completely unnoticed by the authorities, as the first landing of a civilian or a cadet.” The subsequent conduct of the Earl of Moira proved that this and several other *bêtises* to which the Bishop was subjected, were not of Oriental, but of Leadenhall Street origin. That fact was rendered indisputable by what happened in the matter of the licenses and appointments of the Company’s chaplains.

“Previously to the regular exercise of such powers as were confided to the Bishop, it was necessary that the transfer of all ecclesiastical au-

* Minutes of the Bengal Government, May 28, 1807.

thority to himself should be officially promulgated throughout the three presidencies. And as this act would involve some considerations of great importance and delicacy, it was deemed advisable by the vice-president in council, at Fort William, to await the return of the governor-general from Nepal to Calcutta. In consequence of this unavoidable delay, it was not until December, 1815, that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction was formally notified to the public. In the preparation of this act, it of course became necessary to consider what was intended by the term of '*licensing the clergy*.' It was obvious that the *license* here contemplated could not be a general license to read prayers and preach throughout the diocese of Calcutta; such a license not being conformable to the ecclesiastical law, which the Bishop was directed to take for his guide. It was therefore reasonable to conclude, that the proper effect of the Bishop's license would be to place the clergy, so far as circumstances would permit, in a condition similar to that which is conferred in England by institution. 'The intended effect of licensing a clergyman,' says the Bishop in his communication on this subject to the supreme government, dated June 19, 1815, 'is to place him under the jurisdiction of his diocesan, and, at the same time, to give him a legal title to his cure. It renders him exclusively amenable to the bishop's authority, and makes the exercise of that authority necessary towards his removal. But this is not all. Every clergyman, previously to his being licensed, takes an oath of canonical obedience to the bishop and his successors; and canonical obedience is understood to extend to all matters connected with canonical duties.' 'The clergy of a diocese,' he adds, 'whether presented by the crown, by chartered companies, by individuals, or collated by the bishop, fall precisely under the same jurisdiction, and enter into the same engagement; and the case cannot,' he conceives, 'be different in India.'—'With the bishop rests all the responsibility connected with the conduct of the clergy.'

"The official answer to the above communication was delayed till the Earl of Moira's return to Calcutta. On the first of November it was replied, that 'his Excellency in council concurred in the anxiety expressed by his lordship, for carrying into effect the objects contemplated by the legislature in providing an episcopal establishment for British India, and that orders had accordingly been issued for placing the clergy under his immediate controul. His Excellency, however, observed, that owing to the non-advertence to the circumstance of there being no parochial clergy, an omission had arisen of a definition of his lordship's powers, in a material point. As the case then stood, the clergy attached to the churches in Calcutta were under the controul of the governor-general in council; those in quarters receiving their orders immediately from the commander-in-chief,' (a similar rule prevailing at the other presidencies) 'his lordship's functions would therefore be confined to the superintendence over the moral conduct of those individuals. His authority would consequently be exercised only in the unpleasant part of its character, that is to say, in censure or inhibition, where misconduct might require it; while the pleasing duty of giving to persons deserving distinction, preferable stations, would be withheld from his lordship.

The governor-general in council, therefore, with a view to free his lordship's functions from so invidious a check, and to remove the obvious objection arising from a concurrent jurisdiction, was pleased to resolve that the nomination of chaplains of the united Church of England and Ireland to particular stations, should, thereafter, originate with his lordship; and he was requested to communicate, accordingly, to the local governments of the respective presidencies all such arrangements as he might think proper to make, in order that the necessary instructions for the issue of pay and allowances to the chaplains, at the respective stations to which they should be severally appointed, might be expedited in the usual manner.* His Excellency was further pleased to direct, that all clergymen appointed in future to the situation of chaplain, should immediately on their arrival in India, report themselves to the Lord Bishop, or, in his absence, to the archdeacon of their respective presidencies. A complete compilation of the existing rules and orders for the guidance of the several chaplains was to be transmitted for his lordship's information, and for the purpose of enabling him to prepare such new regulations as he might deem expedient. The Bishop was, lastly, informed, that the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay had been requested to adopt the necessary measures for giving full effect to the authority vested in his lordship by the letters-patent, and by those resolutions of the governor-general in council.'

"The foregoing paper is a monument of the liberality and wisdom, which enabled his Excellency the governor-general to perceive, that nothing could be more unfavourable to the useful exercise of the Bishop's spiritual office, than to hold it up merely as a terror to evil-doers, and to strip it of the power of encouraging desert by suitable recompense and promotion. Here, however, it was that the Bishop had to deplore that such insufficient provision had been made for the independence and dignity of the episcopal office. as to leave it without protection against adverse views and interests. The Court of Directors (as may now be properly mentioned, by anticipation) made no objection to that part of the regulations which assigned to the Bishop a superintendence over matters of official routine, and entitled him to receive from his archdeacons a certificate that all was regularly done which fell within his cognizance,—(an authority which peculiarly belonged to him by the very nature of his office, and by the express words of the letters patent,)—but they maintained, that the privilege of originating the appointment of each chaplain to a particular station would be an encroachment on the patronage of government; and they accordingly sent, in 1818, a peremptory dispatch, (which the India Board did not deem it proper to intercept,) calling on the government in India to rescind their resolution, and deciding that the chaplains should be promoted by seniority. They would not even consent to leave to the Bishop the power of selecting the ablest for the pulpit of his own cathedral. They gave, indeed, as the

* The salaries attached to particular stations varied; and it was therefore necessary that the pay-offices should be apprised of the changes in the locations of the clergy. The power of making a settled allowance for a station rested with the government of each presidency.

patent required, a general injunction to the government to co-operate with the ecclesiastical authorities; but accompanied it with restrictions which threatened to reduce the episcopal office to comparative insignificance.

“In all these proceedings there was nothing, perhaps, that might not have been reasonably expected. It is hardly to be imagined that any body of men should readily consent to the supposed reduction of their own influence. Experience is constantly teaching them how necessary the possession of such influence must always be to the successful administration of great public interests; and the transfer of any portion of it to other hands, is a measure, the expediency of which may appear too doubtful to overcome the various motives which counsel an adherence to the existing state of things. But, however natural might be this resolution of the Honourable Court, it must always be lamented by those who are anxious for the honour and efficacy of our episcopal establishment in India: and this regret must be deepened by the consideration that the surrender of patronage would, in this instance, have been but an insignificant sacrifice on the part of the local governments, while it would have conferred immense advantage on the cause of religion, and would have been more in union with the general practice of government in other departments.”—vol. i. p. 138—144.

We cannot accompany the Bishop in his Primary Visitation, but its more interesting occurrences well deserve to be recorded in his own words. In letters to Mr. Ward and to Archdeacon Watson, his Lordship speaks as follows of the missions in Southern India:—

“I am sitting in my tent, barely one hundred miles from Cape Comorin! My little camp occupies a rising ground on the north side of the Satoor, a considerable river in the rainy season; but now very nearly dry: to the north are two small pagodas, and to the south, just across the river, a mosque: in the distance westward, about forty miles off, are the vast ghauts, which seem almost close upon us: we are to pass them at the southern extremity near the Cape, by what is called the Arambooly gate, the entrance into Travancore. My plan is still to embark at Cochin, where a ship of six hundred tons will be waiting to receive me; and, as the season is so far advanced, I fear that I shall hardly be able to do much among the Syrian Christians, but must take them on my return from Bombay. It is altogether a vast undertaking; but I trust that Providence will carry me through it. We are by this time pretty well reconciled to our mode of life: we rise at four and are in our palanquins before five, so as to reach the breakfast-tent by half-past seven: in the morning I read Syriac, &c. or attend to business as well as I can with the thermometer at 96°. Our dinner hour is four, and at half-past five we saunter out to look at the scene around us; and at eight we retire: and the next morning as before. The country through which we have passed has been generally uninteresting, perhaps five-sixths of it lying uncultivated, and displaying no features whatever of public spirit or improvement; the English in the East are mere col-

lectors of revenue. But I must not enter into this subject, it would carry me too far. Notwithstanding the cheerless aspect of the country, my journey has been very interesting : I have seen a great deal and have learnt something, especially of what is most interesting to me, and that is the state of Christianity. All the native Christianity of India lies in the district through which I have passed ; I mean Protestant Christianity, which alone deserves the name : for, as to the rest, it is little more than exchanging one idol for another. The mission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge does us honour as Christians. I have inspected the state of the mission minutely, and have conversed with several of its native members, not themselves converts, but the sons of converts : they are in knowledge and manners as much superior to their pagan neighbours as an Englishman well educated is to a peasant ; and yet I cannot hear of more than three native Christians of any sort who are employed under government : it would not be popular among the heathen ! At Madras they actually petitioned me to recommend them as door keepers in the churches, instead of Mussulmen and Hindoos. At Tanjore, I visited the Rajah, a most accomplished gentleman. The next day he returned my call, omitting nothing in point of form to indicate his respect : we had a procession of infantry, cavalry, field pieces, state elephants, music, and a crowd of followers to the amount of two or three thousand : it was quite an eastern romance.”—pp. 223, 226.

“ I have in the course of my journey met with hardly any thing more interesting than the scene of yesterday evening. I was encamped a few miles from this place, (for we are dwellers in tents, and frequently do not see any thing better than a few native huts for many days together,) when, after rising from dinner, I was informed that several persons were in waiting to pay their respects. I went out, and received, as is usual at every stage, the compliments of the daroga, a sort of chief constable of the hundred, with all his followers, who presented fruit, &c. When I had dismissed these, another party came up, for whom I was not so well prepared. It was a deputation of thirty or forty Brahmins, from the Tinnevely pagodas, who also came to pay their respects to the *Bishop*, and to represent that the government allowed them so little out of the produce of their lands, that they and their religion were in danger of being starved : and they looked to me, very *naturally* to be sure, to interfere in their behalf ! To understand this, you must be told, that the government are here a sort of lay-impropriators. They take the pagoda estates into their own hands, and grant out of the proceeds what they think reasonable for the performance of the duty, and the expense of the ceremonies ; and, in this instance, the Brahmins say it is not enough. The question is entirely out of my cognizance ; but the Company’s servants very generally assure me that the allowances of government for such purposes are *extremely liberal*. But the delightful part was yet to come. I have with me a writer, David, who joined me at Tanjore, (the son of Sattianaden, whose sermon you have at the Society,) and he informed me that the party who stood aloof were Christians who came from Palamcottah to welcome me, and to receive my blessing. I went forward to meet them. They were headed by their native priest and

my man David. They were about thirty, and they formed the most remote congregation under Mr. Kohlhoff's care. The priest, a very interesting man, whose countenance, if I recollect rightly, resembles the head of St. Cyprian in Cave's Lives, (but the book is at Calcutta, 1200 miles off,) and has almost the darkest complexion I have seen, addressed me on behalf of his people; and, in reply, I gave them a suitable exhortation, which David interpreted with great energy, and they received it with every mark of thankfulness. They then opened their Tamul prayer-books, and sung a psalm of thanksgiving to a tune which, I dare say, is used at Hackney, quite correctly, and in good time and melody. The Brahmins witnessed the scene, and both deputations quitted the camp together.

"It surely is not easy to imagine a more impressive or affecting spectacle than this little flock of Christian worshippers, in a remote and idolatrous region, singing one of the songs of Zion in that strange land, in the presence of the first Protestant Bishop that had been ever seen there, while the priests of a corrupt superstition stood by, and were looking on. It was a sight from which genius and piety combined might surely form an admirable and most interesting picture."—pp. 227, 229.

The chapters on the Syrian Churches in Malabar form one of the most important parts of the whole work. They contain a brief memoir of all that can be learned from books respecting that extraordinary community, and a very full account of Bishop Middleton's personal researches on the same subject. A description of their church service, as witnessed by the Bishop and Archdeacon Barnes, and Mr. Le Bas's excellent reflections upon the present state of Christianity among them, are the only portions we can extract.

"On Friday, October 11, Bishop Middleton and Archdeacon Barnes proceeded to the church of Agaperumboo, (or Accaparamba) for the purpose of being present at divine service, which, in the Syrian churches, is performed every morning, usually at eight o'clock, though the time is at the discretion of the priest. The catanar, having notice of the Bishop's intention, awaited his arrival. At a quarter past eight he appeared, and was met by several of the catanars, who conducted him from the entrance of the enclosure round the church, to the west door. They were preceded by tom-toms and cymbals, the noise of which did not hinder the catanars from chanting a Syriac hymn. The musicians remained on the outside of the church. The Bishop and the Archdeacon were conducted within the skreen; they declined sitting, although chairs had attentively been procured for them. The kasheesa, who was to officiate, wore a black cassock with a red leathern girdle: but when he approached the altar, where the whole service is performed, he put over this cassock a white surplice, and a red damask mantle, which hung behind over his shoulders; green silk sleeves from the wrist to the elbow, a *cape* or hood, and, lastly, a green silk pall meeting in front. On the north side of the table were two shumshanas or deacons in white, the kasheesa himself

standing in front of the altar. Before the commencement of the regular service the shumshanas sung a short morning hymn: the bell then tolled for a few minutes, and the music played at the west entrance. When this was over, the kasheesa commenced by chanting a hymn, to which the shumshanas responded, and during that time he frequently turned himself round to the people from the east, by the south, to the west. Another catanar then read the portion of Scripture appointed for the Gospel; after which, the first priest, turning to the altar, with his back towards the people, chanted prayers and hymns, to which they responded Amen. He was on his feet during the whole time, and, occasionally, turned himself round, crossing himself on the breast. This was followed by the Apostles' Creed, which was recited by the whole congregation, while the catanars stood in front of the altar swinging their incense boxes. The first part of these prayers and short hymns had reference or allusion to the conception, the next to the birth of Christ, on which occasion, on the pronouncing the words, '*Peace on earth, good-will towards men,*' the attendant catanars take the officiating priest's right between both their hands, and so pass *the Peace* to the congregation, each of whom takes his neighbour's right hand, and salutes him with the word *peace*. During the hymns little bells and cymbals are used, accompanied by the words, '*Thus did Miriam and David sing unto the Lord.*' In the course of the prayers the priest introduces the mention of certain eminent persons by name; but for what purpose, or in what manner, could not be very clearly ascertained: possibly, in the way of holy and solemn commemoration,—for it was uniformly denied that they prayed either for, or to, these worthies. At the end of the prayers and hymns the curtain is drawn before the altar, in order to make a pause in the service, and to afford the congregation an opportunity of sitting. During this interval, two bells are tolled, as if to give notice of the communion service, which follows next. When the curtain is again drawn aside, the priest commences by repeating the Lord's Prayer to the people: he then makes the sign of the cross in the air. At the consecration of the elements, he first elevates the bread, and then the wine, with both his hands, and at the moment of elevation the tom-toms and cymbals strike up loud and quick. The shumshanas then sing a hymn; the curtain is again closed, and the priest prays by himself. The curtain is then once more drawn aside, the priest comes forward with the bread in his right hand, and the wine in his left, stands in front of the table and chants a hymn, setting forth, that Christ, who is crucified for us, is risen from the dead. He then turns to the altar, and takes the sacrament, in sight of the congregation, kneeling. The music at the west end once more strikes up, after which, all is silent; the priest kneels and says a short prayer to himself, rises, wipes out the chalice clean with his right hand, and the service concludes. No one received the sacrament except the officiating priest, and by him it is received in this manner every day; by the people only at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. The whole of the service lasted about three quarters of an hour. While it was proceeding, the congregation stood without the skreen, and, to all appearance, had no concern in what was going on within it, and even the shumshanas per-

form their portion of the duty with very slight indications of pious or reverential emotion !

“ From the above representation it would seem that the religious services of the Indo-Syrians are far removed from the sober, unaffected solemnity of our own ritual. The celebration of the Eucharist, in particular, is unhappily encumbered with trifling and apparently superstitious forms, which one would gladly see banished from all Christian worship. And yet, unworthy as these embellishments are of a truly spiritual adoration, they are simplicity itself when compared with the multitude of toyish vanities with which the Greek Church disguises the same awful rite.”—vol. i. p. 304—308.

“ On comparing the above representations with those of La Croze, it will immediately be perceived that there are some particulars in which they are at variance ; and that, if his statements be correct, a considerable degeneracy must have taken place in the Syrian Church, since the period of the Portuguese intrusion. Upwards of two centuries ago, we are told, the Syrians knew but three Sacraments ; they now acknowledge seven. The appellation of Mother of God then sounded in their ears like blasphemy ; but that this title duly belongs to the Holy Virgin, is now an article of their belief. Confession was then unknown. It is now regularly practised at stated seasons of the year. The accounts of their original faith tell us nothing of solitary masses ; but these are now, as we have seen, among the most valued privileges of the clergy, and, as they themselves confessed, would alone be sufficient to withhold them from any union with the Church of England. These symptoms of decline from the original purity, would seem to indicate that the leaven of Romish corruption has partially wrought itself even into that portion of the mass which never could be brought into communion with Rome : and the evil may, possibly, have been aggravated by the general apathy which is often incident to a long continued state of national depression and adversity. We have seen that the more enlightened among them were ready to deplore the slenderness of their knowledge, and were extremely anxious for ample means of improvement ; that the humbler orders are left without any regular instruction : and that, in some parts, the congregation listens with equal indifference to the Romish or the Syrian mass. With regard to the question whether they are Jacobite or Nestorian, it is, surely, the least important of any that can be agitated respecting them. To them, there is great reason to believe, these words convey but very scanty meaning, as indicative of doctrinal differences. They hold, as we do, that the Saviour is very God and very man ; and the subtleties which may be spun out of that article of their faith are, probably, much too fine for their intellectual or spiritual powers of vision. The terms Jacobite and Nestorian, therefore, are with them, in all probability, little more than mere names of party. The Jacobite is one that holds allegiance to the Primate of Antioch, while the Nestorian acknowledges only the Catholic of Mosul. At all events, whatever may have been their involuntary deviations from the precise line of orthodoxy, it is gratifying to be assured of one thing,—that they appear to be, on the whole, a moral, guileless, simple-hearted people, and to form a strik-

ing contrast both with Papists and Hindoos. In the midst of their poverty and oppression, they retain a steady attachment to the religion of their forefathers, and are extremely solicitous to receive instruction. Nothing could exceed the joy with which the printed copies of the Syriac Gospels, presented by Bishop Middleton and Archdeacon Barnes, were received by the bishop and his clergy, or their impatience for a similar supply, comprehending the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Whether they will ever be brought to symbolize exactly with the Church of England is, indeed, very doubtful : but there can be no doubt that they are prepared for an intimate and friendly communion with us, and that any good offices to them must redound most signally to the benefit and honour of our common Christianity in India."—pp. 319, 321.

The Bishop's voyage to Penang was attended with circumstances of such rare occurrence in Episcopal visitations, that it deserves to be recorded in his own words:—

“ Pulo Penang, May 5, 1819.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ Though I wrote to you from Madras about six weeks ago, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to you from the Straits of Malacca : the remoteness of the place and the probability that I shall never see it again after this visit, make me anxious that you should receive a letter from me written on the spot. In such situations, indeed, I have always felt a desire to communicate with absent friends ; and, in this instance, the expectation that a ship will sail in four days direct for England makes the impulse irresistible. Look then in your map for this Isle of Betel Nut (so the Malay name signifies), otherwise Prince of Wales's Island, in long. 100° east, and lat. 5° north : there was I sitting, when this letter was written, amidst some of the finest scenery in the world. Fronting me, at the distance of 100 yards from my house, are the Straits, about two miles wide, and beyond them a range of mountains in the dominions of the king of Queda, a feudatory of the emperor of Siam : their summits, at this moment, (10 A.M.) are capt in the clouds, which the sun has not yet had power to dissipate. Close upon my left are masses of wood, piled up on the sides of lofty hills, which slope down to the edge of the water : and on my right is the town, the fort, and the shipping, concealed, however, by an exuberance of trees : in short, whichever way I turn, I have never seen nature in greater beauty. But the price which I have paid for coming hither demanded some compensation : our passage from Madras was by no means pleasant, nor wholly free from danger. We left the roads with a fair breeze off the land, but the next morning the wind proved adverse, varying from E. to S.E. and of course directly heading us. On the fifth day we found ourselves about 100 miles N.E. of Trincomalee in Ceylon. We had experienced severe squalls for two or three days past, but on the evening of the 20th, my captain told us that something worse was coming, and that we must prepare for a bad night. Every moment the appearance became more threatening ; and at half-past six, just as it grew dark, orders were given

for dead lights in the poop cabins, and to set the storm-sail. In the mean time the wind blew furiously with rain, thunder, and lightning; and the ship laboured exceedingly: all was noise on board, though I believe there was no confusion. Whilst I was endeavouring to comfort Mrs. Middleton, commending her and my party to the protection of Providence, our little dog jumped upon her lap, as if fully impressed with the terror of the scene, trembling in every joint. The gale still continued, and at four in the morning was at the worst: we were then in a storm of hail, not very usual in these latitudes, and the ship was almost on her beam-ends. I got out on deck and asked the gunner, the first man I met, whether we might hope the wind would abate at daylight; he replied, 'Day-light would make no difference; a gale of this sort always lasts four-and-twenty hours:' and with little variation he was right. About six in the evening it abated, though the weather was still squally; but the squalls were now in our favour; the S. W. monsoon had set in, and what we had encountered was the commencement or change. By staying at Madras till the middle of April, I had hoped to escape this; but the change this year has been unusually late. We were now to steer for the Nicobar Islands, and to pass round the north side of Car Nicobar: here again was a cause of some little solicitude; for our rate of sailing would bring us amidst a cluster of islands and rocks in the middle of a dark night. Our captain, however, sailed off and on, and very skilfully contrived to have Car Nicobar about fifteen miles ahead at break of day. At 10 A. M. we had got well round to the northern shore, and not more than one mile and a half distant. Ships frequently stop here for refreshments, and the people are said to be well disposed: but learning that it was their custom to come on board in great numbers, and armed, I desired the captain not to anchor, but to pass on. We had, however, a delightful view of the island for more than two hours: it has no grand scenery, but presents the appearance of great fertility, and abounds in beautiful situations, and slopes, from the sea, of the softest green I ever beheld. The native villages appeared to consist of about half a dozen houses each, stuck in recesses upon the beach. The houses are of the form of bee-hives, and like them are raised from the ground upon piles or stakes: the entrance is said to be by a hole in the floor. I observed several of the inhabitants running about, dragging their canoes. From Car Nicobar our course lay towards Pulo Bouton, not far from the Malay coast, which is usually made by ships going to Penang. In this neighbourhood pirates occasionally shew themselves; and they never spare those whom they get into their power. On the morning of the day before we reached this place, at about 10 A. M. a sail was seen ahead: she was observed to change her course repeatedly, from which it was inferred that she was not a trader, but a cruiser of some sort: at twelve we neared her, and hoisted our colours, but we could not perceive that she took any notice of them: she still, however, lay in our way, and her conduct was quite inexplicable. We fired a shot at her, an eighteen-pounder, which happily missed her. Still she took no notice, but tacked and stood in our course. It was now thought necessary by our captain and his officers to prepare for our defence: we had only two guns, and

about nine or ten muskets: these were ordered to be loaded, and all hands to be on deck. But, unfortunately, we were becalmed, and could not stir, and night was coming on. This was the worst part of our case: whatever was our danger, it would in a dark night be increased tenfold. My situation was now rather anxious; and Mrs. Middleton's being with me rendered it much more so; although she behaved with great composure. Providentially, however, about five o'clock, a strong breeze sprung up in our favour. I then desired the captain to bear down upon our antagonist, and to bring the question to an issue, while we had daylight. In twenty minutes we were alongside the strange vessel to the windward, and within pistol-shot. Our defence was to have been to have fired the leeward gun, and then to have turned the helm, and run our enemy down: we might have suffered in the shock, but that was our only resource. She turned out, however, to be a trader bound from Rangoon, in Pegu, to Penang, and without any hostile purpose, though her conduct was by no means explained. It was now two hours and a half past dinner time; but we sat down very thankful for being thus relieved from our uneasiness."—vol. ii. p. 65—70.

Of the Missionary prospects of this remote settlement, the bishop observes, in a letter to Mr. Norris—

"The school at Penang, like your new committee there, is interesting from its situation; it is an advanced post to the eastward. I devoted a day to examining the children, and giving them rewards, (a task by the way, which I must perform at the free school on Wednesday next,) the children there (at Penang) are of all sorts, half-castes, Mahometans from the coast of Coromandel, Malays, and Chinese; and one little man came from the Celebes, and in point of ability was equal to any of them. He had been sent as a present to the governor, and fortunately is in good hands. The children are all quick. Penang is a fine spot for a school, and for diffusing civilization. I hope to get my school into better order, as far as this can be done by influencing those who are on the spot. A flourishing school and a flourishing Promoting Christian Knowledge Committee there, would in time become a blessing to the whole Eastern Archipelago. Perhaps missionaries might be useful there. Some independents from Malacca arrived a little before me. They profess to have no object but native schools. It is curious that in every corner of Asia you find the Church of Rome. There are many Catholics at Penang; and a Romish bishop (*the Bishop of Siam*) was on his visitation there at the same time with myself." Surely the Protestant government of England will be provoked to a godly jealousy by this last fact! Surely they will not much longer endure to consign their vast dominions to the care of one solitary and over-laboured prelate, while the delegates of the Supreme Pontiff are giving to his power a sort of omnipresence throughout the East!

"When viewed with reference to their situations, those eastern settlements seem to offer peculiar advantages for the labours of Christian philanthropy. Bordering close on the shores of the Malay peninsula, and maintaining a frequent intercourse with China, they appear to present

an entrance through which the Gospel may, in process of time, win its way to lands now wrapped in the darkness of idolatry."—vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

Mr. Le Bas's reflections upon this excursion deserve to be read—and, *if possible*, to be answered:—

"Towards the end of May the bishop returned from this excursion. His voyage back had been attended with much fatigue and imminent danger, and placed in a more formidable point of view than ever the discharge of the episcopal duties in this country, and *the absolute necessity of their division*. 'They expose me,' he very naturally and truly remarks in the same letter, 'to all the privations and dangers of a *seafaring life*. In the winter I must go to Ceylon and Bombay; and thither and back again is a voyage of 5000 miles, considerably more than the passage across the Atlantic; so that in one visitation I shall have sailed between 8000 and 9000 miles, which is more than half the voyage to England! It will be utterly impossible for me to proceed in this manner to the end of my term, unless it be shortened.' This impossibility will appear still more striking, when we reflect, that a Bishop of India, when he returns from the harassing pilgrimage of a visitation, must return not to repose and relaxation, but to an encounter with difficulties, which have been swelling to a formidable accumulation during his long absence. The cessation of bodily exhaustion is consequently followed only by a more severe demand on the mental energies. The weariness of flesh and spirit do but succeed and aggravate each other. The bishop, accordingly, on his arrival at Calcutta, found abundant reason to deplore the necessity which removed him for any length of time from his metropolis. The *res dura et regni novitas* required his continual presence at his post. Every protracted interruption of his personal superintendence grievously retarded his designs, and impaired his hope of ever giving to the religious movements of his diocese, the full advantage of uniformity and concentration."—vol. ii. pp. 80, 81.

But we must stop short in our career of quotation. Gladly and advantageously might we copy page after page from Mr. Le Bas's narrative—accompanying his lamented friend in his first and second visit to Ceylon, in his second visitation of Madras and Bombay, and in the various and fruitful labours which almost overwhelmed him during his residence at Calcutta. The projecting and founding Bishop's College occupied much of his time and thoughts. And when the alarm of old Indians at the very word "conversion" began to subside, the Bishop took occasion, in his Charges, Sermons, and Letters, to develope those plans for the diffusion of Christianity in the East, which must be studied and followed by all who desire to promote that great work. For details upon each of these important pursuits, we refer our readers with the most entire confidence to Mr. Le Bas's volume. But we can find room for two more extracts only, and we select those which demand peculiar attention—the

concluding remarks upon Bishop Middleton's life and character—and the summary of what was effected during his residence in India.

“ In person, Bishop Middleton was something above the usual stature. His complexion was florid, and his features were handsome and commanding. His form indicated no ordinary measure of activity and vigour; and it appeared on an examination of the body, that the general organization was perfect, and the frame sound and healthful, without the slightest discernible indication of premature decay. It was remarked, however, that there were some peculiarities in the structure and conformation of the skull and brain, which in the judgment of professional men, amply accounted for that susceptible disposition, and liability to nervous excitement, which he frequently displayed in his life-time, and which the cares of his vast diocese were incessantly aggravating. In temperament he was sanguine and zealous, full of energy in the pursuit of objects which he believed to be praiseworthy and important—intensely solicitous for the success of his exertions—and liable, consequently, to occasional depression from the effects of unreasonable and vexatious opposition. In one respect he was unquestionably an ambitious man—he was animated by an ardent passion to be distinguished among the wise and the good. He had incessant aspirations after every thing that can raise and dignify human nature. *Whatsoever things were just, or lovely, or of good report—if there were any virtue, or if there were any praise,* such were the things perpetually present to his hopes and meditations.

“ His thirst for knowledge was almost insatiable. His powers of intellect were vigorous and excursive, and his memory at once ready and tenacious; and the result was, that his scholarship was of the highest order. His admiration of the Greek writers, more especially of their works in prose, was almost enthusiastic; and it would perhaps be difficult to name any literary man of these latter days, whose knowledge of them was more intimate or more extensive. Among English divines he is entitled to an honourable place. His theology was derived, not from modern compilations, but from a minute and laborious study of the sacred text, illustrated by the eloquence and by the expositions of the primitive Christian writers. Next to the study of the Bible itself, ecclesiastical history was, probably, his favourite pursuit. There is reason to believe that no important period in the annals of the Church were left unexplored by him, and that in these researches he trusted to no guidance but that of the original authorities.

“ On the private virtues of Bishop Middleton, it is impossible for those who knew him best, to reflect without a melancholy delight. In describing them, however, the author of these pages can hardly make any righteous pretensions to absolute and rigorous impartiality. A long acquaintance with the excellences of his lost friend may, perhaps, have disqualified him for a clear discernment of the spots and blemishes which may have been scattered over his character. He is, however, conscious of no wilful exaggeration in representing Bishop Middleton as distinguished by those qualities which exalt into solemnity and sacredness our regrets for the loss of great and good men. They who have enjoyed his

society and his friendship, can never think of him without feeling *their hearts burn within them*. A mere enumeration of all that was valuable in his character, would convey no just impression of the man. We might say that he was warm and generous in his attachments—that, as a husband, he was kind and affectionate—that in all the various relations of life he was exemplary—that he was benevolent and charitable, and munificently generous—and that his heart was warm with that *good will towards men* which is felt by none so deeply as by those whose whole faculties are devoted to the *glory of God*. All this we might most truly say, and yet without conveying a clear and appropriate conception of the truth. To obtain a just notion of the individual, as distinguished from many other amiable men, we must imagine these qualities in combination with a certain loftiness of mind—with an utter incapacity for any thing base or sordid—with a singleness and integrity of heart, which would lead those who knew him to consign to his keeping, with entire confidence, any interest, whether public or private, and however sacred and momentous.

“In some respects there is great reason to believe that his disposition and temper have been much mistaken by many, whose knowledge of him was derived solely from their intercourse with him as a public man. Those who may be tolerably familiar with the more imposing features of his character, will probably learn with surprise, that by nature he was not merely kind and easy tempered, but singularly sportive and playful. To him no mere earthly recreation seemed equal to the *abandonment* of a select social circle. When surrounded by a few friends who possessed his confidence and attachment, nothing could be more winning or more animating than his society. His vast stores of erudition, his quick memory, his keen perception of pleasantry and humour—always kept ‘within the limits of becoming mirth’—rendered him one of the most instructive and entertaining of companions. Among his severest sacrifices in India, he used to reckon the loss of that sort of conversation which is enlivened by the brisk and frequent interchange of classical application and allusion; one of the most innocent, and at the same time most delightful recreations, that can be enjoyed by a finished scholar; but which it can be scarcely reasonable to expect in a society so peculiarly constituted as that of India. This circumstance is mentioned purely for the purpose of showing how open he was to all those blameless and ‘unreproved pleasures’ which sweeten the repose and leisure of superior minds.

“That, like all human beings, he had his failings, it would be absurd to question. But it may safely be affirmed, that even his defects arose either from the excessive operation of some good principle, or from the extreme delicacy of his nervous temperament. It is well known, for instance, that by many in India his personal demeanour was thought to be rather too deeply stamped with official solemnity and rigour. If this were really the case, no doubt can be entertained by those who knew him well, that the peculiarity was connected with his lively and habitual sense of duty; certainly with no feeling so worthless as that of personal arrogance, or love of ostentation. He was placed in a post of almost

unexampled difficulty; in a situation the novelty of which demanded inflexible firmness and unwearied vigilance; and which, not unnaturally, led him to believe that it would scarcely be prudent for him to lay aside for a moment the high public character which he was called upon to maintain without compromise. Under these very peculiar and trying circumstances, it would not be surprising if the posture of dignity, which he often felt himself compelled *defensively* to assume, should gradually and imperceptibly have given to his manner an air of constraint and reserve, very far from natural to the man.

“Again, there never, perhaps, existed an individual more intensely anxious to do right than Bishop Middleton; and this incessant solicitude, aggravated by the want of legal advice and support in ecclesiastical matters of the greatest delicacy and perplexity, and acting too upon a constitution which, though robust, was unusually sensitive—may, at times, have given to his behaviour an appearance of irritability, impatience, and agitation. When we recollect the opposition he had to encounter, the jealous vigilance with which he was beset, and the vexation which perpetually assailed him in the discharge of his new and arduous functions, it is truly wonderful, (and it shows the depth and power of the principles which supported him,) that the constant influence of this acute sensibility should to the last have left his strength and steadiness of purpose wholly unimpaired. That it must have rendered the process of arriving at his conclusions extremely harassing, there can be no doubt; but yet when his resolution was once formed, he was always found to remain *stedfast and unmovable*. His nerves may often have been shaken, but the moral principle within continued utterly impregnable. It can scarcely, however, be questioned that this severe and long-continued wear of spirits must have materially hastened the period at which he was to bow down beneath his burden.

“Of his labours as a Christian prelate who shall be worthy to speak? And in the first place who can fitly estimate that triumph of self-denial which he was enabled to achieve, when he obeyed the voice which summoned him to the diocese of India? When he was invited to this vast and untried sphere of duty, be it always remembered he was in the plenitude of comfort, happiness, and reputation at home. He was enjoying the society of the most distinguished scholars and divines of his day; and he was himself among the most eminent of their number. He was, further, well known as a powerful preacher, as an active, zealous, learned, and most intelligent churchman, as one fit to stand in the foremost ranks as a champion of the establishment. It would be difficult to name many individuals of his time whose prospects of distinction and preferment were more bright and promising. Besides, nothing could exceed his attachment to his clerical friends and fellow-labourers at home, or the respect and esteem with which his friendship was repaid by them; nothing could be more keen than his relish for the enjoyments of that enlightened society in the midst of which he lived. If, therefore, mere secular interests or motives could have made themselves heard, when he was called to the task of founding the Anglo-Indian Church,

banks of the Ganges might never have been adorned and hallowed by a monument so noble, as that which will now transmit his name to the remotest ages.”—vol. ii. pp. 326—333.

“ If it could be needful to establish by further proof the usefulness and efficacy of our episcopal polity and discipline in India, we might request of any dispassionate spectator that he would compare that branch of our religious institutions, as it now exhibits itself,—in its united character, its expanding energy, and its constantly accumulating moral influence,—with the condition to which the cause of the Church was reduced when Bishop Middleton took possession of his see. At that time many valuable clergymen were, doubtless, devoting their hearts, their talents, and the best portion of their lives, to the conscientious discharge of their sacred duties in those regions. But they were unavoidably doomed to act without support, without concert, without that mutual *sharpening of countenance*, which gives so powerful an edge to the exertions of Christian friends and brethren. They were left with no superior to advise or to encourage them; with no authority to direct and control their labours. The usefulness of each minister was, almost wholly, confined to the narrow circle of his own personal ministrations; and the consequence was, that the efficiency of the clerical body was, in a great measure, dissipated and lost, for want of that principle of concentration which results from the superintendence of a single mind. While a few unconnected individuals were scattered over that vast territory, and labouring for the improvement of dispersed communities of Christians, the Church, of which they were the only representatives, had scarcely “ a local habitation or a name ” in India. Its power over the public mind and heart was absolutely nothing. Even among its own professed members, its influences were scarcely felt, and its authority well nigh forgotten; and among the natives, its very existence as a Church was utterly unknown. The beneficial change which has been effected, in all these respects, since the local establishment of episcopacy, is, happily, notorious and undeniable. Numerous and mighty obstacles may yet, it is true, remain to be surmounted. The contemplation, however, of what has already been achieved, must be abundantly sufficient to strengthen our reliance on the Divine protection; and to animate us with the hope that the toils, the anxieties, and the prayers, of this illustrious prelate will not have been *in vain in the Lord*. *Humanly speaking*, there is one thing, and one thing only, which can defeat his *labours of love*,—the want of generous courage, and devoted zeal, and sustained perseverance, in the country which sent him forth to this vast sphere of exertion.

“ Such, then, have been the blessed effects of that wisdom and piety which, at last, have planted an Apostolic Church in India; and, such as we have seen, were the masculine firmness of character, the power of intellect, the maturity of judgment, the elevated self-devotion, which the first Protestant bishop brought to the accomplishment of that holy enterprise. In this cause he counted not his life dear unto him; and, unquestionably, he poured out his soul unto death, for its prosperity and honour. Here then, let us cease from any further attempt either to disclose his virtues, or to draw forth his failings ‘ from their dread abode.’

that Church would never have had him for her spiritual father, and the His virtues are laid up as a treasure which is become the invaluable and sacred property of the Christian world. His failings, it were almost impious to doubt, will find abundant mercy at the hand of that God, whom he served in faith and fear, and *with heart, and soul, and strength.*"—vol. ii. pp. 345—348.

After transcribing these passages, it is unnecessary to sum up the character of the work before us. We shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter again and again, as a text-book of the highest authority upon ecclesiastical affairs in the East. And as long as the memory of the first Bishop of that immense Diocese shall be dear to England and to India, so long will the labours of his biographer be held in the highest estimation by every admirer of splendid eloquence, faithful friendship, sound principles, and ardent piety.

ART. VIII.—*The Evidences of Christianity: stated in a popular and practical manner, in a Course of Lectures, delivered in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Islington.* By Daniel Wilson, M.A. Vicar. 2 vols. 8vo. 12s. London: Wilson. 1830.

WE had much pleasure in recommending the first volume of this work to the attention of our readers, and we can safely say that the volume now before us is no unworthy successor of its elder brother. The following passages will suffice to show the manner in which Mr. Wilson has performed his very important task.

"What so great as man! How exalted the dignity of his nature above the inferior animals! What a gift is reason! What a distinction speech! What a thirst he has for knowledge—what a desire after happiness—what a mind, in some faint measure, representing the Deity! Whither cannot his powers extend themselves! What discoveries of science, what inventions in the arts! What a thirst after something which is not found beneath the sun, after a good which has no limit! What enlargement, what constant improvement the soul is capable of! In spite of all his misery, he has a feeling, a sentiment which elevates him, and which he cannot repress. Nothing satisfies his ambition but the esteem of rational and intellectual beings. He burns with the love of glory: he has an idea of a lost happiness which he seeks in every thing in vain. He is a dethroned monarch, wandering through a strange country, but who cannot lay aside his original habits of thought and expectation.

"And yet what so little as man! What contradictions is this strange creature daily and hourly exhibiting! As to his ends and capacities, he is great: as to his habits, he is abject and vile. His reason is expansive, comprehensive, elevated: and yet his passions mean and uncertain

and perverse. His mind vast and noble ; his desires impure and corrupted ; his dissatisfaction with external things separating him from the earth, and yet his propensities chaining him down to it. His thoughts full of grandeur, but his affections narrow and grovelling. In his aspirations, he rises up to angels ; in his vices, he sinks below the brutes. In his conceptions of futurity, immensity, eternity, he is sublime ; in his follies, pursuits, and desires, he is limited, degraded, childish. Thus, man is a maze and labyrinth to himself, full of grandeur and full of meanness—of grandeur as to his original dignity, as to the image of God, his capacity for religion, his longing for immortality, his thirst of truth, his large designs and projects—and yet low and debased as to his passions, his changeableness, his pursuit of any folly or error, his degrading pleasures and appetites, his delight in sensual things, and neglect of his intellectual and moral nature.

“Hence the history of mankind has ever presented the appalling picture of misery, folly, vice, ignorance triumphant, (except as Revelation has supplied a remedy,) notwithstanding all man’s powers and desires. He will not part with religion, and yet lives a slave to appetite ; he will not forsake the pursuit of truth, and yet he loves a lie. And whilst apparently advancing towards perfection, he seems also to be sinking into lower depths of debasement. Wars and contests find perpetual fuel in the lusts of men, notwithstanding our experience of the misery they occasion and the unsatisfactoriness of their most fortunate results. The most improvident courses are pursued, in spite of conviction and warnings and example. The same errors are committed as to the nature of true enjoyment, and the means by which it should be pursued, which have been acknowledged and lamented in all former generations. The improvements in the sciences and arts are no sure omens of the diminution of moral delinquency.

“3. Now what can be a more striking proof of adaptation to the state of man, than this development of his contradictory feelings and pursuits in every part of Revelation, and an address to him upon this footing, and no other ?

“The Bible would be suited to no other creature but one fallen from so great a height and sunk into so deep a gulf. It is in this state it supposes him to be. It is in this state it proposes to him all its discoveries. It calls to him as an accountable being, as having a conscience, the vicergerent of the Almighty ; as capable of eternal happiness, as formed for knowing and serving God, and as destined to undergo a divine judgment—and yet it takes him up as he actually is, a fallen and depraved creature, accuses him of his sinfulness, calls him to humiliation and penitence, reminds him of his continual weakness, and makes him dependent for every blessing on the grace and mercy of God.

“Thus, as the physician proves his skill and experience in treating the complicated diseases of his patients, by telling them all they feel, and explaining the source of their sufferings, anticipating their description of them, reconciling the apparent contradictions of their story, and suggesting new points which they had not recollected—doing all this in a thousand cases, and with invariable truth of observation—so the Bible

proves its claims to the confidence of men, by discovering all the secrets of their malady, opening to them the unobserved depths of their heart, and telling them the history of their contradictory feelings and desires, however little suspected by themselves."—pp. 21—25.

"With regard to the internal evidence, the bulk of mankind are far better capable of judging for themselves, than in the case of the external. The morals, especially, and the example of our Lord, are level to every capacity in their chief features; at the same time as they stand connected with the history of Christianity and its doctrines, they involve matter requiring considerable reflection, and much thought.

"But the argument from experience has that sort of force which strikes an unlettered and plain mind at once. Unless men can come to the knowledge of the truth of the Gospel by its own intrinsic light and excellency, and its holy effects upon them, it is impossible for them to have any thorough and adequate conviction at all. Except the arguments from the morals and the example of Christ, (which may be considered as a part of this, in which it centres, and comes to its rest,) they cannot have a clear and satisfying conviction. They may see, indeed, a great probability; it may be reasonable for them to give credit to what learned men tell them, (and under the circumstances it is most reasonable); but to have a conviction so strong and intimate as to carry them through all duties and trials, and lead them to part with all for Christ, the evidence they can derive from history will not suffice. Those who have not somewhat of a general view of the series of historical events in the world, and of the state of mankind from age to age, cannot see for themselves the clear evidence, from history, of the truth of facts in distant ages. All is confused, indistinct, doubtful to their view.

"But the Gospel was not given for the learned only, or principally, but for the poor—for the great body of men. There are ninety-nine out of every hundred of those for whom the sacred Scriptures were written, who are not capable of any certain or effectual conviction of their divine authority by such arguments as learned men employ. If men, brought up in heathenism, must wait for a certain conviction of Christianity till they have learning and acquaintance with the history of politer nations, so as to see clearly the force of such kind of arguments, it would make the evidence of the Gospel cumbersome, and its propagation among them infinitely difficult.

"Now it has pleased God to give an evidence beyond mere probability—some higher persuasion than any from history or human tradition. A view of the divine glory in the Gospel, and a perception of its efficacy in their hearts, convince them of its divine character at once. He that truly sees the transcendent, supreme glory of these things, and feels their healing virtue, and has obtained life and salvation by them, knows, as it were, their divine origin by intuition; he not only argues, but sees, they are divine. Not that the soul judges the doctrines of Christianity to be from God, without any argument or deduction at all; but it is without any long chain of argument; the argument is but one, and the evidence direct; the mind ascends to the

truth of the Gospel by but one step—its divine glory and fulfilment in itself of all its promises.

“It is this experience which supported the martyrs and confessors, (many of whom were women and illiterate persons,) it is this which, in fact, sustains the faith of the mass of our Christian population.

“The number of those who can argue and reason, and weigh historical proofs, is very few. The number of those who can feel the power of the Gospel, and discern its glory, is vast as the human race.

“Merely literary men are slow to admit that vulgar minds can have any rational perception of truths involving great and high contemplation. They overlook the distinction between the nice analysis of principles, the accurate statement of definitions, logical inferences, and the solution of difficulties; and THE STRUCTURE OF OUR OWN THOUGHTS, AND THE PLAY OF THE AFFECTIONS. They discern not between the theory of metaphysical science; and the first truths and rational instincts which are implanted in the breasts of all—and which prepare them to see the glory of the Gospel, to feel its influence, and to argue from both for the divinity of Christianity. The one is an elevating employment of the intellect; the other the germs and seeds of all intellectual and moral knowledge, which lie dormant till they are called forth by occasions, and then they burst forth into life and power.

“The conviction, then, built upon the perception of a divine virtue and glory in Christianity, is an inward witness, most rational in itself, although entirely level to the whole body of mankind.

“2. But this evidence is THE MOST SATISFACTORY that can be adduced to men of all classes and degrees of learning. For to feel the healing power of the Gospel; to admire its immense glory; to know its inward efficacy; to find that it raises us towards God; to be persuaded that it brings us into communication with the Father of Spirits; to know that it places us in unison and harmony with the will of the Supreme Arbiter; to be conscious of elevation, of happiness, of hope, which go on towards heaven, and attract us thither,—all this is a sort of evidence so different from mere logical proof—so far higher than mere conclusions of reason, that it places man on another footing, and lands him in another region. The persuasion from historical and internal evidence produces an human faith; silences objections from without; proves negatively that man could not have invented the Gospel; establishes the abstract excellency of its doctrines, precepts, founder, and tendency. But these conclusions are cold, timid, uninfluential, till the heart is warmed and touched with the love of God, till the inward testimony of the Gospel, from its surprising glory and blessed effects upon the whole character, is added to all the others. Then the mind is inflamed—then all the preceding classes of evidence kindle into life—then the soul of man reposes in satisfaction; it feels it has attained to truth, has secured the treasure, found the pearl of great price, reached the highest good and proper blessedness of man.

“And what has learning to say to all this? What can mere talents for research, or depth of genius, or powers of eloquence say to an evidence which pardons, and sanctifies, and saves? I may be silenced by

all these human reasonings; I am made happy and holy by the inward resources of Christianity.

"Accordingly, there is no time when this inward testimony is not the most satisfactory, from its very nature, to the heart of man; whilst there are times of peculiar temptation, when no other can afford relief. No minds are so open to the incursion of doubt, as the most powerful and argumentative; no minds are so open to the fiery darts of the great adversary; none so prone to an infirm and wavering faith. In these respects, the moral and internal witness of the Holy Spirit in the heart, is a refuge and consolation. It shuts out doubts; it silences cavils; it overrules objections; it quells speculative difficulties.

"To be conscious of the divine glory of the things revealed; to feel their elevating, purifying, consoling effects; to know they have made me a better man; to recollect that answers to prayer, and fulfilment of promises, have been and are testifying of the truth of Christianity to the heart—these are solid proofs, which silence the floating conjectures and momentary hesitations which temptations may inject into the mind. The soul has an anchor, a hold, an interior conviction of Christianity, which nothing can shake. It is not this or that particular argument merely, that sustains our faith; it is the great substance of the Gospel, producing holy and heavenly effects upon the heart and character."—vol. ii. pp. 252—258.

Mr. Wilson is of opinion that the great writers in defence of Christianity during the last century, dwelt less than they ought to have done on the internal evidence.

"5. This proof, therefore, is PECULIARLY NECESSARY IN THE PRESENT DAY, if we would check the progress of unbelief, and promote the revival of pure Christianity. In fact, one principal reason of the decay of real Christianity, and the sad diffusion of infidelity or semi-infidelity amongst us is, that we have left the proofs of Christianity in the cold region of historical document and testimony. It has been the fashion of late years, to make the subject of the evidences an intellectual disquisition merely, a matter of argument on external testimonies. This has arisen from a too general decline in spiritual religion, and from the defence of Christianity having, accordingly, fallen into the hands of men of mere talents and skill in human controversy, who, with all their learning and acuteness, were greatly wanting in a persuasion of the glory of the divine things revealed in the Scriptures, and would, on these points, have yielded too much to the spirit of infidelity. Formerly, the historical arguments were less attended to—indeed it is but of late years, that they have been set in a clear and convincing light; perhaps they were previously too much overlooked; men insisted on the inward excellency, the divine character, the self-evident force of the Scriptures.

"These were the topics of the great masters of divinity. Then came the age of extravagance, enthusiasm, hypocritical religion, to make way for the profaneness of the court of our second Charles. Infidelity was not long behind. Then the apologists for Revelation, infected

with the iniquity of the times, descended from the height, which they no longer knew how to defend, into the field of historical debate. They put the evidences as low as possible. They stopped when they had arranged their historical testimonies, instead of pressing on to the internal evidences and the inward witness of Christianity. They manfully and ably maintained the authenticity, credibility, divine authority of the Scriptures (the inspiration they abandoned); they made out a strong case as to the lives and testimonies of the apostles; they touched on prophecy, they said something of the morals of Christianity and the originality of Christ's character; they spoke of the resurrection of the dead and a future state. Here they left men,—scarcely a word of redemption, the fall, the adaptation of Christianity to man's wants, the incarnation, the work of the Holy Spirit, the inward efficacy of religion upon the heart, the practical test to which every sincere inquirer might bring its offers.

“What was the effect? There never were fewer true believers amongst those educated in the true religion; and infidelity never prevailed so much as in the age in which these historical arguments were handled in this exclusive manner. The Gospel doth not go abroad thus begging for its evidences, so much as some think. It has its highest and most proper evidences in itself.”—vol. ii. pp. 262—265.

We doubt the accuracy and fairness of this passage. Mr. Wilson himself reminds us that during the first half of the sixteenth century, Christianity had been put to the blush by “extravagance, enthusiasm, and hypocritical religion.” The Puritans grossly abused the appeal to inward feelings, and the infidel school, which sprung up in France and England, believed, or pretended to believe that there were only two kinds of Christianity, viz. the fanaticism of certain persons among the Reformers, and the blind superstition of the Church of Rome. The times, therefore, required a *reasoned* defence of Revelation, and unless such defence had been provided by the learning and labours of our forefathers, the comparatively easy task of appealing to internal evidence would even now be undertaken in vain. While Mr. Wilson deploras the progress of unbelief, we listen to him with admiration; but when he turns aside from his path to censure those great men by whom it has been checked, and holds them responsible for evils which he has himself traced up to Puritanism, he furnishes one among many examples of the disturbing force which prejudice and party-spirit can exert even upon a sincere and vigorous understanding.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Deptling, <i>V.</i>	Kent . .	Robert Coble .	The Archbishop.
Herne, <i>V.</i>	Kent . .	James Six May	The Archbishop.
Sandwich, St. Peter, <i>R.</i>	Kent . .	James Layton .	Corp. of Sandwich this turn.
Dork.			
Brighouse, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	W. York .	John Lockwood	Vicar of Halifax.
Canonry, & Prebend. } of Riccall in Cath. } Ch. of }	York . .	John Lowe . .	The Archbishop.
Kirkby Wiske, <i>R.</i> . . .	N. York .	R. H. Chapman	Duke of Northumberl.
Newton Kyme, <i>R.</i> . . .	W. York .	J. Evans . . .	T. L. Fairfax, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	York . .	J. Lowe . . .	The Archbishop.
London.			
Colne Wake, <i>R.</i>	Essex . .	Tho. Henderson	Earl of Verulam.
Hammersmith, St. Peter's, <i>C.</i> }	Middlesex .	G. Chisholm, D.D.	Vicar of Fulham.
Norton, <i>V.</i>	Herts . .	J. B. Watson .	J. Watson, Esq.
Roydon, <i>V.</i>	Essex . .	T. P. Wright .	Hon. W. T. L. P. Wellesley.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Durham.			
Durham, St. Giles, <i>P. C.</i>	Durham .	James Carr . .	Marq. of Londonderry.
Long Benton, <i>V.</i> . .	Northumb.	John Besley . .	Balliol Coll. Oxford.
Prebend in Cath. Ch. of	Durham .	Lord Bp. of Exeter	The Lord Bishop.
Stanhope, <i>R.</i> . . .	Northumb.	W. N. Darnell .	The King, this turn.
Manchester.			
Compton, <i>R.</i> . . .	Hants . .	J. O. Zellwood .	The Lord Bishop.
Herryard, <i>V.</i> . . .	Hants . .	L. B. Wither . .	Lord Bolton.
Houghton, <i>R.</i> . . .	Hants . .	Joseph Burnett .	The Lord Bishop.
Prebend. in Cath. Ch. of	Winton . .	Wm. Vaux . .	Archb. of Canterbury.
Bangor.			
Dolgelly, <i>R.</i> . . .	Merionethsh.	H. W. White . .	King, as P. of Wales.
Llangynhafel, <i>R.</i> . .	Denbigh .	John Jones . .	The Lord Bishop.
Llanychan, <i>R.</i> . . .	Denbigh	John Davies . .	The Lord Bishop.
Bath and Wells.			
Bruton, <i>P. C. and</i> } Wick Champflower, <i>C.</i> }	Somerset .	S. H. Cassan . .	Sir R. C. Hoare, Bt.
Chillington, <i>P. C. and</i> } Seavington, St. Mary, } <i>P. C.</i> }	Somerset .	Joseph Fayrer .	Earl Poulett.
Corfe, <i>P. C.</i>	Somerset .	John Gale . .	F. G. Cooper, Esq.
Dodington, <i>R.</i> . . .	Somerset .	G. P. Hollis . .	Duke of Buckingham.
Sampford Arundel, <i>V.</i>	Somerset .	C. B. Sweet . .	Mrs. Cliffe.
Stawley, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	O. S. Harrison .	R. Harrison, Esq.
Bristol.			
Chickerell, <i>R.</i> . . .	Dorset . .	Wm. Marshall .	Lord Bolton.
Carlisle.			
Skelton, <i>R.</i>	Cumberland	John Daymen .	Corp. Christ. Coll. Oxf.
Chester.			
Ardwick, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Lancaster .	N. W. Gibson . }	Coll. Church of Man- chester.
Chancellorship of the } Diocese of }	Chester . .	H. Raikes . .	The Lord Bishop.
Deanery of Cath. Ch. of	Chester . .	George Davys .	The King.
Saddleworth, <i>C.</i> . . .	York . . .	R. H. Whitelock	Vicar of Rochdale.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Ely.			
Comberton, <i>V.</i>	Cambridge	John Graham .	Jesus Coll. Cambridge.
Wisbeach, <i>V.</i>	Cambridge	H. Fardell . .	Lord Bishop.
Exeter.			
Devonport, St. John's, <i>C.</i>	Exeter . .	James Buller .	Sir J. St. Aubyn, Bt.
Goodley, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	Henry Nicholls .	W. Churchward, Esq.
Lewannick, <i>V.</i>	Cornwall .	J. D. Coleridge .	The King.
Plymouth, St. Andrew, <i>C.</i>	Devon . .	M. Vallack . .	V. of St. Andrews.
Tregony, St. James, <i>R.</i> }	Cornwall .	John L. Lugger	J. A. Gordon, Esq.
with Cuby, <i>V.</i> . . }			
Upton Helion, <i>R.</i> . . .	Devon . .	W. Wellington .	Rev. J. Manley.
Widworthy, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	W. M. Tucker . }	Trustees of the late Mrs. Fortescue.
Gloucester.			
Aston-sub-Edge, <i>R.</i> . .	Gloucester .	John Besley . .	Earl Harrowby.
Charlton, King's, <i>C.</i> . .	Gloucester .	C. H. Watling .	Jesus Coll. Oxford.
Kemmerton, <i>R.</i>	Gloucester .	Godf. Goodman }	Mayor and Corpora- tion of Gloucester.
Hereford.			
Walford, <i>R.</i>	Hereford . .	T. D. Fosbrooke	Prec. of Cath. Church.
Lichfield & Coventry.			
Shustock, <i>R.</i>	Warwicksh.	George Salmon }	The Ld. Bp. by delega- tion from Ld. Chanc. Vicar of Audley.
Talk-o'-th'-Hill, <i>C.</i> . .	Stafford . .	Tho. Garrett . .	
Lincoln.			
Archdeaconry of	Leicester .	T. K. Bonney . .	Lord Bishop.
Barling, <i>C.</i>	Lincoln . .	J. Armitstead .	John Dixon, Esq.
Barkston, <i>V.</i> with }	Leicester .	F. G. Burnaby .	Duke of Rutland.
Plungar, <i>V.</i> . . . }			
Boothby Pagnall, <i>R.</i> . .	Lincoln . .	Thomas Fardell	J. Fardell, Esq. M.P.
Drayton Beauchamp, <i>R.</i>	Bucks . .	C. S. Wood . .	Lady R. Manners.
Kegworth, <i>R.</i> and }	Lincoln . .	Peter Fraser . . }	Christ Coll. Camb. Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of }			
Mablethorpe, <i>R.</i> with }	Lincoln . .	Lovick Cooper .	Col. Waters, &c.
Slane, <i>R.</i> }			
Mursley <i>R.</i>	Bucks . .	C. Childers . .	Hon. Selina Childers.
Newport Pagnell, <i>V.</i> . .	Bucks . .	Jas. Geo. Durham	Lord Chancellor.
Thoresway, <i>R.</i>	Lincoln . .	Edward Cove .	Lord Chancellor.
Vic. Chor. of Cath. Ch. }	Lincoln . .	G. D. Whitehead	Dean and Chapter.
and Hainton, <i>V.</i> . }			
Mlandaff.			
Aberdare, <i>C.</i>	Glamorgan	E. P. Thomas .	Vicar of Llantrissant.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Norwich.			
Bradingham, West, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	R. J. King . .	Bishop of Ely.
Dilham, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	W. C. Leach . .	Bishop of Ely.
with Honing, <i>V.</i> }			
Gayton, <i>V.</i>	Norfolk . .	Archdeacon Glover	The Lord Bishop.
Helmley, <i>V.</i>	Suffolk . .	F. Cobbold . .	Lord Chancellor.
Norwich, St. George }	Norfolk . .	Edw. Hibgame .	Dean and Chapter.
Colegate, <i>C.</i> . . . }			
Norton, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	A. Dicken, D.D.	Peter House, Camb.
Thwaite, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	J. R. Sheppard }	Harriett Sheppard and others.
Wangford, <i>P. C.</i> . .	Suffolk . .	James Carlos . .	
Woolferton, <i>R.</i> . . .	Norfolk . .	John Brett . .	Earl of Stradbroke.
			H. H. Henley, Esq.
Oxford.			
Crowell, <i>R.</i>	Oxford . .	Jas. Beauchamp	Miss Wykeham.
Stratton Audley, <i>P. C.</i>	Oxford . .	Charles Wheeler	Christ Ch. Coll. Oxf.
Peterborough.			
Bugbrooke, <i>R.</i>	Northampton	Jas. H. Harrison	Rev. J. H. Harrison.
Great Addington, <i>R.</i> .	Northampton	R. Etough, D.D.	Rev. James Tyley.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Peterboro' .	Wm. M'Dowall	The Lord Bishop.
Rochester.			
Speldhurst, <i>R.</i>	Kent	J. J. Saint . .	R. Burgess, Esq.
Salisbury.			
Ilisley, East, <i>R.</i>	Berks	Tho. Loveday .	Magd. Coll. Oxford.
St. David's.			
Llanfairoerllywn, <i>R.</i> .	Cardigan . .	T. Lloyd	The Lord Bishop.
Talbenny, <i>R.</i>	Pembroke . .	Wm. Rees	Sir J. Owen, Bt. M.P.
Worcester.			
Coughton, <i>V.</i>	Warwick . .	Robert Tömes .	T. Bowles, Esq.
Eckington, <i>V.</i>	Worcester . .	Fra. D. Gilby .	D.&C. of Westminster.
Stoulton, <i>P. C.</i>	Worcester . .	Thomas Higgins	Earl Somers.

CHAPLAINCIES.

Bagshawe, C. F. to be Chaplain to the
New Bailey Prison, Manchester.

Crockett, Robert, to be Domestic Chap-
lain to the Right Hon. Lord Lilford.

Hall, George, to be Domestic Chaplain
to the Lord Chancellor.

Miller, George Oakes, to be Chaplain
to Lord Crofton.

Rudge, James, D.D. to be Domestic
Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke
of Sussex.

SCHOOLS.

Evans, T. S. to the Head Mastership of
Kensington Grammar School, in connec-
tion with King's College, London.

Paul, William, to the Head Mastership
of the King's School, Chester.

Tookey, Charles, to the Head Master-
ship of Wolverley Free Grammar School.

Kyle, Dr. to the Bishoprick of Cork and
Ross.

Fielding, H. to be a Clerk in Orders of
Coll. Church of Manchester.

ORDAINED.

BATH AND WELLS.

By the Lord Bishop.

Jan. 31.

DEACONS.

Nath. Bond, B.A. Oriel College Oxford.
G. F. Cooper, B.A. Wadham College Oxford.

Richard Briscoe, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.

T. H. Maitland, B.A. Oriel College, Oxford.

William Roche, B.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.

W. B. Mant, M.A. Oriel Coll. Oxf.

PRIESTS.

John Emra, B.A. Balliol College, Oxford.

James Aldridge, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

T. L. Allen, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

H. T. Hecker, B.A. Trin. Coll. Oxf.

J. P. Mills, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

T. O. Foley, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

F. T. New, B.A. St. John's College, Oxford.

LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY.

By the Lord Bishop, Eccleshall.

Jan. 23.

DEACONS.

Henry J. Lloyd, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Henry Thomas Buckston, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Douglas Cooper, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Urban Smith, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Henry Heathcote, S.C.L. Trinity College, Cambridge.

John Hodgkinson, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

R. M. Hope, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

John Young, M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

William Webb, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Arthur Willis, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Thomas B. Adams, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

T. G. M. Luckock, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

C. F. Bagshawe, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

J. R. Holder, B.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

LINCOLN.

By the Lord Bishop, at Buckden.

DEACONS.

W. M. K. Bradford, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford.

C. Childers, B.A. Christ Church, Oxf.

E. Cove, B.A. Worcester College, Oxf.

A. Cox, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.

S. V. Edwards, B.A. Trin. Col. Oxf.

D. E. Jones, B.A. Lincoln Col. Oxf.

H. H. Way, Merton College Oxford.

PRIESTS.

B. King, M.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

J. S. Lister, B.A. Worcester Col. Oxf.

W. F. Major, Magdalen College, Oxf.

F. R. Neve, B.A. Oriel College, Oxf.

G. J. Quaraby, B.A. Lincoln Col. Oxf.

H. T. Streeton, B.A. Queen's Col. Oxf.

Feb. 27.

DEACONS.

Joseph Green, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

Thomas Hutchinson, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge.

M. Mandwell, B.A. Queen's Col. Oxf.

Edw. Phillips, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

W. H. Rooper, B.A. Univ. Col. Oxf.

P. Turner, B. A. Pemb. Col. Oxf.

H. E. F. Vallancey, B.A. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Edward Vaux, B.A. Trin. Col. Camb. }

John Dodson, B.A. Trin. Col. Camb. }

From the Archbishop of Canterbury. }

John Dixon Frost, B.A. Catharine Hall, Cambridge. }

From the Archbishop of York. }

John William Daltry, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. }

G. G. Graham Foster Pigott, S.C.L. St. Peter's College, Cambridge }

From the Bishop of Ely. }

PRIESTS.

Frederick Arnold, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Richard Jaques Atkinson, M.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

George Bland, B.A. Caius Col. Camb.

Charles Childers, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford.

Edward Cove, B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Midgley J. Jennings, B.A. Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge.

Henry Worsley Mawdesley, B.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Joseph Empson Middleton, B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Augustus Packe, M.A. Christ's College, Cambridge.

William Pauls, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

Claudius Sandys, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge.

Frederic Elwes, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge.

From the Bishop of Ely. }

OXFORD.

Dec. 19, 1830.

In the Cathedral Church of Christ, by the Lord Bishop.

DEACONS.

Henry Duke Harington, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Charles Lushington, M.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Charles Otway Mayne, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

William Parker, M.A. Fellow of New College, Oxford.

Richard Fawcett, B.A. Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford.

James Guillemard, B.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

Thomas Chandler Curties, B.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

PRIESTS.

Charles Robert Henry James, B.A. Curate of Shifford.

Digby Michael Bourne, B.A. Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

James Beauchamp, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge — presented to Rectory of Crowell.

Richard Harington, M.A. Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

John Phelps, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

David John George, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

Robert Hawkins, M.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford.

Francis Edward Paget, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

William Sweet Escott, S.C.L. New College, Oxford, Curate of Cornwell.

William Robert Browell, B.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford.

George Horatio Hadfield, M.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Oxford.

Thomas Edmondes, B.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

Charles Williams, M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford.

Charles Simon Faithful Fanshawe, M.A. Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Henry Hodgkinson Robart, M.A. Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford.

John Jordan, B.A. Clare Hall, Cambridge, Curate of Handborough.

Thomas Henry Hawes, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Chaplain of New Col.

Edward Powlett Blunt, M.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Curate of Waddington.

St. Vincent Love Hammick, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

William Yarnton Mills, B.A. Trinity College, Oxford, Curate of Shilton.

PETERBOROUGH.

By the Lord Bishop.

PRIEST.

J. C. Walley, B.A. of Brasenose College, Oxford.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Deptling, <i>V.</i>	Kent . .	Joseph Sharpe .	The Archbishop.
Herne, <i>V.</i>	Kent . .	John Wood . .	The Archbishop.
York.			
Addingham, <i>R.</i> . . .	N. York .	John Coates . .	Mrs. Cunliffe.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	York . .	John Dolphin .	The Archbishop.
York, St. Mary, in } Castle-gate, <i>R. and</i> } Warthill, <i>R.</i> . . . }	N. York .	Isaac Grayson . }	Prebend. of Warthill, in Cath. Church. Lord Chancellor.
London.			
East Horndon, <i>R.</i> . .	Essex . .	Harry Powell .	Earl Brownlow, &c.
Pebmarsh, <i>R. and</i> }	Essex . .	John Dolphin .	Earl of Verulam.
Colne Wake, <i>R.</i> . . }	Essex . .	G. Belgrave, D.D.	Thomas Bath, Esq.
Stebbing			
Winchester.			
Compton, <i>R. and</i> }	Hants . .	Philip Williams	The Lord Bishop.
Houghton, <i>R. and</i> }			
Preb. in Cath. Ch. }			
Bangor.			
Dolgelly, <i>R.</i>	Merionethsh.	T. G. Roberts .	King, as P. of Wales.
Bath and Wells.			
Benton, <i>P. C. and</i> }	Somerset .	William Cosens .	Sir R. C. Hoare, Bt.
Wick Champflower, }			
<i>C.</i> }			
Porlock, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	John Pitman .	Lord Chancellor.
South Cadbury, <i>R.</i> .	Somerset .	Jas. Rogers, D.D.	Francis Newman, Esq.
Chester.			
Guelton Sutton, <i>C.</i> }	Chester . .	Evan Watkin }	Sir J. Stanley, Bart.
and Plemstall, <i>C.</i> . }			
Moseley, <i>C.</i>	Lancaster .	Barth. Dacre }	Sir H. Bridgeman, Bt.
			Rector of Ashton- under-Line.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.	
Chichester.				
South Highton, R. } with Tarring Ne- } ville, R. . . . }	Sussex . .	Dionysius Geere	D. Geere, Esq. . .	
Ely.				
Babraham, V. (and } Reg. Prof. of Heb. in } Univ. of Camb.) . }	Cambridge .	H. Lloyd, D.D.	Lord Chancellor.	
Dry Drayton, R. . . }	Cambridge .	S. Smith . . .	Rev. S. Smith, D.D.	
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of } Ely . . . }	Ely . . .	George King .	The Lord Bishop.	
Exeter.				
Laweniche, V. . . . }	Cornwall .	Samuel Archer .	Lord Chancellor.	
Widworthy, R. . . . }	Devon . .	Wm. J. Tucker .	J.T.B. Marwood, Esq.	
Hereford.				
Madeley, V. . . . }	Salop . .	H. Barton . . }	R. Kynaston, Esq.	
Lichfield and Coventry.				
Atcham, V. . . . }	Salop . .	James Sewell . }	R. Burton, Esq.	
Biddulph, V. . . . }	Stafford . .		J. Bateman, Esq.	
Bolas, Great, R. and } Talk-o'-th'-hill, C. }	Salop . . }		Sir R. Hill, Bart.	
Hodnet, R. with More- } ton Say, C. and } Weston-under-Red- } castle, C. . . . }	Staffordsh. }		Vicar of Audley.	
	Salop . .	C.C. Cholmondeley	R. Heber, Esq.	
Melbourne, V. . . . }	Derby . .	John Middleton	Bishop of Carlisle.	
Whitwell, R. . . . }	Derby . .	George King . .	Duke of Rutland.	
Lincoln.				
Boothby Pagnall, R. . }	Lincoln . .	John Maydwell .	J. Fardell, Esq. M.P.	
Leake, V. . . . }	Lincoln . .	John Butt . . }	Govrs. of Oakham and } Uppingham Sch. }	
Stamford, St. Michael's } R. }			Chanc. of the Duchy } of Lancaster, one } turn; Corporation of } Stamford, one turn; } Marquis of Exeter, } two turns. }	
Stoke Poges, V. . . }	Bucks . .	Arthur Bold . . .	Lord F. Osborne.	
Thoresway, R. . . . }	Lincoln . .	W. Mounsey . .	Lord Chancellor.	
Wolesford, R. . . . }	Lincoln . .	John Middleton	Lord Vis. Melbourne.	

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Llandaff.			
Llanfihangel Isternlle- wyrne }	Monmouths.	William Allen .	Earl of Abergavenny.
Norwich.			
Bradingham, West, V.	Norfolk . .	James Bentham	Bishop of Ely.
Cockfield, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	G. Belgrave, D.D.	St. John's Coll. Camb.
Helmley, V. . . . }	Suffolk . .	W. Layton . .	Lord Chancellor.
Ipswich, St. Matt. R. }	Suffolk . .	William Clerk .	Peter House, Camb.
Norton, R. . . . }	Suffolk . .	W. Weatherhead.	{ Bishop of Ely.
Sherbourne, V. and }	Norfolk . .		{ H. H. Henley, Esq.
Woolferton, R. . }			
Peterborough.			
Cotterstock, V. . . .	Northampton	Alex. M'Donald	Earl of Westmoreland.
Salisbury.			
Heddington, R. . . .	Wiltshire .	Jas. Rogers, D.D.	Rev. J. Rogers.
St. Asaph's.			
Llandegla, R. . . .	Denbigh. .	John Denman .	The Lord Bishop.
St. David's.			
Chanc. of Coll. Ch. of	Brecon. . .	} Edward Davies	{ The Lord Bishop.
Llanwair Orlleodyn, R.	Cardigan .		{ Bishop of Llandaff.
and Bishopstone, R.	Glam. . .		{ Preb. of Paincastle,
and Llanbedr, P. C.	Radnor . .		{ in Coll. Church of
			{ Brecon.
Hay, V.	Brecon. . .	William Allen .	Sir E. Williams, Bart.
Llanfairoerllywn, R. .	Cardigan .	Samuel Davies .	The Lord Bishop.
Talbenny, R. . . .	Pembroke .	Nich. Roch, D.D.	Sir J. Owen, Bt. M.P.
Worcester.			
Doverdale, R. . . .	Worcester .	T. Oldham . .	Rev. G. Thomas.

Name.	Residence or Appointment.
Ashworth, T. R., M.A.	Grasmere.
Clough, G.	Curate of Glatton and of Holme, Hunts.
Hale, M.	Incumbent of the Parish of the Island of Tortola and its dependencies.
Heath, Joseph.	Master of Lucton School.
Linley, Ozias Thurston	Junior Fellow of Dulwich College.
Trail, William, LL.D.	Bath.
Ward, Jas. Duff, M.A.	Rome.
Waters, Thomas, D.D.	Master of Emmanuel Hospital.
Watson, John, B.A.	York.

MARRIED.

- Antram, Richard, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, and of Pentridge, Dorset, to Hannah Burnaby, youngest daughter of T. B. Galloway, Esq. of Corfe Castle.
- Balfour, James, Rector of Peover, Cheshire, to Charlotte, daughter of the late John Birch, Esq. of Wingfield, Suffolk.
- Birds, William Taylor, Rector of Preston, Salop, to Lydia, only daughter of the late Daniel Dagley, Esq. of Connaught Square.
- Bouverie, Arundel, B.D. Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and third son of the Hon. B. Bouverie, to Fanny, second daughter of the late Walter Sneyd, Esq. of Keel, in the county of Stafford, and one of her Majesty's Maids of Honour.
- Button, John Viney, of Binfield, Berks, to Ann, fourth daughter of the late Pettus Harmon, Esq. of the above place.
- Chalklen, C. W. M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Eliza, second daughter of the late Mr. Leeman, of Huntingdon.
- Cole, Wm. Graham, B.A. late Curate of Stonehouse Chapel, to Miss Isabella Margaret Fry, of Stonehouse, Devon.
- Dorker, T. R. Head Master of the Grammar School, at Nuneaton, to Eliza, eldest daughter of Mr. R. Ratheram.
- Earle, F. C. B. of Newton, Wilts, to Harriet Claxton, eldest daughter of N. Wells, Esq. of Piercefield.
- Edwards, John, M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford, and Vicar of Prestbury, Gloucestershire, to Eliza, youngest daughter of the late John Milford, Esq.
- Evans, Hugh Gwyne, Rector of Fraystrop, Pembrokeshire, to Eliza Anne, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Howell, Esq. of Haverfordwest.
- Faithfull, George David, B.D. late Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Rector of Lower Heyford, in this county, to Miss Ann Norris, of Grantham.
- Gage, Thomas Wentworth, of Rogate Lodge, to the Lady Mary Eliz. Douglas, second daughter of the Marquis of Queensbury.
- Gilby, F. Duncan, M.A. Vicar of Eckington, Worcestershire, to Louisa Jane, youngest daughter of W. W. Capper, Esq. of Green Park Buildings, Bath.
- Gillham, T. W. to Harriet, only daughter of the late Rev. James Hurd, D.D. formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Professor of Poetry from 1793 to 1802.
- Grantham, T. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Rector of Bramber-cum-Botolph, Sussex, to Lucy, youngest daughter of J. Orme, Esq. of Sutton Bonnington.
- Hill, Walter Henry, of Newland, Gloucestershire, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Anthony Harvest Isaacson, Esq. of Monmouth.
- Holland, Wm. M.A. Rector of Cold Norton, Essex, to Mary, second daughter of Francis Bown, Esq. of Lincolnshire.
- Hudson, John, of Springfield House, to Mary, only daughter of the late George Silvester, Esq. of West Bromwich.
- James, John, to Elizabeth, daughter of W. Wilberforce, Esq. of Highwood-hill, Middlesex.
- Kempson, Wm. Brooke, M.A. of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, to Elizabeth, daughter of the late Thomas Robertson, Esq. of South Shields.
- Kitson, Walter Cartwright, of Worcester College, Oxford, and of Probus, in Cornwall, to Kate, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Fales, of Calcutta.
- Lee, F. of Thame, Oxfordshire, to Miss Ells, of Aylesbury.
- Lee, G. P. B.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Susan, eldest daughter of the late George Penrice, Esq. of Elmbridge, Worcestershire.
- Lyall, Alfred, to Mary Drummond, fourth daughter of James Broadwood, Esq. of Lyne, Newdigate.
- Marshall, John, M.A. of Worcester College, Oxford, and Vicar of Evesham, to Fanny, youngest daughter of Mr. Thomas Smith.
- Neville, Christopher, of Thorney, Nottinghamshire, to Gertrude, daughter of the late Geo. Hotham, Esq.

- Nutting, G. H. B.A. to Margaret Eliza, youngest daughter of Thomas Bridge, Esq. of Harwich.
- Parkin, Charles, M.A. of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Vicar of Lenham, Kent, to Harriet Anne, second daughter of the Rev. G. D. Goodyar, Rector of Otterden.
- Peile, Thomas Williamson, B.A. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Minister of St. Catherine's, Abercrombie Square, Liverpool, to Mary, only child of the late James Braithwaite, Esq. of Whitehaven.
- Phillpotts, Thomas, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, only son of John Phillpotts, Esq. M.P. to Mary Emma Penelope, only daughter of the late Ulysses Hughes, Esq. of Grovesend, Glamorganshire.
- Polson, Hugh, B.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, son of the late Rev. John Polson, of Southernhay, Exeter, to Georgiana, only daughter of the late Captain George Crawley, R.N. and grand-daughter of the late Sir Thomas Crawley Beovey, Bart. of Flaxley Abbey, Somerset.
- Pye, W. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, to Miss Margaretta Cripps, one of the daughters of Joseph Cripps, Esq. M.P. for Cirencester.
- Pym, Frederick, to Miss Norris, sister of Mrs. Carpenter, of Moditonham, near Saltash, Cornwall.
- Ramsden, Thomas Lagden, M.A. of St. John's College, Oxford, to Sophia Harriet, youngest daughter of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Oakes, Bart. of Mitcham Hall, Surrey.
- Rendell, E. D. F.L.S. to Mary, eldest daughter of Mr. William Brown, a Merchant, of Romsey, Hants.
- Richards, George P. Rector of Sampford Courtenay, Devon, to Emma Mary S. A. Eyre, eldest daughter of the Rev. James Eyre.
- Robinson, John, Rector of St. Denis and Naburn, York, and son of the late Rear-Admiral Hugh Robinson, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the Rev. E. Otter, Rector of Bothal, and Prebendary of York.
- Scott, Thomas, B.A. of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Curate of Goring, to Fanny Margaret, eldest daughter of John Oldrid, Esq. of Boston.
- Shackleton, H. J. M.A. Vicar of Plumstead and Wickham, Kent, to Anna, only daughter of Samuel Hallett, Esq. of West Chelborough, Dorsetshire.
- Shell, George, to Miss Sarah Bracher, of Semler, Wilts.
- Smith, Rowland, B.A. of St. John's College, Oxford, and of Hilgay, Norfolk, to Elizabeth Caroline, youngest daughter of Richard Van Heythuysen, Esq. of John Street, Bedford Row, London.
- Steuart, C. A. Rector of Ewhurst, Surrey, to Miss De Lancey Barclay, of Tillingbourne, in that county.
- Todd, Horatio, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, second son of the late George Todd, Esq. of Bellsizes, Hampstead, to Rhoda Maria, youngest daughter of the Rev. J. L. Bluett, B.A. of Penryn.
- Tyacke, Richard, of Antron Lodge, Cornwall, to Josephine, fourth daughter of Lieutenant-General Walker.
- Ward, Samuel B. Rector of Teffont Evias, Wilts, to Ellen, eldest daughter of the late Elias Chadwick, Esq. of Swinton, near Manchester.
- Watkins, Morgan, to Henrietta Auriot Drummond, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Hay Drummond, Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk.
- West, Wm. Chaplain to the Settlement at Bathurst, on the River Gambia, to Maria Ann, youngest daughter of the late Samuel James Wintle, Esq. of Islington.
- Williams, Orlando Hamblyn, youngest son of the late Sir Hamblyn Williams, Bart. of Clovelly Court, to Mary Anne Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the Rev. Charles Pyne Coffin, of East Downe, Devon, and of Impington, Cambridgeshire.
- Wilkinson, H. T. M.A. of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to Caroline, third daughter of John Le Grice, Esq. of Bury St. Edmund's.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

Jan. 29.

Rev. John Antony Cramer, late Student of Christ Church, now Public Orator, and Principal Elect of New Inn Hall.

Rev. Charles William Stocker, St. John's College.

BACHELOR AND DOCTOR IN DIVINITY, (by accumulation.)

Feb. 3.

The Hon. and Very Rev. Edward Grey, of Christ Church, Dean of Hereford, Grand Compounder.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY,

Jan. 28.

Charles William Stocker.

Mar. 10.

Rev. Edward Leslie, Christ Church, Grand Compounder.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Jan. 14.

Frederick Calvert, Fellow of Merton, Grand Compounder.

Hon. James Stuart Wortley, Fellow of Merton.

John David Chambers, Oriel.

Jan. 20.

William Weldon Champneys, Brasenose College.

Jan. 27.

Viscount Encombe, New College, Grand Compounder.

John Chandler, Scholar of Corpus Coll.

Rev. Francis Henchman Buckerfield, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. Theodore John Cartwright, University College.

Rev. Cox Morrell, Christ Church.

Rev. Lancelot Charles Lee Brenton, Oriel College.

Feb. 3.

Rev. John Gaselee, St. John's College.

Feb. 10.

Rev. Henry Burton, Christ Church.

Rev. Thomas Dudley, Trinity College.

Rev. John Gaselee, St. John's Coll.

Feb. 17.

Rev. Joshua Lingard, St. Mary Hall.

John George Phillimore, Student of Christ Church.

Rev. Robert William Shaw, Christ Ch.

Rev. George F. J. Marsham, Christ Ch.

William Rawlings, Magdalen Hall.

Robert Allan Scott, Balliol Coll.

Feb. 23.

Rev. John Hartley, St. Edmund Hall.

Charles A. Heurtley, Scholar of Corpus C. College.

Rev. William Waldegrave Park, Balliol College.

March 1.

John Thomas Graves, Oriel College.

March 10.

Rev. William John Chesshyre, Balliol College.

March 17.

John Leach, Brazenose.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Jan. 14.

Tho. Beagley Nayler, Magdalen Hall.
Clement Dawson Strong, Magdalen Hall.

George Pinhorn, St. Edmund Hall.
John Robert Reid Humfreys, St. Edmund Hall.

Jan. 20.

John Ellison Bates, Student of Christ Church.

Edward Hill, Student of Christ Church.
Charles Perkins Gwilt, Christ Church.
Francis Coleman Wilson, Edmund Hall.
Edward Ellis, St. John's College.

Jan. 27.

John Edwards, Jesus College.
Walter Kerr Hamilton, Student of Christ Church.

John Penleaze, Magdalen College.
James Fisher, Fellow of Exeter.

Feb. 3.

William Irving, Jesus College.
Henry George Watkins, } Worcester
John Vincent, } College.
Philip Twells, }
Joseph Anstice, Student of Christ Ch.
John Hopton, Brasenose College.

Feb. 10.

John F. Newbery, Christ Church.
Richard Townsend, Brasenose College
Arthur Fane, Exeter College.
Arthur Rainey, Ludlow, Oriel College.

Feb. 17.

James Waller Bird, Wadham College.
George E. Wood Dawson, Worcester College.
Meyer Lawrence Townsend, Worcester College.
William Palmer, Demy of Magdalen College.
William Maskelyne, Pembroke Coll.

Feb. 23.

Thomas Case, Worcester College.

March 3.

William S. Davenport, Pembroke Coll.

March 10.

William Edward Hume, Christ Church,
Grand Compounder.
Thomas James Longworth, Jesus Coll.

March 17.

William Bromehead, Scholar of Lincoln College.

Frances Turner James Bayly, Scholar of Pembroke College.

Rev. Andrew Sayers, St. Mary Hall.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

Jan. 27.

It was agreed in Convocation to accept the Bequest contained in the subjoined extract from the Will of the late Rev. Robert Finch, M.A. of Balliol College.

Copy of the Bequest.

"I give and bequeath all my Books, Manuscripts, Statues, Busts, Bas-reliefs, Bronzes, Medals, Coins, Gems, Prints, Pictures, and Drawings, unto my Secretary, Henry Mayer, a native of Leghorn in Tuscany, for the term of his natural life; and it is my will, and I do direct the said Henry Mayer to cause a full and true Schedule or Inventory of my said Books, Manuscripts, and other things, so given and bequeathed unto him for his life, as aforesaid, as soon as may be after my decease, and to sign the same, and transmit it unto Thomas Webster, Esq. of Queen Street, Cheapside, London, Attorney at Law. And at the decease of the said Henry Mayer, I give and bequeath my said Books, Manuscripts, Statues, Busts, and other things, unto the University of Oxford, upon condition that the whole be kept separate from any other Collection, and be called and named 'Finch's Collection,' and be deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, or, if there be not ample space therein, in some other convenient building, where Visitors and Students may have access thereto. And in order that the aforesaid Collection may not be deteriorated by neglect, I give and bequeath from and immediately after the decease of the survivor of them my said Wife, Maria Finch, and the said Henry Mayer, unto the Warden of New College, the Master of Balliol College, the President of Trinity College, and the Keeper

of the Ashmolean Museum, and to their Successors in office for ever, all my monies vested in the $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. South Sea Stock, the yearly interest of which I enjoin shall be divided into two equal portions, of which one moiety shall be employed in maintaining and preserving the Collection, and the other moiety in purchasing useful objects to increase the same."

Jan. 29.

Dr. Cramer was admitted, with the usual solemnities, by the Rev. the Master of Balliol, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, to the office, &c. of Principal of New Inn Hall, vacant by the death of Dr. Blackstone. The office is in the gift of the Chancellor of the University.

Feb. 2.

Thomas Tyssen Bazely of Queen's College, and Thomas Johnson Ormerod, Gentleman Commoner of Brazenose College, were elected Fellows of that Society.

Feb. 3.

Mr. Nicholas Pocock was elected an Exhibitioner of Queen's College, upon Mr. Michel's Foundation.

Feb. 17.

William Borlase, Michel Exhibitioner of Queen's College, was elected Scholar on that Foundation.

Feb. 23.

In Convocation the Rev. Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel College, was nominated a Perpetual Delegate of Privileges, in the room of the late Dr. Blackstone.

Feb. 25.

The following gentlemen were elected Scholars of Corpus Christi College:— Gloucester, Theophilus Pelley; Diocesc of Exeter, H. Spencer Flight, and Charles Barnes.

March 3.

In Convocation Geo. Robert Michael Ward, M.A. Fellow of Trinity College, and Barrister at Law, was nominated, by letters patent from the Chancellor, Deputy Steward of the University, in the room of the late Dr. Blackstone, Principal of New Inn Hall.

A Convocation was holden in the after-

noon of the same day for the election of a Vinerian Scholar, in the room of Mr. Giles, of Corpus Christi College, who had resigned. The candidates were Francis Povah, Student in Civil Law, and Fellow of St. John's College, and Charles Lewis Cornish, Fellow of Exeter College. The numbers were—

For Mr. Povah, 144—Mr. Cornish 54; whereupon Mr. Povah was declared to be duly elected, and was immediately admitted by the Vice-Chancellor to the Vinerian Scholarship.

March 10.

Henry Goldney Randall, Commoner of St. John's College, was elected Michel Scholar of Queen's College.

Same day the following gentlemen were nominated Public Examiners:—

In Literis Humanioribus.

The Rev. Dr. Cramer, Principal of New Inn Hall.

The Rev. Mr. Hampden, Oriel College.

The Rev. Mr. Carr, Fellow of Balliol College.

In Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis.

The Rev. Mr. Powell, Oriel College.

The Rev. Mr. Saunders, Student of Christ Church.

The Rev. Mr. Walker, Wadham Coll.

March 16.

On Wednesday last the Examiners appointed to determine the Ireland Scholarship, signified to the Vice-Chancellor that they had elected Thomas Brancker, Scholar of Wadham.

March 17.

James Garbett, M.A. Fellow of Brazenose College, was nominated a Public Examiner in Literis Humanioribus.

Arthur Roberts Adams, Scholar of St. John's College, is admitted to a Law Fellowship in that Society, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Casberd.

Regulations agreed to by Convocation on the Endowment of Three Mathematical Scholarships.

I. There shall be Three Scholarships, of £50 a year each, for the promotion of Mathematical Studies, no regard being had to place of birth, school, parentage,

or pecuniary circumstances of the Candidates.

II. The Candidates shall be Members of the University of Oxford, who are Bachelors of Arts, or have at least passed the Public Examination, and who have not exceeded the twenty-sixth term from their matriculation inclusively.

III. Each Scholarship may be held for Three Calendar Years from the Day of Election, provided the Scholar shall reside Fifteen Weeks in each of the Two Academic Years next following his Election; such residence to be certified in writing by the Head of his College or Hall, or by the Vicegerent in the absence of such Head.

IV. The Dividends arising from the Stock already purchased, or hereafter to be purchased, in pursuance of these Regulations, shall be payable to the Trustees hereby appointed.

V. These Trustees shall be Seven; viz. the Vice-Chancellor, the two Proctors, the Savilian Professors of Astronomy and Geometry, the Sedleian Reader in Natural Philosophy, and the Reader in Experimental Philosophy. In case of Votes being equally divided, the Vice-Chancellor shall have the casting vote; and the presence of the Vice-Chancellor and of two other trustees (one of them being a Professor or Leader) shall be necessary to constitute a Board.

VI. The Duties of the Trustees shall be:

1. To receive the Dividends from the University.

2. To discharge all expenses incidental to the Trust, and to pay the Scholars their Salary, on their producing the requisite certificate of residence.

3. To keep an Account of Monies received and paid.

4. To lay out the remainder of the Dividends, either in Presents of Money or Books for meritorious though unsuccessful Candidates, or in purchase of Stock in the names of the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars, to be employed in promoting the general object of the Institution, at such times and in such manner as the said Trustees shall think expedient.

5. To submit their Accounts annually to be Audited by the Delegates of the University Accounts.

6. To appoint for each election of a Scholar Three Examiners, who shall examine the Candidates and elect the Scholar.

7. Each of these Examiners shall be at least a Master of Arts, or a Bachelor of Civil Law.

8. The same Individual shall never be appointed Examiner more than twice consecutively.

9. The Examiners shall not be of the same College or Hall.

VII. Only One Scholar shall be elected in one calendar year.

VIII. The Election shall take place annually in Lent Term.

IX. A Notice of not less than Twenty Days shall be given by the Examiners of the time and place appointed by them for holding the Examination; which Notice is to be affixed to the door of the Convocation House, and to the Buttery door in each College or Hall.

X. No person shall be received as a Candidate without the consent of the Head of his College or Hall, or the consent of the Vicegerent in the absence of the said Head, and such consent as well as the standing of the Candidate, being expressed in writing and signed by the said Head or Vicegerent, shall be exhibited to the Examiners two days at least before the Commencement of the Examination, together with the Testimonial of the Public Examiners, in case the Candidate has not taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

XI. All the three Examiners shall act in the Examination, and vote at the Election. In other respects the Examination shall be left entirely at the discretion of the Examiners.

XII. When the Examiners have elected a Scholar they shall certify such election to the Vice-Chancellor, who shall cause it to be announced to the University by a Paper affixed to the door of the Convocation House.

XIII. If after experience of these Regulations any part of them shall be deemed inexpedient, the Trustees shall be at liberty, with the concurrence of Convocation, to make such alterations as circumstances may require.

In order to allow a sufficient interval between the establishment of the Scholarships and the first Election, it is proposed that in the year 1831, but in that year alone, the Examination shall take place, and the Scholar be elected in the Act Term; such Scholar to vacate his Scholarship in the Lent Term for 1834, but to be entitled to the Salary of three full years.

Summary of the Members of the University.

	Members of Convocation.	Members on the Books.		Members of Convocation.	Members on the Books.
1. University	105	207	16. Jesus	63	168
2. Balliol	101	256	17. Wadham	81	215
3. Merton	64	127	18. Pembroke	85	188
4. Exeter	124	277	19. Worcester	92	206
5. Oriel	154	305	20. St. Mary Hall	41	88
6. Queen's	166	337	21. Magdalen Hall	52	193
7. New	71	153	22. New Inn Hall	1	1
8. Lincoln	73	147	23. St. Alban Hall	8	43
9. All Souls	68	97	24. St. Edmund Hall ..	52	101
10. Magdalen	129	165			
11. Brasenose	226	412		2529	5258
12. Corpus	81	134	Matriculations		387
13. Christ Church	461	951	Regents		171
14. Trinity	110	268	Determining Bachelors in Lent....		290
15. St. John's	119	219			

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JANUARY TO MARCH INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

Jan. 26.

Alldersey Dicken, Fellow of St. Peter's College.

(By Royal Mandate.)

John Graham, Master of Christ Coll.

Feb. 9.

Very Rev. George Davys, Christ College, Dean of Chester, and Rector of All Hallows, London Wall.

Rev. John Griffith, Emmanuel College, Prebendary of Rochester and Vicar of Aylesford.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

Mar. 18.

Richard Cattermole, Christ's College.

DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

Feb. 9.

Edward Morton, Esq. M.B. L.M. Trinity College.

DOCTOR IN CIVIL LAW.

Feb. 18.

Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L. of Christ Church, Oxford, was admitted *ad eundem*.

HONORARY MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 9.

Hon. W. H. A'Court, St. John's College, (son of Lord Heytesbury).

Hon. Major Henniker, St. John's College, (son of Lord Henniker).

Peter Rob. Charles Burrell, St. John's College, (son of Hon. Lindsey Burrell).

Feb. 23.

Lord E. A. C. B. Bruce, Trinity Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

Feb. 23.

Rev. William Myall, Catherine Hall.

Mar. 18.

Anth. Egerton Brydges, Trinity Coll.

Inceptors to the Degree.

John William Daltry, Trinity College.

Joseph Watkins Barnas, Trinity Coll.

Jas. Prince Lee, Fellow of Trinity Coll.

Charles Perry, Fellow of Trinity Coll.

John Raine, Fellow of Trinity College.

Hen. Almach, Fellow of St. John's Coll

Tho. Lund, Fellow of St. John's Coll.

John Charles Snowball, Fellow of St. John's College.

John Harrison Evans, Fellow of St. John's College.

Wm. Potter, Fellow of St. Peter's Coll.

W. H. Stokes, Fellow of Caius College.

J. Goodwin, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

Rob. Scaplehorn, Corpus Christi Coll.

Luke Flood Page, Corpus Christi Coll.

Matthew Fortescue, Queen's College.

Lewis Marcus, Queen's College.

George Cheere, Queen's College.

Strother Ancrum Smith, Catherine Hall.

George Rob. Tucker, Fellow of Emmanuel College.

Tho. Briggs Dickson, Emmanuel Coll.

John Collin, jun., Emmanuel College.

St. John Wells Lucas, Downing College.

John Barker, Downing College.

LICENTIATE IN PHYSIC.

Feb. 23.

William Penrice Barrett, Caius College.

BACHELOR IN PHYSIC.

Tho. Palmer Parr Marsh, Caius Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

Feb. 16.

William Hadfield, Caius College.

Henry Parker Cookesley, Trinity Coll.

John Richard Hardy, St. Peter's Coll.

Feb. 18.

John Bywater, St. John's College.

Feb. 23.

Arthur Borron, Trinity College.

Henry Alfred Pitman, Trinity College, (Compounder).

William Borlase, St. Peter's College.

Wm. Wheeler Webb Bowen, St. Peter's College.

Mar. 18.

Charles Lowndes, Trinity College.

James P. Clyde, St. John's College.

Alfred Newby, St. John's College, Compounder.

James Cattle, Catharine Hall.

Edmund Frederick Smith, Christ Coll.

Mar. 21.

Robert Holbeach Dolling, Trinity Coll.

BACHELORS' COMMENCEMENT PAPER.—*January 22, 1831.*

Those gentlemen whose names are preceded by an asterisk have one or more terms to keep previous to being ADMITTED to their degrees, although they passed their examination in the following order of arrangement; and those gentlemen in brackets were equal.

WRANGLERS.

1 Earnshaw,	Joh.	12 Willan,	Joh.	22 Otter,	Chr.
2 Gaskin,	Joh.	13 Cheadle,	Qu.	23 Degex,	Jes.
3 Budd,	Caius	14 Sheppard,	Trin.	24 Winter,	Corpus
4 Worlledge,	Trin.	15 Rigg,	Caius	25 Walker,	Chr.
5 Mills, sen.	Pemb.	16 Bates,	Corpus	26 Bacon,	Corpus
6 Amphlet,	Pet.	17 Oliver,	Pet.	27 Hildyard,	Clare
7 Peill,	Qu.	18 Mills, jun.	Pemb.	28 Nash,	Trin.
8 Paget,	Caius	19 Paton,	Trin.	29 Geary,	Trin.
9 Whytehead,	Joh.	20 W. Entwistle,	Trin.	30*Harrison,	Caius
10 Meller,	Trin.	21 Blakesley,	Trin.	31 Hoare,	Joh.
11 Smith,	Sid.				

SENIOR OPTIMES.

1 Delamare,	Caius	10 Mann,	Joh.	19*Thompson,	Trin.
2 Dawes,	Corpus	11 Dixon,	Corpus	20 Proctor,	Chr.
3 Colville,	Trin.	12 Owston,	Qu.	21 Stoddart,	Corpus
4 Tyrrell,	Joh.	13 Stanton,	Chr.	22 Minty,	Caius
5 Whiston,	Trin.	14 Bullock,	Clare	23 Klanert,	Pet.
6 Ross-Lewin,	Cath.	15 Swann,	Emm.	24 Pickwood,	Pet.
7 Ventris,	Qu.	16*Dashwood,	Trin.	25 Harman,	Caius
8 Nicholson,	Joh.	17 Favell,	Qu.	26 Rogers,	Trin.
9*Bonnin,	Qu.	18 Hockin,	Pemb.	27 Thomson,	Jes.

JUNIOR OPTIMES.

1 Venables,	Emm.	10 Shadwell,	Joh.	19 Vawdrey,	Joh.
2 Bainbridge, }	Cath.	11 Johnstone,	Caius	20 Walsh,	Trin.
3 Cockerton, }	Joh.	12 Stacye,	Chr.	21 Selwyn,	Joh.
4 Whittington,	Pemb.	13 Fleming,	Pemb.	22 Evans,	Qu.
5 Wallace,	Trin.	14 Street,	Qu.	23 Foster,	Trin.
6 Gaskell,	Corpus	15 Power,	Joh.	24 Chatfield,	Trin.
7 Kennedy,	Trin.	16 Blane,	Trin.	25*Morgan,	Trin.
8 Fell,	Pet.	17 Jerwood,	Joh.	26 Fosbrooke,	Trin.
9 Sharples,	Emm.	18 Spedding,	Trin.	27 Yellowly,	Trin.

ÆGROTAT—Fearon, Cath.

* Baldwin,	Trin.	* Finley,	Trin.	* Hillyard,	Trin.
* Cameron,	Trin.	* Good,	Qu.	* Scott,	Trin.
* T. Entwistle,	Trin.	*Guille,	Joh.		

Tennant, Trin.

1 Graham,	Chr.	11 Matthew,	Sid.	21 Grey,	Joh.
2 Alcock,	Joh.	12 Carlyon,	Pemb.	22 Alderson,	Joh.
3 Lamb,	Caius	13*Stowe,	Trin.	23 Lockwood,	Trin.
4 Adams, R. B.	Trin.	14 HonH.Tollemache,	Pet.	24 Birch,	Joh.
5*HonW.A'Court,	Joh.	15 Newall,	Trin.	25 Touzel,	Sid.
6 Findlater,	Chr.	16 Dodson, }	Trin.	26 Richmond,	Qu.
7*Oldknowe,	Chr.	17 Flamank, }	Trin.	27 Rock,	Joh.
8 Willy,	Joh.	18 Keeble,	Joh.	28*Charlesworth,	Pet.
9 Hutchinson,	Clare	19*Weighell,	Pemb.	29 Kidd,	Caius
10*Darwin,	Chr.	20 Harrison,	Trin.	30 Walker,	Trin.

31 Gleadowe,	} Chr.	81 Thompson,	} Jes.	131 Bedford,	Joh.
32 Jebb,	} Pet.	82 Daniell,	} Chr.	132 Curtis,	} Chr.
33 French,	} Caius	83 Hecken,	} Joh.	133*Hon A. Gordon	} Trin.
34 Tottenham,	} Joh.	84 Gonne,	} Trin.	134*Pitman,	} Trin.
35 Lees,	Joh.	85*Skinner,	} Sid.	135*Wetherell,	} Tr.H.
36 Wormald,	Trin.	86 Eaton,	} Joh.	136 Brocklebank,	} Qu.
37 Frost,	} Cath.	87 Wingfield,	} Emm.	137 Ewen,	} Corp.
38 Gould,	} Magd.	88*Bull,	} Joh.	138 Lowthorp,	Qu.
39 Poole,	Emm.	89 Ellis,	} Joh.	139 Aldis,	Trin.
40 Jackson,	} Chr.	90*Marsh,	} Pemb.	140 Tate,	Magd.
41*Jebb,	} Trin.	91 Grazebrooke,	} Jes.	141 Baker,	} Corpus
42 Flowers,	Jes.	92*Hine,	} Cor.	142 Stephens,	} Clare
43 Plummer,	Jes.	93 Read,	} Trin.	143 Bird,	} Corpus
44 Maber,	Clare	94 Smith,	} Trin.	144 Hesketh,	} Tr. H.
45 Lloyd,	} Magd.	95 Vipan,	} Trin.	145*Smythies,	} Trin.
46 Weguelin,	} Emm.	96 Bedingfeld,	Trin.	146*Banning,	} Tr. H.
47 Drake,	Trin.	97*Morice,	Trin.	147 Bull,	} Qu.
48 Havens,	Corpus	98 Fletcher,	Joh.	148 Hawkins,	} Joh.
49 Tatham,	Magd.	99 Isaac,	Trin.	149 Pawsey,	} Emm.
50 Warren,	Trin.	100 Douglas,	} Joh.	150*Ellice,	Trin.
51 Butler,	Magd.	101 Gossip,	} Trin.	151*Dawson,	Cath.
52 Child,	Joh.	102 Clutterbuck,	Pet.	152*Dawkins,	} Cath.
53 Rimell,	Joh.	103 Kirkness,	} Qu.	153 Thomas,	} Down.
54 Crutchley,	Magd.	104 Hasted,	} Magd.	154 Halls,	Magd.
55 Leigh,	Qu.	105 Burgess,	Qu.	155*Hon. W. Bagot,	Magd.
56 Charlton,	Joh.	106 James,	Joh.	156 Lewis,	Qu.
57*Lumsden,	Joh.	107 Corfield,	Clare	157 Doveton,	} Down.
58 Rigge,	} Corpus	108 Jenner,	Tr. H.	158*Hon. M. Hen-	} Joh.
59*Long,	Chr.	109*Bates,	Pet.	niker,	
60*Lloyd,	} Trin.	110 Harris,	Qu.	159 Waterworth,	Trin.
61 Mason,	} Trin.	111 Handley,	Trin.	160 Drinkald,	Chr.
62*Bond,	} Qu.	112 Turner,	Trin.	161*Figgins,	Qu.
63 Garlike,	} Clare	113*Burrell,	Joh.	162 Oldacres,	Emm.
64*Simpson,	} Trin.	114*Clarke,	} Sid.	163 P. B. Adams,	Trin.
65*Symons,	} Corpus	115 Hollond,	} Corpus	164*Baker,	Chr.
66*Forster,	Trin.	116 Harvey,	Clare	165 Oakes,	Emm.
67 Turner,	Chr.	117 Lugard,	} Trin.	166*Watts,	Qu.
68 Wood,	Tr. H.	118 Woodyear,	} Chr.	167 Woodward,	Joh.
69 Gardner,	Qu.	119*Hatton,	Trin.		
70*Wegg,	Joh.	120 Beaumont,	} Trin.	Bower,	Pet.
71 Groome,	} Pemb.	121 Vidal,	} Caius	Brome,	Trin.
72 Wilson,	} Emm.	122 Cookson,	} Corpus	Curling,	Trin.
73 Wyche,	} Qu.	123 Powell,	} Trin.	Fellowes,	Joh.
74*Bousfield,	Qu.	124*Rough,	Trin.	Fisher,	Chr.
75 Spooner,	Clare	125*Granville,	} Trin.	Jones,	Joh.
76 Skinner,	Qu.	126 Haworth,	} Joh.	Mackereth,	Cath.
77 Edgell,	Joh.	127 Eade,	} Jes.	Morey,	Trin.
78 Lister,	} Trin.	128*Westmacott,	} Corpus	Pigot,	Joh.
79*Greville,	} Clare	129 Groom,	Tr. H.	Porteus,	Chr.
80 Heaton,	Cath.	130 W. Moore,	Joh.	Upton,	Chr.

ÆGROTAT.

Ball, Qu. | Gisborne, Pet. | *W.G. Moore, Joh. | Orme, Jes.

PREVIOUSLY EXAMINED.

Bawdwen,	Trin.	Serjeant,	Qu.	Taylor,	Trin.
Liardet,	Qu.	Machell,	Joh.	Paul,	Qu.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

Dec. 31.

The Rev. John James Blunt, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, author of the "Veracity of the Gospel and Acts," the "Veracity of the Five Books of Moses," &c. was elected Hulsean Lecturer for the present year. The value of the Lectureship amounts to nearly 300*l.* per annum; and the Court of Chancery has ordered "that the number of lectures shall be reduced to eight, and that the time of printing shall be enlarged for the term of one year from the delivery of the last lecture."

Jan. 14.

G. Phillips, Esq. B.A. of Queen's College, was elected a Foundation Fellow of that Society.

Feb. 9.

The Rev. S. Lee, B.D. Professor of Arabic, was elected, without an opponent, to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew, vacated by the death of the Rev. Dr. Lloyd.

His Royal Highness the Chancellor has been pleased to appoint Mr. John Crouch Yeoman Bedell to the University in the room of the late Mr. W. Jiggins.

A Grace passed the Senate, "To affix the seal to a petition to both Houses of Parliament, in favour of the bill for an exchange of lands for the site of the Botanic Garden."

Feb. 19.

Mr. Thomas Sanders, Scholar of King's College, was elected Fellow of that Society.

Feb. 28.

Mr. Jas. Hildyard, of Christ College, was unanimously elected University Scholar on Dr. Battie's foundation.

Mar. 3.

The Rev. Thos. Jarrett, M.A. Fellow of Catharine Hall, was elected Professor of Arabic, in the room of the Rev. S.

Lee, B.D. now Regius Professor of Hebrew.

Mar. 9.

A Grace to the following effect unanimously passed the Senate:—

"To petition the king that, if it should be his Majesty's pleasure, to comply with the prayer of a petition lately presented to his Majesty, for a charter to incorporate, under the title of 'the University of London,' the proprietors of an institution recently founded there for the general advancement of literature and science, a clause may be inserted declaring that nothing in the terms of the charter is to be construed as giving a right to confer any academical distinctions designated by the same titles or accompanied with the same privileges as the degrees now conferred by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge."

The Syndicate authorised by the Senate to offer the Old Printing Office premises to the Master and Fellows of Catharine Hall, for the sum of 7000*l.*, have reported to the Members of the Senate that the offer has been accepted, the estate remaining subject to the payment, on the part of the University, of the rent-charge to Queen's College during the remainder of the existing lease.

The Syndicate re-appointed for the purpose of considering and reporting to the Senate how the funds may be raised to defray the expense of erecting a New Library, &c. have reported as follows:—

"That it appears to them expedient to make provision for raising the sum of 30,000*l.* in order to defray the expenses of erecting that part of the intended buildings which it is proposed to execute at present.

"That, from an examination of the University accounts, and reports of Syndicates appointed to inquire into the finances of the University, they consider that the University chest may, without inconvenience, furnish the sum of 8,000*l.* towards the above object £8,000.

"That the Master and Fellows of Catharine Hall having agreed to purchase 'The Old Printing Press' for the sum of 7,000*l.*; this sum will also be applicable

to the above purposes as soon as this property can be transferred* . . . £7,000.

"That in their opinion the remaining 15,000*l.* may be raised by granting an annuity for thirty years, not exceeding 900*l.*; to meet which annual payment, they conceive that the University may safely engage to appropriate thereto the sum of 400*l.* from its surplus revenue; and that the remaining 500*l.* may be charged upon the 'Library Fund,' in consideration of the great expense of fittings, &c.

£15,000."

Mar. 21.

A petition from the University against some of the provisions in the ministerial Reform Bill, was proposed in the senate, and carried by a considerable majority, the number being for the petition, Non Regents, 48; Regents, 43—91; against it, Non Regents, 29; Regents, 24—53; majority, 38.

Same day Messrs. L. Shadwell, B.A., Wm. Martin, B.A., and C. Whitley, B.A., were elected Foundation Fellows of St. John's College, and Mr. T. Overton was elected a Platt Fellow of the same society.

BELL'S SCHOLARSHIPS.

The Election was determined as follows:—

Henry Alford, Trin. Coll. of the 3d year.

G. J. Kennedy, St. John's Coll. } 1st
Edw. Thos. Vaughan, Ch. Coll. } year.

Mar. 23.

The following gentlemen were chosen Scholars of Queen's College, their names being arranged according to the order in which they stood at the last general examination for Scholarship.

Main.	Wilkinson.	Breese.
Kelland.	Wilkins.	Price.
Coward.	Barber.	

CLASSICAL TRIPOS, 1831.

FIRST CLASS.

Ds. Kennedy,	Trin.	Ds. Johnstone,	Caius.	Ds. Chatfield,	Trin.
Selwin,	Joh.	Walsh,	Trin.	Hoare,	Joh.
Blakesley,	Trin.				

SECOND CLASS.

Ds. Whiston,	Trin.	Ds. Shadwell,	Joh.	Ds. Venables,	Emm.
Minty,	Caius.	Whytehead,	Joh.	Dashwood,	Trin.
Spedding,	Trin.	Sheppard,	Trin.	Harrison,	Caius.
Worlledge,	Trin.				

THIRD CLASS.

Ds. Fell,	Pet.	Ds. Evans,	Qu.	Ds. Swann,	Emm.
Dawes,	Corpus	Vawdrey,	Joh.		

COMBINATION PAPER, 1831.

PRIOR COMB.

Jan. 3.	Mr. Turner, Corp. Chr. Coll.
9.	Mr. R. W. Gery, Emm.
16.	Coll. Regal.
23.	Coll. Trin.
30.	CAROLI I. REGIS DECOLL.
Feb. 6.	Coll. Joh.

Feb. 13.	Mr. Cardale, Pet.
30.	Mr. J. Byde, Pemb.
27.	Mr. Hooper, Corpus.
Mar. 6.	Mr. Symes, Jes.
13.	Coll. Regal.
20.	Coll. Trin.
27.	Col. Joh.

* As the Museum of Anatomy and the Lecture Rooms of the Chemical and Anatomical Professors, are part of the property sold, it will be incumbent on the University to provide equivalent accommodations elsewhere. If the Museum of Comparative Anatomy should be included in the New Building, and that of Human Anatomy with Dissecting Rooms be annexed to the buildings in the present Botanical Garden, it is conceived that the expense thus to be incurred would be very moderate.

- Apr. 3. FEST. PASCH.
 10. Mr. J. Graham, Regin.
 17. Mr. Daniel, Clar.
 24. Mr. Clayton, Cai.
 Mai. 1. Coll. Regal.
 8. CONCIO AD CLERUM.
 15. Coll. Trin.
 22. FEST. PENTEC.
 29. CAROLI II. REGIS REST.
 Jun. 5. Mr. Chichester, Magd.
 10. Mr. Barrick, Regin.
 19. Mr. Pixell, Clar.
 26. REGIS ACCESS.
 Jul. 3. COMMEN. BENEFAC.
 10. Mr. Ayre, Cai.
 17. Coll. Regal.
 24. Coll. Trin.
 31. Coll. Joh.

POSTER COMB.

- Jan. 1. FEST. CIRCUM. Mr. T. Sheepshanks, Trin.
 2. Mr. Barlow, Trin.
 6. FEST. EPIPH. Mr. C. Hall, Trin.
 9. Mr. Glennie, Trin.
 16. Mr. J. Hodgson, Trin.
 23. Mr. Maddy, Joh.
 25. CONVER. S. PAUL. Mr. Thresher, Joh.
 30. Mr. Littlewood, Joh.
 Feb. 2. FEST. PURIF. Mr. J. M. Parry, Joh.
 6. Mr. Kelly, Cai.
 13. Mr. Cobb, Cai.
 16. DIES CINERUM. CONCIO AD CLERUM.
 20. Mr. Cobbold, Cai.
 24. FEST. S. MATTHI. Mr. Winder, Corp. Chr.
 27. Mr. Durham, Cath.
 Mar. 6. Mr. Welch, Regin.
 13. Mr. Butts, Regin.
 20. Mr. Bulwer, Jes.
 25. FEST. ANNUNC. { Mr. Lockwood, Jes.
 { Mr. Woolnough, Chr.
 27. Mr. May, Chr.
 Apr. 1. PASSIO DOMINI. Mr. Shelford, Emm.
 3. FEST. PASCH. Mr. Turner, Magd.
 4. Fer. 1^{ma}. Mr. Lafont, Emm.
 5. Fer. 2^{da}. Mr. Lane, Magd.
 10. Mr. T. B. Wilkinson, Corp. Chr.
 17. Mr. Gul. P. Spencer, Joh.
 24. Mr. Melvill, Pet.
 25. FEST. S. MARC. Mr. A. Veasey, Pet.
 Mai. 1. FEST. SS. PHIL. ET JAC. Mr. Green, Jes.

- Mai. 8. Mr. Fennell, Regin.
 12. FEST. ASCEN. Mr. Newby, Joh.
 15. Mr. A. Browne, Joh.
 22. FEST. PENTEC. Coll. Joh.
 23. Fer. 1^{ma}. Mr. Tylecote, Joh.
 24. Fer. 2^{da}. Mr. Andrews, Emm.
 29. Mr. Perkins, Pet.
 Jun. 5. Mr. Ollivant, Trin.
 11. FEST. S. BARNAB. Mr. Studd, Cai.
 12. Mr. Engleheart, Cai.
 19. Mr. Hubbersty, Regin.
 24. FEST. JOH. BAP. Mr. W. Corbet, Trin.
 26. Mr. Dowell, Pet.
 29. FEST. S. PET. Mr. Styche, Joh.
 Jul. 3. COMMEN. BENEFAC.
 10. Mr. Rose, Joh.
 17. Mr. Hurt, Joh.
 24. Mr. Butler, Joh.
 25. FEST. S. JAC. Mr. Nichols, Pet.
 31. Mr. Whyley, Trin.

Resp. in Theolog.

Oppon.

- Mr. Otter, Jes. . . . { Mr. Haggitt, jun. Clar.
 { Mr. H. W. Gery, Em.
 { Coll. Regal.
 Mr. Lucas, Cai. . . { Coll. Trin.
 { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Farbrace, Chr.
 { Mr. Butts, Regin.
 Mr. Hurst, Clar. . . { Mr. Charlton, Sid.
 { Mr. MacDonald, Jes.
 { Coll. Reg.
 Mr. Drake, Joh. . . { Coll. Trin.
 { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Cheslyn, Chr.
 Mr. Morris, Joh. . . { Mr. Fennell, Regin.
 { Mr. Harris, Clar.
 { Mr. Gurdon, Emm.
 Mr. Brandling, Joh. { Coll. Regal.
 { Coll. Trin.
 { Coll. Joh.
 Mr. Wollaston, Regal { Mr. Law, Pet.
 { Mr. Hubbersty Regin.
 { Mr. Thornton, Clar.
 Mr. Francklin, Clar. { Mr. Kelly, Cai.
 { Coll. Regal.
 { Coll. Trin.
 Mr. Hasted, Chr. . . { Coll. Joh.
 { Mr. Lascelles, Chr.

Resp. in Jur. Civ.

Oppon.

- Mr. Clarkson, Jes. . { Mr. Bennet, Emm.
 { Mr. Drage, sen. Em.
Resp. in Medic. *Oppon.*
 Mr. Cory, Cai. . . . { Mr. Wollaston, Cai.
 { Mr. Poole, Cai.

PRIZES.

Subjects for the present year :—

CHANCELLOR'S GOLD MEDAL.

" *The Attempts which have been made of late years, by sea and land, to discover a North-west Passage.*"

These exercises must have been sent in to the Vice-Chancellor on or before March 31, 1831; and not to exceed 200 lines in length.

MEMBERS' PRIZES.

For the Bachelors :

" *Utrum boni plus an mali hominibus et civitatibus attulerit dicendi copia?*"

For the Undergraduates :

" *Utrum fides Punica ea esset qualem perhibent scriptores Romani?*"

These exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1831.

SIR WILLIAM BROWNE'S.

For the Greek Ode :

" *Granta Illustrissimo Regi Gulielmo quarto gratulatur quod in solium Britannie successerit.*"

For the Latin Ode :

" *Magicas accingitur artes.*"

For the Greek Epigram :

" *Magnas inter opes inops.*"

For the Latin Epigram :

" *Prudens simplicitas.*"

These exercises are to be sent in on or before April 30, 1831. The Greek Ode is not to exceed twenty-five, and the Latin Ode thirty stanzas.

THE PORSON PRIZE.

As You like It. Act. II. Scene I.

Beginning—" *To-day, my Lord of Amiens and myself,*" &c.

And ending—" *Native dwelling-place.*"

The metre to be *Tragicum Iambicum Trimetrum Acatalecticum*. These exercises are to be accentuated and accompanied by a literal Latin prose version, and to be sent in on or before April 30, 1831.

All the above exercises are to be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor privately: each is to have some motto prefixed; and to be accompanied by a paper sealed up, with the same motto on the outside; which paper is to enclose another, folded up, having the candidate's name and College written within.—The papers contain-

ing the names of those candidates who may not succeed, will be destroyed unopened. Any candidate is at liberty to send in his exercise *printed or lithographed*.—No Prize will be given to any candidate who has not, at the time for sending in the exercises, resided one term at the least.

THE SEATONIAN PRIZE.

" *David playing the Harp before Saul,*" (1 Sam. xvi. 23.)

And the examiners have given notice, that should any Poem appear to possess distinguished merit, a Premium of one hundred pounds will be adjudged.

THE HULSEAN PRIZE.

" *The Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Revelation are not weakened by Time.*"

Prizes Adjudged.

The Hulsean Prize, of one hundred guineas, has been adjudged to Frederic Myers, Scholar of Clare Hall, for his essay on the following subject:

" *The Futility of Attempts to represent the Miracles, recorded in Scripture, as Effects produced in the ordinary course of Nature.*"

DR. SMITH'S PRIZES.

[Two annual Prizes, of £25 each, to two commencing Bachelors of Arts, the best Proficients in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.]

Adjudged to

Samuel Earnshaw, { St. John's College,
Thomas Gaskin, {
(First and Second Wranglers.)

CHANCELLOR'S MEDALLISTS.

[For the two best Proficients in Classical Learning among the commencing Bachelors of Arts.]

Adjudged to

Joseph Williams Blakesley, Trin. Coll.
Mr. Henry Hoare, St. John's Coll.

The following will be the subjects of Examination in the week of Lent term, 1832 :—

1. The Gospel of St. Mark.
2. Paley's Evidences of Christianity.
3. The Third and Fourth Books of Xenophon's Anabasis.
4. The First Book of Virgil's Georgics.

INDEX

OF THE

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

IN THE

CRITICISMS, EXTRACTS, ECCLESIASTICAL AND UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

A.

Abercrombie (Dr. John), Observations of, on the existence of cerebral disease, without any sensible derangement of the mental functions, 361, 362—on the credibility of testimony, 362, 363—on the disputes between the Nominalists and Realists, 369—on a singular phenomenon in dreaming, 375—on some extraordinary cases of somnambulism, 376—378—and on the qualities and requisites necessary to constitute a well-regulated mind, 380, 381.

Abernethy's (Mr.), opinion on the vitality of blood, 450, 451—remarks on it, 451—453.

Abstraction, remarks on, 367, 368.

Amim Bey, extraordinary escape of, 331.

Airy's (Professor), important astronomical and philosophical labours of, 75—in the correction of errors of eye-pieces, 81, 82.

Annuities, on the calculation of, 84.

Arab Thieves, account of, 329.

Aretino (Pietro), character and anecdotes of, 397—399, 400.

Ariosto, anecdotes of, 392, 393—translation of some of his verses, 391.

Aristotle, blundering interpretation of, 352, note.

Arms of the Bedouins, 94.

Asamer, or Arabian songs, account of, 104—106.

Augustin, opinion of, on heresy, 48.

B.

Banks (W. J. Esq.), adventure of, in the mosque at Jerusalem, 343, 344.

Barnes (Joshua), anecdote of, 139.

Bedouin Arabs, leading classes of, 95—domestic habits and customs, *ib.* 94—arms, 94—food, *ib.* 95—wealth, 95, 96—diseases, 96—government and jurisprudence, 96, 97—warfare, 97, 98—exaction of blood-revenge and customs respecting it, 99—mode of treating robbers, 100—102—genealogies of their horses, 102, 103—integrity of Bedouin horse-dealers, 103, 104—description of their intercourse by song, 104—106—power of the Agyd, an hereditary officer among the Bedouin tribes, 106—their sagacity in tracking footsteps, 107, 108—treatment of camels, 109.

Bembo's historical style, observations on, 393—395.

Beys of Egypt, massacre of, described, 330, 331.

Bichat's theory of life, 441.

Blomfield (Right Rev. Bishop), observations on the conduct of, 206, 207—his view of the evils affecting the Church of England, 208, 209—on the importance of National, Sunday, and Infant Schools, 223, 224—on the necessity of a higher standard of qualifications for Holy Orders, 224, 226.

Blood, Dr. Hunter's theory of the vitality of, 445, 446—notice of Dr. Harvey's experiments on, 447, 448—remarks thereon, 450—instances of the transfusion of blood, 449—Mr. Abernethy's opinion on the vitality of blood, 450, 451—remarks thereon, 451—453.

Blood-revenge, Arab customs respecting, 99.

Bloody Sweat of Christ, reality of, proved, 65.

Boccaccio, character of the works of, 389.
Boys's (Mr.) attack on Dr. French's and Mr. Skinner's version of the Psalms, strictures on, 438, 439, *note*.
Brain, functions of, in sensation, 359—examination of the question, how far the powers of the mind sympathize with certain affections of the brain and nerves, 360—362.
Burckhardt (John Lewis), biographical notice of, 91, 92—his account of the proceedings in the Kady's court, among the Bedouins, 97—and of a singular instance of self-devotion, 98—of the thar or blood-revenge, 99—singular instance of retaliation, *ib.*—singular mode of treating robbers, 100, 101—on the pedigrees of horses, 102, 103—description of the Arabic intercourse by song, 104—106—of an Arab combat, 107—and of the Arab mode of tracing footsteps, 107, 108—notice of his collection of Arabian proverbs, 115, 116.
Burton (Rev. Dr.), strictures on the plan and execution of his Bampton Lectures, 43—45—his explanation of the term "heresy," 46—48—and of the Platonian doctrine concerning matter, 50—52—on the existence of evil, 53—his interpretation of 1 John, v. 7—66—68, 69—on St. John's use of the word *λογος*.
Byron (Lord), notice of the ancestors of, 262—his early education and habits, 263—266—remarks on his character and conduct while at school, 266, 267—verses of, while under the impression that he should soon die, 268—his philippic against the University of Cambridge, 269, 270—remarks thereon, 270, 271—publishes his "Hours of Idleness," and Satire on the Edinburgh Reviewers, 271, 272—his journey into Greece, 273—returns to England and publishes his *Childe Harold*, 275, 276—extract from his *Journal*, 279, 280, 281—his character of Leigh Hunt, 279, 305, 306—his thoughts on death, 282—his melancholy character, 283—account of his marriage with Miss Milbanke, 284—286—his poetical description of his sentiments while at the altar, 287—his unjust representation of his father-in-law, 288—description of his theatrical recollections while one of the Drury-Lane committee, 289, 290—remarks on his separation from his lady, 291—293—notice of his residence at Venice, 297—remarks on his biographer's account of it, 297—300—his description of the political state of Italy,

300—302—remarks thereon, 302, 303—he removes from Ravenna to Pisa, 303, 304—unceremonious treatment of his bookseller, 304, 305—his drunken orgies after burning the remains of Mr. Shelley, 307—removes to Genoa, 307, 308—becomes a confirmed drunkard, 308—other causes of the decay of his constitution, 309—his motives for going to Greece, 310—remarks on his conduct there, 311, 312—his last illness and death, 313, 314—examination of his character, 315—320—his vague notions on politics and religion, 321, 322.

C.

Cairo, insurrection at, described, 337, 338.
Cambridge University, degrees conferred, 252, 506—508—prizes, 254, 255. 512—miscellaneous University intelligence, 252, 253. 255, 256. 509—511—notice of the scientific researches of the Cambridge Professors, 74—76—analysis of the Cambridge Philosophical Transactions, 77—88.
Camels, treatment of, by the Arabs, 109.
Challis (Mr.), notice of his communications to the Cambridge Philosophical Transactions, 83.
Chrysostom's interpretation of 1 Cor. vi. 3, 23, 24—his address to the dying, 36—remarks thereon, 37.
Church of England, reasons for conforming to, 229—231.
 ————— in India. See *India*.
Church, episcopal, in Scotland. See *Scotland*.
Clergy of the Church of England, lists of, preferred, 234—238. 490—493—ordained, 239—241. 494, 495—married, 246, 247. 499, 500—deceased, 242—245. 496—499—duties of the clergy in consequence of the repeal of the laws respecting Roman Catholics and Dissenters, 210—212—their duty, in counteracting infidelity, 215—218—and in the National Schools, 223—necessity of their prosecuting higher studies, 224, 225—course of clerical study pursued in Nassau, 225.
Coleridge (H. N. Esq.), observations of, on the use of translations in teaching the classics, 136, 137—on the Latin language, 137—on the attributes of Homer's Jupiter, 139, 140—remarks thereon, 140—143—on the wisdom of poets, 144—character of the *Odyssey*, 145, 146—his review of the *Necyomanteia*, 147, 148.

Communion-Service, explanation of, 127
—131—objections to, removed, 131,
132.

Cowper's insanity, cause of, 379.

Cuvier's theory of life, 441.

D.

Dallas (Mr.), letter of Lord Byron to,
269, 270—remarks thereon, 270, 271.

Dante's Divina Commedia, character of,
396—poetical translation of two of his
pieces, 397, 398.

Death, happy, the ordinary supposed re-
quisites of, stated, 32, 33—delusion of
the usual preparations for death ex-
posed, 36—observations on the proper
preparation for death, 37—41.

Deaths of clergymen, lists of, 242—245—
496—499.

Degrees conferred, at Oxford, 248—250.
501, 502—at Cambridge, 252. 506—
508.

Dioceses, state of, 234—245. 490—498.

Diseases of the Bedouins, 96.

Dissenters, reasons for seceding from, 229
—231.

Djidda, description of the plague at, 337.

Dreaming, singular phenomenon in, 375.

Dress of the Bedouins, 93, 94.

Drummond's (Sir William) *Edipus Ju-*
daicus, character of, 278.

E.

Education of the poor, importance of, 223,
224.

Egyptian thief, anecdote of the dexterity
of, 332, 333.

Evil, on the existence of, 53.

F.

Farish's (Professor) lectures on machi-
nery and manufactures, notice of, 75.

Fathers of the Church, importance and
value of, 2.

Finati (Giovanni), adventures of, 324—
is drawn for Napoleon's conscription,
326—deserts and is apprehended, *ib.*—
is sent against the Montenegrini, 327—
deserts and becomes a Mohammedan,
327, 328—enlists in the service of Mo-
hammed Ali, 328—is plundered on the
banks of the Nile, 329—his description
of the slaughter of the Mamelukes, 330,
331—his adventures at the battle of

Jadeed Bogaz, 333—is employed in the
army against the Wahábys, 334—extra-
ordinary escape, 335—reaches Mecca,
336—interview with Mahomet Ali, *ib.*
—his description of the plague at
Djidda, 337—engages himself as jani-
zary and interpreter to Mr. Bankes,
339—journey to Palestine, 339, 340—
enters the service of Mr. Salt, 341—
rejoins Mr. Bankes at Jerusalem, *ib.*—
his description of the mosque there, 343
—goes into Upper Egypt, 344—visits
England, 345.

Food of the Bedouins, 94, 95.

French (Rev. Dr.), and *Skinner* (Rev.
George), examination of their version
of the Book of Psalms, 432—436—
part of the sixteenth Psalm as translated
by them, with remarks, 436—439—
character of their Translation, 439—
vindication of them against the attack
of Mr. Boys, 438, *note*.

Fry's (Rev. John), Version of the Psalms,
specimen of, with remarks, 428, 429.

Future State, how far revealed in the Mo-
saic writings, 3, 4—and known to pious
men among the Jews, 5, 6—observa-
tions on the intermediate state between
death and the resurrection, 7—17—
—why the Scriptures have not revealed
the knowledge of this state to us, 17,
18, 19.

G.

Galt's (John) Life of Lord Byron, re-
marks on the style of, 257—260.

Generalizing in philosophy, evil of, 442,
443, 444.

Geology, account of the English school of,
180, 181—design of Mr. Lyell's Prin-
ciples of Geology, 185—account of the
penultimate formations, 186—192—
outline of geological dynamics, 195—
199.

Gnostics, observations on the tenets of,
and their source, 49—53—and on pas-
sages of the New Testament which are
supposed to refer to them, 59—66—
their notion of a resurrection, 60—its
moral effects, 63.

Government of the Bedouins, 96.

H.

Harvey (Dr.), experiments of, to ascer-
tain the vitality of blood, 447, 448—
remarks thereon, 450.

Heaven, on the occupation of the blessed in, 30—32.
Heresy, explanation of the term, 46—48.
Homer's attributes of Jupiter, observations on, 139—143—on his *Odyssey*, 145, 146—on his *Necyomanteia*, or description of Ulysses' intercourse with the shades of the dead, 147, 148—imitation of part of his hymn to Mercury, 149, 150—character of his hymn to Venus and epigrams, 150.
Horsley's (Bishop) system of interpretation, examined, 414—428—character of his version of the Book of Psalms, 430, 431.
Houbigant, character of, as an interpreter of Scripture, 411.
Hume's fallacy in judging of the credibility of a statement exposed, 362—particularly with regard to miracles, 363—365.
Hunt (Leigh), character of, by Lord Byron, 279. 305, 306—note on Mr. Hunt's correspondence with Mr. Moore, 306, note.
Hunter's (Dr.) theory of the vitality of blood, notice of, 445, 446.
Hutchinsonian theory of interpretation, why unpopular, 413, 414.

I.

India, notice of what has been done for religion in, previously to the last renewal of the East India Company's charter, 460, 461—opposition made to the erection of a bishoprick, 461, 462—in what manner the resolution of the House of Commons for erecting a see was carried into effect, 463—state of Christianity in India before the arrival of the first English bishop, 465—468—measures recommended by Bishop Middleton for securing ecclesiastical order, 469—471—observations on the necessity of dividing the diocese of Calcutta, 479.
Insanity, observations on the moral cause of, 379.
Irby and Mangles (Captains), researches of, in Abousambal, 341.
Infant Schools, recommended, 223.
Insurrections of the agricultural poor, observations on, 227, 228.
Intermediate State, between death and the resurrection, observations on, 7—17—the knowledge of it, why not revealed to us, 17—19.
Interpreters of Scripture, characters of, 405—408—particularly of the German and

French interpreters, 4—10—the Hutchinsonian school, 411, 412—Bishop Horsley's system of interpretation, examined, 414—428—Mr. Fry's mode, 428, 429.

J.

Jackson (Dr. Cyril), anecdote of, 144.
Jedeed Bogaz, battle of, described, 333.
Jerome, character of, as an interpreter of Scripture, 406.
Jerusalem, description of the mosque at, 343.
JESUS CHRIST, reality of the bloody sweat of, 65.
Jewish Literature, importance of, as an aid to interpreting Scripture, 408.
John (St.), earnestness of, in speaking of the blood which issued from the side of Jesus Christ on the cross, accounted for, 63, 64—interpretation of verse 7, of chap. v. of his first epistle, 65—68—on his use of Platonic phraseology, 68—70.
Judgment, general, whether the saints or faithful Christians will have any share in, 23, 24.
Jurisprudence of the Bedouins, 97.

K.

Keith (Thomas), a Turkish renegade, anecdotes of, 112, 113.

L.

Lewis's romance of the "Monk," character of, 281.
Le Bas (Rev. C. W.), reflections of, on the religious state of India previously to the last renewal of the East India Company's charter, 460, 461, 462—account of the establishment of the episcopate of Calcutta, 463—and of the state of Christianity in India before the arrival of the first English bishop, 465—468—his reflections on the state of Christianity among the Syrian Christians in Malabar, 473—476—on the necessity of dividing the episcopal duties in India, 479—his description of the person and character of Bishop Middleton, 480—484.
Liberalism, the cant and pedantry of, exposed, 295.
Life, reasons why so little enjoyed by many, 232, 233.

- Lorenzo de' Medici*, verses of, translated, 390.
Luther, character of, as an interpreter of Scripture, 407.
Lyell (Charles, Esq.), design of his "Principles of Geology," 185—abstract of his theory of penultimate formations, 186—192—and of his geological dynamics, 195—198—remarks thereon, 199—204—value of his treatise, 205.

M.

- Marriages* of clergymen, lists of, 246, 247, 499, 500.
Materialism, errors of, exposed, 354—359.
Matter, Platonic doctrine respecting, explained, 50—52.
Medical Education, difficulties and inconveniences incident to, 349, 350.
Memory, observations on the faculty of, 366, 367.
Middleton (Right Rev. T. F.), notice of the earlier years of, 459, 460—consecrated Bishop of Calcutta, 464—his pursuits during the voyage to India, *ib.*—rules of conduct, 464, 465—measures proposed and adopted by him for securing ecclesiastical order, 468—471—his description of the southern missions in India, 471—473—and of his voyage to Penang, 476—478—survey of his private and public character, 480—484.
Millenium, observations on, 25, 26.
Miller (Rev. John), design of, in his "Sermons," 125—his elucidation of the Communion Service, 127—131—answers to popular objections against it, 131, 132—on self-deceit in religion, 132—134.
Milton's opinion on the design for which great abilities are given to men, 274, 275—beautiful Latin verses of, 368, *note*.
Mind, difficulties incident to the study of, 346, 347—importance of medical men prosecuting their studies with reference to sound metaphysical philosophy, 347, 348—sympathy of its powers with certain affections of the brain and nerves, 360, 362—its tendency to confide in the uniformity of nature, 370—373—requisites for constituting a well regulated mind, 380, 381.
Miracles, Hume's sophistry concerning the credibility of, exposed, 363—365.
Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, slaughter of the Mameluke beys by, 330, 331—insurrection against him at Cairo, 337.

- Moore's* (Thomas) "Life of Lord Byron," remarks on the style and morality of, 261, 262—on his character of genius, 265—on his vindication of Byron's philippic against the universities, 266, 267—specimen of his fine writing, 273—his character of Byron's letters, 316—on his publishing some atrocious stanzas of Byron's, 318—320.
Moses and Elias, appearance of on the Mount of Transfiguration, 8, 9—a future state, how far revealed in the writings of Moses, 3, 4.
Mosque at Jerusalem, notice of, 343.

N.

- Nassau*, account of the course of theological education in, 225.
National Schools, importance of, 223.
Necessity, observations on the use of the term, 374.
Nominalists and Realists, observations on the dispute between, 369.

O.

- Obedience* to the will of God enforced, 232.
Odyssey, character of, 145, 146.
Ordinations of clergymen, lists of, 239—241, 494, 495.
Origen, character of, as an interpreter of Scripture, 406.
Oxford University, summary of the members of, 505—degrees conferred, 248—250—public examinations, 251—miscellaneous University intelligence, 250, 251, 502, 503—regulations on the endowment of three mathematical scholarships, 503, 504—notice of the scientific researches of the professors at, 73, 74—encouragement of mathematical science there, 88, *note*.

P.

- Parable* of the rich voluptuary, observations on, 7, 8.
Paradise, how understood in the time of Jesus Christ, 9.
Paul (St.), doctrine of, respecting the resurrection, illustrated, 61—63.
Pedigrees of Arab horses, 102, 103—integrity of Bedouin horse-dealers, 103, 104.
Penultimate formations, account of, 186—192.

Petrarch's sonnets, character of, 388.
Philosophy, evil of generalizing, 442—444.
Plague, description of, at Djidda, 337.
Plato's doctrine concerning matter, explanation of, 50—52—on St. John's use of Platonic phraseology, 68—70.
Πλήρωμα, import of, 59.
Pluralities, observations on, 219, 220.
Poor, observations on the education of, 223, 224.
Popery and Mohammedanism, coincidence between, 110, 111.
Preaching, most profitable mode of, 119—122—observations on those preachers who divide their flocks into two classes, the christianized and the unchristianized, 123—126.
Preferments of clergymen, lists of, 234—238. 490—493.
Proverbs, Arabian, specimens of, 116.
Psalms, Bishop Horsley's mode of interpreting, examined, 414—423—character of his version, 430, 431—specimen of Mr. Fry's application of it, 428—429—examination of Dr. French's and Mr. Skinner's version of the Psalms, with specimen and remarks, 432—440.
Pulci's Morgante Maggiore, character of, 390, 391.

R.

Resurrection of the same identical body, no proof of, 19—22—whether there will be a resurrection of pious Christians previous to the general resurrection, 24, 25—Gnostic notion of the resurrection of the body, 60—its moral effects, 63—illustration of St. Paul's doctrine on this subject, 61—63.
Revelation, the adaptation of, to the actual state of man, a proof of its truth and divine origin, 485—488.
Robbers, Arab mode of treating, 100—102.

S.

Sandford (Right Rev. Bishop), character of, 152—biographical anecdotes of, 152—154—remarks on his settlement at Edinburgh, 156, 157—his Christian conduct to Christians of other communions, 158.
Scotland, Episcopal Church, in, why put down at the Revolution in 1688, 159, 160—state of the Church in the reign of William III., 160—162—of Queen Anne, 163, 164—of George I. and George II., 164—166—its persecution

after the rebellion in 1745, 166—168—cessation of its persecutions in the reign of George III., 168—consecration of Bishop Seabury by the Scottish bishops, 169—repeal of penal acts of parliament, 170, 171—remarks on the overthrow of Scottish Episcopacy at the Revolution, 174—176—and on the conservative principle of Episcopacy, 176—178—importance of the Scottish Episcopal Church, 179.
Scriptures, inquiry into the principles of interpreting, 404, 405—character of Origen and of Jerome as interpreters of Scripture, 406—of Theodoret, 407—of Luther, *ib.*
Sea, inroads of, on land, 196—198.
Sedgewick's (Professor) important geological researches, notice of, 74.
Self-deceit in religion exposed, 132—134.
Signs of the times, observations on, 117—119.
Simon Magus, elucidation of the history of, 54—58—on the tenets held by him, 58, 59.
Somnambulism, some extraordinary cases of, with remarks, 376—378.
Spalatro, correct pronunciation of, 327.
Stebbing (Rev. Henry), his character of Dante, 386—translation of ten of his minor pieces, 387, 388—of a piece by Lorenzo de' Medici, 390—of Ariosto, 391—remarks on his account of Bembo's historical style, 395—397—and on his account of Aretino, 400.
Syrian Christian Churches in Malabar, description of the Church Service of, 473, 474—reflections on the state of Christianity among them, 475, 476.

T.

Tasso, character of, 401—perverse criticisms of his friends described, 401, 402.
Tents of the Bedouins, described, 93.
Texts of Scripture illustrated :
 Gen. iii. 14, 15 418—420
 1 Sam. xxviii. 19 12
 2 Sam. xii. 23 12
 Psalm, i. 3 434, 435
 — iv. 435
 — xxx. 9 5
 — xlv. 1—4 436—439
 — lxxxviii. 10, 11 5
 — cxlvi. 4 6
 Isa. xxxviii. 17—19 5
 Mat. x. 23 423
 — x. 28 9
 — xxii. 31, 32 3, 4

Mat. xxiv. 15, 16. 34	....423
— xxv. 1—13	.....43
Luke, xxiii. 43	.....9
John, xix. 34	.....63, 64
1 Cor. vi. 3	.....23, 24
— xv. 13, <i>et seq.</i>	..60—63
2 Cor. v. 1—4	.....20, 21
Eph. ii. 2	.....58, 59
1 Thess. iv. 13	.....14
— iv. 16	.....24
Heb. xi. 6	.....6
James, v. 8	.....410
1 Pet. iii. 18—20	.....10
2 Pet. i. 20, 21	...415—418
— iii. 8—10. 13	425—428
1 John, v. 7	.....66—68
Rev. xx. 21	.....20
<i>Theodoret</i> , character of, as an interpreter of Scripture, 407.	
<i>Theological study</i> , a higher course of, recommended, 224—account of the system pursued in Nassau, 225.	
<i>Thieves</i> , Arab, dexterity of, 329.	
<i>Transfusion</i> of blood, experiments on, noticed, 449, 450.	
 U. 	
<i>Universities</i> , proceedings of: Oxford, 248—251. 501—505—Cambridge, 252—256. 506—512—vindication of the English Universities from the charge of not encouraging the cultivation of the physical sciences, 71—76. 89.	

V.

Vital Principle, defined, 441—supposed analogy of it to electricity, 444—remarks thereon, 446—Dr. Hunter's opinion of the vitality of blood, 445, 446—notice of Harvey's experiments on this subject, 447—449—proofs that there is no such thing as a vital principle, 454—456.

Vowel sounds, observations on, 77.

W.

Wahábys, antipathy of, against smoking, 111—account of the war against them by the Pacha of Egypt, 112—his treatment of two Waháby prisoners, 114, 115.

Warfare of the Bedouins, 97, 98.

Willis (Mr.), notice of his researches on vowel sounds and reed organ pipes, 79—and on the anatomy of the organs of articulation, *ib.* 78.

Wilson (Rev. Daniel), observations of, on the greatness and littleness of man, 484, 485—on the adaptation of Divine Revelation to the moral character of man, 485—487—and on the satisfactory nature of this internal evidence, 487, 488—his opinion that the great writers in defence of Christianity dwell less than they ought to do on internal evidences, controverted, 488, 489.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELI. YARD
TEMPLE BAR.

1300 4

P

LE

B

322781

tic, ser.4.9, 1831

NAME OF BORROWER.

ET

